

THE
EDINBURGH REVIEW,
OR
CRITICAL JOURNAL:

FOR
APRIL 1809.....JULY 1809.

TO BE CONTINUED QUARTERLY.

JUDEX DAMNATUR CUM NOCENS ABSOLVITUR.
PUBLIUS SYRUS.

VOL. XIV.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED BY D. WILKINSON, CRAIG'S CLOSE,
FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & CO. EDINBURGH,
AND
CONSTABLE, HUNTER, PARK, & HUNTER,
LONDON.

1809.

Harper's Illustrated Public Library,

Acq. No.

7660

1900

28715

CONTENTS of No. XXVII

ART. I. Gertrude of Wyoming, a Pennsylvanian Tale; and other Poems. By Thomas Campbell, Author of "The Pleasures of Hope," &c.	p. 1
II. L'Identité de l'Interet General avec l'Interet Individuel; ou la libre Action de l'Interet Individuel est la vrai Source des Richesses des Nations, &c. Par Don Gaspard Melchior Jovellanos, ci-devant Ministre de Grace et Justice, et Membre du Conseil d'Etat de S. M. Catholique	20
III. Strictures on two Critiques in the Edinburgh Review, on the Subject of Methodism and Missions; with Remarks on the Influence of Reviews, in general, on Morals and Happiness. By John Styles	40
IV. Agriculture the Source of the Wealth of Britain: A Reply to the Objections urged by Mr Mill, the Edinburgh Reviewers and others, against the Doctrines of the Pamphlet, entitled, " Britain independent of Commerce;" with Remarks on the Criticism of the Monthly Reviewers upon that Work. By W. Spence, F. L. S.	50
V. Milner's Appeal; and J. B. Trotter's Letter to Lord Viscount Southwell, on the Catholics of Ireland	60
VI. A complete System of Astronomy. By the Rev. S. Vince, A. M. F. R. S. &c. Vol. III.	64
VII. A Series of Discourses on the Principles of Religious Belief, as connected with Human Happiness and Improvement. By the Rev. R. Morehead, A. M. of Baliol College, Oxford, &c. &c.	82
VIII. A Permanent and Effectual Remedy suggested for the Evils under which the British West Indies now labour; in a Letter from a West India Merchant to a West India Planter	95
IX. Lettres et Pensées du Maréchal Prince de Ligne, publiées par Mde. la Baronne de Staël Holstein. Contenant des Anecdotes inédites sur Joseph II, Catherine II, Frédéric-le-Grand, Rousseau, Voltaire, &c. &c. et des Remarques intéressantes sur les Turcs	107
ART.	

ART. X. An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language; illustrating the Words in their different Significations, by Examples from Antient and Modern Writers, &c. &c. &c. By John Jamieson, D. D.	p. 121
XI. Cœlebs in Search of a Wife; comprehending Observations on Domestic Habits and Manners, Religion and Morals	145
XII. A View of the Natural, Political and Commercial Circumstances of Ireland. By Thomas Newenham Esq.	151
XIII. Travelling Sketches in Russia and Sweden, during the Years 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808. By Robert Ker Porter	170
XIV. The Works of Plato, viz. his Fifty-Five Dialogues, and Twelve Epistles, translated from the Greek; Nine of the Dialogues by the late Floyer Sydenham, and the Remainder by Thomas Taylor: With occasional Annotations on the Nine Dialogues translated by Sydenham, and copious Notes by the latter Translator; in which is given the Substance of nearly all the existing Greek MS. Commentaries on the Philosophy of Plato, and a considerable Portion of such as are already published. 5 vol. 4to.	187
XV. Biographie Moderne, ou Dictionnaire Biographique de tous les Hommes, morts ou vivans, qui ont marqué à la Fin du 18 Siècle ou au Commencement de celui-ci, par leur Rang, leurs Emplois, leurs Talens, leurs Malheurs, leurs Vertus, leurs Crimes, et où tous les Faits qui les concernent sont rapportés de la Manière la plus impartiale et la plus authentique	211
XVI. Narrative of the Siege of Zaragoza. By C. R. Vaughan, M. B. Fellow of All-Souls College, Oxford, &c.	244
Quarterly List of New Publications	265

CONTENTS OF No. XXVIII.

- ART. 1.** The Plan of Reform proposed by Sir Francis Burdett. Correctly reported in Two Speeches delivered in Parliament, recommending an Inquiry into the State of the Representation. With Mr Perceval's Objections to the Motion, &c. And A Letter addressed to John Cartwright, Esq., Chairman of the Committee at the Crown and Anchor, on the Subject of Parliamentary Reform. By the Earl of Selkirk - p. 277
- II.** An Account of the Empire of Marocco, and the District of Sufe, &c. To which is added, an accurate and interesting Account of Timbuctoo, the Great Emporium of Central Africa. By James Gray Jackson, Esq. - p. 306
- III.** A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Library of the late Tippoo Sultan, of Mysor: To which are prefixed, Memoirs of Hyder Ali Khan, and his Son Tippoo Sultan. By Charles Stewart, Esq. M. A. S. &c. - p. 322
- IV.** The Geographical, Natural, and Civil History of Chili, by Abbé Don J. Ignatius Molina, with Notes, &c. and an Appendix, containing copious Extracts from the Araucana of Don Alonso de Ercilla. Translated from the Original Italian, by an American Gentleman - p. 333
- V.** Characters of the late Charles James Fox. By Philopatris Varvicensis - p. 353
- VI.** Memoirs of Sir Thomas More; with a new Translation of his Utopia, &c. By Arthur Cayley the Younger, Esq. And A New Edition, with copious Notes, &c. of 'A most pleasant, fruitful, and witty Work of the best State of a Public Weal, and of the new Isle called Utopia,' &c. &c. By the Rev. T. F. Dibdin, F. S. A. &c. - p. 360
- VII.** Tales of Fashionable Life. By Miss Edgeworth - p. 375
- VIII.** Histoire de l'Anarchie de Pologne, et du Démembrement de cette République. Par Cl. Rulhiere - p. 388
- IX.** Voyages à Peking, Manille, et l'Isle de France, faits dans l'Intervalle des Années 1784 à 1801. Par M. de Guignes - p. 407
- X.** Strabonis Rerum Geographicarum Libri xvii, &c. juxta Ed. Amstelodamensem. Codicum MSS. Collationem, Annotationes, Tabulas Geographicas adjecit Thomas Falconer, olim e Coll. Aenei Nafii, Oxon. - p. 429
- XI.** Pamphlets by Lord Sheffield and others on Foreign Affairs - p. 442
- XII.** The Bakerian Lecture. An Account of some new analytical Researches on the Nature of Alkalies, Phosphorus, Sulphur, &c. &c. By H. Davy, Esq. Sec. R. S. And An Account of some Experiments, performed with a view to ascertain the most advantageous Method of constructing a Voltaic Apparatus for the Purposes of Chemical Research. By J. G. Children, Esq. F. R. S. - p. 483
- XIII.** Observations on the Historical Work of the Right Hon. Charles James Fox. By the Right Hon. George Rose - p. 490
- Quarterly List of New Publications - p. 510

ERRATA IN THIS AND PRECEDING NUMBER.

- p. 4. l. 20. from bottom, for *passage* read *passages*.
p. 251. should all be inverted commas as quotation, from line 15. from bottom to the end, except line 7. from bottom.
p. 259. l. 9. from bottom, for *well* read *ill*.
p. 283. l. 3. from bottom, for *their* read *that*.
p. 285. l. 9. for *vices* read *Wars*.
p. 299. l. 18. for *gendered* read *engendered*.
p. 300. l. last, for *Lords and Commons*, read *King and Lords*.
p. 340. l. 10. from bottom (but only in a very few copies) for *But let us attend—* read *But*, instead of trusting to the testimony of these suspicious witnesses, let us attend, &c.

OF THE
OF ~~UTTARA~~ PARA
EDINBURGH REVIEW,

APRIL, 1809.

No. XXVIII.

ART. I. *Gertrude of Wyoming, a Pennsylvanian Tale; and other Poems.* By Thomas Campbell, Author of "The Pleasures of Hope," &c. 4to. pp. 136. London. 1809.

WE rejoice once more to see a polished and pathetic poem, in the old style of English pathos and poetry. This is of the pitch of the Castle of Indolence, and the finer parts of Spencer; with more feeling, in many places, than the first, and more condensation and diligent finishing than the latter. If the true tone of nature be not everywhere maintained, it gives place, at least, to art only, and not to affectation—and, least of all, to affectation of singularity or rudeness.

Beautiful as the greater part of this volume is, the public taste, we are afraid, has of late been too much accustomed to beauties of a more obtrusive and glaring kind, to be fully sensible of its merit. Without supposing that this taste has been in any great degree vitiated, or even imposed upon, by the babyism or the antiquarianism which have lately been versified for its improvement, we may be allowed to suspect, that it has been somewhat dazzled by the splendour, and bustle and variety of the most popular of our recent poems; and that the more modest colouring of truth and nature may, at this moment, seem somewhat cold and feeble. We have endeavoured, on former occasions, to do justice to the force and originality of some of these brilliant productions, as well as to the genius (fitted for much higher things) of their authors—and have little doubt of being soon called upon for a renewed tribute of applause. But we cannot help saying, in the mean time, that the work before us belongs to a class which comes nearer to our conception of pure and perfect poetry. Such productions do not, indeed, strike so strong a blow as the vehement effusions of our modern *Trouveurs*; but they are calculated, we think, to please more deeply, and to call out more permanently, those trains

of emotion, in which the delight of poetry will probably be found to consist. They may not be so loudly nor so universally applauded; but their fame will probably endure longer, and they will be oftener recalled to mingle with the reveries of solitary leisure, or the consolations of real sorrow.

There is a sort of poetry, no doubt, as there is a sort of flowers, which can bear the broad sun and the rustling winds of the world,—which thrive under the hands and eyes of indiscriminating multitudes, and please as much in hot and crowded saloons, as in their own sheltered repositories; but the finer and the purer sorts blossom only in the shade, and never give out their sweets but to those who seek them amid the quiet and seclusion of the scenes which gave them birth. There are torrents and cascades which attract the admiration of tittering parties, and of which even the busy must turn aside to catch a transient glance; but ‘the haunted stream’ steals through a still and a solitary landscape; and its beauties are never revealed, but to him who strays, in calm contemplation, by its course, and follows its wanderings with undistracted and unimpatient admiration. There is a reason, too, for all this, which may be made more plain than by metaphors.

The highest delight which poetry produces, does not arise from the mere passive perception of the images or sentiments which it presents to the mind, but from the excitement which is given to its own eternal activity, and the character which is impressed on the train of its spontaneous conceptions. Even the dullest reader generally sees more than is directly presented to him by the poet; but a lover of poetry always sees infinitely more; and is often indebted to his author for little more than an impulse, or the key-note of a melody, which his fancy makes out for itself. Thus, the effect of poetry depends more on the *fruitfulness* of the impressions to which it gives rise, than on their own individual force or novelty; and the writers who possess the greatest powers of fascination, are not those who present us with the greatest number of lively images or lofty sentiments, but who most successfully impart their own impulse to the current of our thoughts and feelings, and give the colour of their brighter conceptions to those which they excite in us. Now, upon a little consideration, it will probably appear, that the dazzling, and the busy and marvellous scenes which constitute the whole charm of so ne poems, are not so well calculated to produce this effect, as those more intelligible delineations which are borrowed from ordinary life, and coloured from familiar affections. The object is, to awaken in our minds a train of kindred emotions, and to excite our imaginations to work out for themselves a tissue of pleasing or impressive conceptions. But it seems obvious, that this is more likely to be accomplished by surrounding us gradually with those

those objects, and involving us in those situations with which we have long been accustomed to associate the feelings of the poet,—than by startling us with some tale of wonder, or attempting to engage our affections for personages, of whose character and condition we are little able to form any conception. These, indeed, are more sure than the other to produce a momentary sensation, by the novelty and exaggeration with which they are commonly attended; but their power is spent at the first impulse: they do not strike root and germinate in the mind, like the seeds of its native feelings; nor propagate throughout the imagination that long series of delightful movements, which is only excited when the song of the poet is the echo of our familiar feelings.

It appears to us, therefore, that by far the most powerful and enchanting poetry is that which depends for its effect upon the just representation of common feelings and common situations, and not on the strangeness of its incidents, or the novelty or exotic splendour of its scenes and characters. The difficulty is, no doubt, to give the requisite force, elegance and dignity to these ordinary subjects, and to win a way for them to the heart, by that true and concise expression of natural emotion, which is among the rarest gifts of inspiration. To accomplish this, the poet must do much; and the reader something. The one must practise enchantment, and the other submit to it. The one must purify his conceptions from all that is low or artificial, and the other must lend himself gently to the impression, and refrain from disturbing it by any movement of worldly vanity, derision or hardheartedness. In an advanced state of society, the expression of simple emotion is so obstructed by ceremony, or so distorted by affectation, that though the sentiment itself be still familiar to the greater part of mankind, the verbal representation of it is a task of the utmost difficulty. One set of writers, accordingly, finding the whole language of men and women too sophisticated for this purpose, have been obliged to go to the nursery for a more suitable phraseology; another has adopted the style of courtly Arcadians; and a third, that of mere Bedlamites. So much more difficult is it to express natural feelings, than to narrate battles, or describe prodigies!

But even when the poet has done his part, there are many causes which may obstruct his immediate popularity. In the first place, it requires a certain degree of sensibility to perceive his merit. There are thousands of people who can admire a florid description, or be amused with a wonderful story, to whom a pathetic poem is quite unintelligible. In the second place, it requires a certain degree of leisure and tranquillity. A picturesque stanza may be well enough relished while the reader is get-

ting his hair combed ; but a scene of tenderness or emotion will not do for the corner of a crowded drawingroom. Finally, it requires a certain degree of courage to proclaim the merits of such a writer. Those who feel the most deeply, are most given to disguise their feelings ; and derision is never so agonizing as when it pounces on the wanderings of misguided sensibility. Considering the habits of the age in which we live, therefore, and the fashion, which, though not immutable, has for some time run steadily in an opposite direction, we should not be much surprised if a poem, whose chief merit consisted in its pathos, and in the softness and exquisite tenderness of its representations of domestic life and romantic seclusion, should meet with less encouragement than it deserves. If the volume before us were the work of an unknown writer, indeed, we should feel no little apprehension about its success ; but Mr Campbell's name has power, we are persuaded, to insure a very partial and a very general attention to whatever it accompanies, and, we would fain hope, influence enough to reclaim the public taste to a juster standard of excellence. The success of his former work, indeed, goes far to remove our anxiety for the fortune of this. It contained, perhaps, more brilliant and bold passages than are to be found in the poem before us ; but it was inferior, we think, in softness and beauty ; and, being necessarily of a more desultory and didactic character, had far less pathos and interest than this very simple tale. Those who admired the *Pleasures of Hope* for the passage about Brama and Kosciusko, may perhaps be somewhat disappointed with the gentler tone of *Gertrude* ; but those who loved that charming work for its pictures of infancy and of maternal and connubial love, may read on here with the assurance of a still higher gratification.

The story is of very little consequence in a poem of this description ; and it is here, as we have just hinted, extremely short and simple. Albert, an English gentleman of high character and accomplishment, had emigrated to Pennsylvania about the year 1740, and occupied himself, after his wife's death, in doing good to his neighbours, and in educating his infant and only child, Gertrude. He had fixed himself in the pleasant township of Wyoming, on the banks of the Susquehanna ; a situation which at that time might have passed for an earthly paradise, with very little aid from poetical embellishment. The beauty and fertility of the country,—the simple and unlaborious plenty which reigned among the scattered inhabitants,—but, above all, the singular purity and innocence of their manners, and the tranquil and unenvious equality in which they passed their days, form altogether a scene, on which the eye of philanthropy is never wearied

ied with gazing, and to which, perhaps, no parallel can be found in the annals of the fallen world. The heart turns with delight from the feverish scenes of European history, to the sweet repose of this true Atlantis; but sinks to reflect, that though its reality may still be attested by surviving witnesses, no such spot is *now* left, on the whole face of the earth, as a refuge from corruption and misery!

The poem opens with a fine description of this enchanting retirement. One calm summer morn, a friendly Indian arrives in his canoe, bringing with him a fair boy, who, with his mother, were the sole survivors of an English garrison which had been stormed by a hostile tribe. The dying mother had commended her boy to the care of her wild deliverers; and their chief, in obedience to her solemn bequest, now delivers him into the hands of the most respected of the adjoining settlers. Albert recognizes the unhappy orphan as the son of a beloved friend; and rears young Henry Waldegrave as the happy playmate of Gertrude, and sharer with her in the joys of their romantic solitude, and the lessons of their venerable instructor. When he is scarcely entered upon manhood, Henry is sent for by his friends in England, and roams over Europe in search of improvement for eight or nine years,—while the quiet hours are sliding over the father and daughter in the unbroken tranquillity of their Pennsylvanian retreat. At last, Henry, whose heart had found no resting place in all the world besides, returns in all the mature graces of manhood, and marries his beloved Gertrude. Then there is bliss beyond all that is blissful on earth,—and more feelingly described than mere genius can ever hope to describe any thing. But the war of emancipation begins; and the dream of love and enjoyment is broken by alarms and dismal forebodings. While they are sitting one evening enjoying those tranquil delights, now more endeared by the fears which gather around them, an aged Indian rushes into their habitation, and, after disclosing himself for Henry's antient guide and preserver, informs them, that a hostile tribe, which had exterminated his whole family, is on its march towards their devoted dwellings. With considerable difficulty they effect their escape to a fort at some distance in the woods; and at sunrise, Gertrude, and her father and husband, look from its battlements over the scene of desolation which the murderous Indian had spread over the pleasant groves and gardens of Wyoming. While they are standing wrapt in this sad contemplation, an Indian marksman fires a mortal shot from his ambush at Albert; and as Gertrude clasps him in agony to her heart, another discharge lays her bleeding by his side. She then takes farewell of her husband, in a speech more sweetly pathetic than any thing ever written in rhyme.

Henry prostrates himself on her grave in convulsed and speechless agony; and his Indian deliverer, throwing his mantle over him, watches by him a while in gloomy silence; and at last addresses him in a sort of wild and energetic descendant, exciting him, by his example, to be revenged, and to die. The poem closes with this vehement and impassioned exhortation.

Before proceeding to lay any part of the poem itself before our readers, we should try to give them some idea of that delightful harmony of colouring and of expression, which serves to unite every part of it for the production of one effect, and to make the description, narrative and reflections, conspire to breathe over the whole a certain air of pure and tender enchantment, which is not once dispelled, through the whole length of the poem, by the intrusion of any discordant impression. All that we can now do, however, is, to tell them that this was its effect upon our feelings; and to give them their chance of partaking in it, by a pretty copious selection of extracts.

The descriptive stanzas in the beginning, which set out with an invocation to Wyoming, though in some places a little obscure and overlaboured, are, to our taste, very soft and beautiful.

‘ On Susquehana’s side, fair Wyoming!
Although the wild-flower on thy ruin’d wall
And roofless homes a sad remembrance bring
Of what thy gentle people did befall,
Yet thou wert once the loveliest land of all
That see the Atlantic wave their morn restore.
Sweet land! may I thy lost delights recall,
And paint thy Gertrude in her bowers of yore,
Whose beauty was the love of Pennsylvania’s shore!

‘ It was beneath thy skies that, but to prune
His Autumn fruits, or skim the light canoe,
Perchance, along thy river calm at noon
The happy shepherd swain had nought to do
From morn till evening’s sweeter pastime grew;
Their timbrel, in the dance of forests brown
When lovely maidens prankt in flowret new;
And aye, those sunny mountains half way down
Would echo flageolet from some romantic town.

‘ Then, where of Indian hills the daylight takes
His leave, how might you the flamingo see
Disporting like a meteor on the lakes—
And playful squirrel on his nut-grown tree:
And ev’ry sound of life was full of glee,
From merry mock-bird’s song, or hum of men;
While heark’ning, fearing nought their revelry,
The wild deer arch’d his neck from glades, and, then
Unhunted, sought his woods and wilderness again.

‘ And

' And scarce had Wyoming of war or crime
Heard but in transatlantic story rung,' &c. p. 5—7.

The account of the German, Spanish, Scottish and English settlers, and of the patriarchal harmony in which they were all united, is likewise given with great spirit and brevity; as well as the portrait of the venerable Albert, their own elected judge and adviser. A sudden transition is then made to Gertrude.

' Young, innocent! on whose sweet forehead mild
The parted ringlet shone in simplest guise,
An inmate in the home of Albert smil'd,
Or blest his noonday walk—she was his only child.

' The rose of England bloom'd on Gertrude's cheek—
What though these shades had seen her birth,' &c. p. 11.

After mentioning that she was left the only child of her mother, the author goes on in these sweet verses.

' A lov'd bequest! and I may half impart,
To them that feel the strong paternal tie,
How like a new existence to his heart
Uprose that living flow'r beneath his eye;
Dear as she was, from cherub infancy,
From hours when she would round his garden play,
To time when as the rip'ning years went by,
Her lovely mind could culture well repay,
And more engaging grew from pleasing day to day.

' I may not paint those thousand infant charms;
(Unconscious fascination, undesign'd!)
The orison repeated in his arms,
For God to bless her sire and all mankind;
The book, the bosom on his knee reclin'd,
Or how sweet fairy-love he heard her con,
(The playmate ere the teacher of her mind):
All uncompanion'd else her years had gone
Till now in Gertrude's eyes their ninth blue summer shone.

' And summer was the tide, and sweet the hour,
When sire and daughter saw, with fleet descent,
An Indian from his bark approach their bow'r,' &c. p. 12, 13.

This is the guide and preserver of young Henry Waldegrave; who is somewhat fantastically described as appearing

' Led by his dusky guide, like Morning brought by Night.'
The Indian tells his story with great animation—the storming and blowing up of the English fort—and the tardy arrival of his friendly and avenging warriors. They found all the soldiers slaughtered.

' And from the tree we with her child unbound
' A lonely mother of the Christian land—
' Her lord—the captain of the British band—

' Amidst the slaughter of his soldiers lay ;
 ' Scarce knew the widow our deliv'ring hand :
 ' Upon her child she sobb'd, and swoon'd away ;
 ' Or shriek'd unto the God to whom the Christians pray.—

1 Our virgins fed her with their kindly bowls
 ' Of fever-balm, and sweet sagamité ;
 ' But she was journeying to the land of souls,
 ' And lifted up her dying head to pray
 ' That we should bid an ancient friend convey
 ' Her orphan to his home of England's shore ;
 ' And take, she said, this token far away
 ' To one that will remember us of yore,
 ' When he beholds the ring that Waldegrave's Julia wore.—'

p. 16, 17.

Albert recognises the child of his murdered friend with great emotion ; which the Indian witnesses with characteristic and picturesque composure.

' Far differently the mute Oneyda took
 His calumet of peace, and cup of joy ;
 As monumental bronze unchanged his look :
 A soul that pity touch'd, but never shook :
 Train'd, from his tree-rock'd cradle to his bier,
 The fierce extremes of good and ill to brook
 Impassive—fearing but the shame of fear—
 A stoic of the woods—a man without a tear.—'

p. 20.

This warrior, however, is not without high feelings and tender affections.

' He scorn'd his own, who felt another's woe :
 And ere the wolf-skin on his back he flung,
 Or laced his mocasins, in act to go,
 A song of parting to the boy he sung,
 Who slept on Albert's couch, nor heard his friendly tongue.

' Sleep, wearied one ! and in the dreaming land
 ' Shouldst thou the spirit of thy mother greet,
 ' Oh ! say, to-morrow, that the white man's hand
 ' Hath pluck'd the thorns of sorrow from thy feet ;
 ' While I in lonely wilderness shall meet
 ' Thy little foot prints—or by traces know
 ' The fountain, where at noon I thought it sweet
 ' To feed thee with the quarry of my bow,
 ' And pour'd the lotus-horn, or slew the mountain roe.

' Adieu ! sweet scion of the rising sun ! ' &c. p. 21, 22.

The Second part opens with a fine description of Albert's sequestered dwelling. It reminds us of that enchanted landscape in which Thomson has embosomed his Castle of Indolence. We can make room only for the first stanza.

- ' A valley from the river shore withdrawn
 Was Albert's home two quiet woods between,
 Whose lofty verdure overlook'd his lawn ;
 And waters to their resting place serene . . .
 Came fresh'ning, and reflecting all the scene ;
 (A mirror in the depth of flowery shelves ;) . . .
 So sweet a spot of earth, you might (I ween)
 Have guess'd some congregation of the elves
 To sport by summer moons, had shaped it for themselves. '

p. 27.

The effect of this seclusion on Gertrude is beautifully represented.

- ' It seem'd as if those scenes sweet influence had
 On Gertrude's soul, and kindness like their own
 Inspir'd those eyes affectionate and glad,
 That seem'd to love whate'er they look'd upon ;
 Whether with Hebe's mirth her features shone,
 Or if a shade more pleasing them o'ercast,
 (As if for heav'nly musing meant alone ;)
 Yet so becomingly the expression past,
 That each succeeding look was lovelier than the last.—

Nor, guess I, was that Pennsylvanian home,

With all its picturesque and balmy grace,

And fields that were a luxury to roam,

Lost on the soul that look'd from such a face !

Enthusiast of the woods ! when years apace

Had bound thy lovely waist with woman's zone,

The sunrise path, at morn, I see thee trace

To hills with high magnolia overgrown ;

And joy to breathe the groves romantic and alone. ' p. 29, 30.

The morning scenery, too, is touched with a delicate and masterly hand.

- ' While yet the wild deer trode in spangling dew,
 While boatman caroll'd to the fresh-blown air,
 And woods a horizontal shadow threw,
 And early fox appear'd in momentary view. ' p. 32.

The reader is left rather too much in the dark as to Henry's departure for Europe ;—nor, indeed, are we apprised of his absence, till we come to the scene of his unexpected return. Gertrude was used to spend the hot part of the day in reading in a lonely rocky recess in those safe woods ; which is described with Mr Campbell's usual felicity.

——' Rocks sublime

To human art a sportive semblance wore ;

And yellow lichens colour'd all the clime,

Like moonlight battlements, and towers decayed by time.

- : But high, in amphitheatre above,

His arms the everlasting aloes threw :
 Breath'd but an air of heav'n, and all the grove
 As if with instinct living spirit grew,
 Rolling its verdant gulphs of every hue ;
 And now suspended was the pleasing din,
 Now from a murmur faint it swell'd anew,
 Like the first note of organ heard within
 Cathedral aisles—ere yet its symphony begin.' p. 33.

In this retreat, which is represented as so solitary, that, except her own,

—' scarce an ear had heard
 The stock-dove plaining through its gloom profound,
 Or winglet of the fairy humming bird,
 Like atoms of the rainbow fluttering round'— p. 34.
 —a stranger of lofty port and gentle manners surprises her, and
 is conducted to her father. They enter into conversation on the
 subject of his travels.

—' And much they lov'd his fervid strain,—
 While he each fair variety retrac'd
 Of climes, and manners, o'er the eastern main :—
 Now happy Switzer's hills—romantic Spain—
 Gay lillied fields of France,—or, more refin'd,
 The soft Ausonia's monumental reign ;
 Nor less each rural image he design'd,
 Than all the city's pomp and home of human kind.
 ' Anon some wilder portraiture he draws ;
 Of Nature's savage glories he would speak,—
 The loneliness of earth that overawes,—
 Where, resting by some tomb of old Cacique,
 The lama-driver on Peruvia's peak,
 Nor voice nor living motion marks around ;
 But storks that to the boundless forest shriek ;
 Or wild-cane arch high flung o'er gulf profound,
 That fluctuates when the storms of El Dorado sound.' p. 36-7.

Albert, at last, bethinks him of inquiring after his stray ward
 young Henry, and entertains his guest with a short summary of
 his history.

' His face the wand'rer hid ;—but could not hide
 A tear, a smile, upon his cheek that dwell ;—
 " And speak, mysterious stranger ! " (Gertrude cried)
 " It is !—it is !—I knew—I knew him well !
 " 'Tis Waldegrave's self, of Waldegrave come to tell ! "
 A burst of joy the father's lips declare ;
 But Gertrude speechless on his bosom fell :
 At once his open arms embrac'd the pair ;
 Was never group more blest, in this wide world of care.' p. 39.

The burst of their joy and artless love is represented with all
 the

the fine colours of truth and poetry ; but we cannot now make room for it. The Second Part ends with this stanza:

' Then would that home admit them—happier far
Than grandeur's most magnificent saloon—
While, here and there, a solitary star
Flush'd in the dark'ning firmament of June ;
And silence brought the soul-felt hour, full soon,
Ineffable,—which I may not pourtray ;
For never did the Hymenean moon
A paradise of hearts more sacred sway,
In all that slept beneath her soft voluptuous ray.' p. 43.

The Last part sets out with a soft but spirited sketch of their short-lived felicity.

' Three little moons, how short, amidst the grove,
And pastoral savannas they consume !
While she, beside her buskin'd youth to rove,
Delights, in fancifully wild costume,
Her lovely brow to shade with Indian plume ;
And forth in hunter-seeming vest they fare ;
But not to chase the deer in forest gloom ;
'Tis but the breath of heav'n—the blessed air—
And interchange of hearts, unknown, unseen to share.

What though the sportive dog oft round them note,
Or fawn, or wild bird bursting on the wing ;
Yet who, in love's own presence, would devote
To death those gentle throats that wake the spring ;
Or writhing from the brook its victim bring ?
No !—nor let fear one little warbler rouse ;
But, fed by Gertrude's hand, still let them sing,
Acquaintance of her path, amidst the boughs,
That shade ev'n now her love, and witness'd first her vows.'
p. 48, 49.

The transition to the melancholy part of the story is introduced with great tenderness and dignity.

' But mortal pleasure, what art thou in truth ?
The torrent's smoothness ere it dash below !
And must I change my song ? and must I show,
Sweet Wyoming ! the day, when thou wert doom'd,
Guiltless, to mourn thy loveliest bow'rs laid low !
When where of yesterday a garden bloom'd,
Death overspread his pall, and black'ning ashes gloom'd ?—

' Sad was the year, by proud Oppression driv'n,
When Transatlantic Liberty arose,
Not in the sunshine, and the smile of heav'n,
But wrapt in whirlwinds, and begirt with woes :
Amidst the strife of fratricidal foes,

Her

Her birth star was the light of burning plains ;
 Her baptism is the weight of blood that flows
 From kindred hearts—the blood of British veins—
 And famine tracks her steps, and pestilential pains.' p. 50-1.

Gertrude's alarm and dejection at the prospect of hostilities are well described,

" O, meet not thou," she cries, " thy kindred foe !

" But peaceful let us seek fair England's strand," &c.

—as well as the arguments and generous sentiments by which her husband labours to reconcile her to a necessary evil. The nocturnal irruption of the old Indian is given with great spirit :—age and misery had so changed his appearance, that he was not at first recognized by any of the party.

' And hast thou then forgot,' (he cried forlorn,
 And ey'd the group with half indignant air),
 ' Oh ! hast thou, Christian chief, forgot the morn
 ' When I with thee the cup of peace did share ?
 ' Then stately was this head, and dark this hair,
 ' That now is white as Appalachia's snow ;
 ' But, if the weight of fifteen years' despair,
 ' And age hath bow'd me, and the tort'ring foe,
 ' Bring me my boy—and he will his deliverer know !'—

' It was not long, with eyes and heart of flame,
 Ere Henry to his lov'd Oneyda flew :
 ' Bless thee, my guide !'—but, backward, as he came,
 The chief his old bewilder'd head withdrew,
 And grasp'd his arm, and look'd and look'd him through.
 'Twas strange—nor could the group a smile controul—
 'The long, the doubtful scrutiny to view :—
 At last delight o'er all his features stole,
 ' It is—my own—' he cried, and clasp'd him to his soul.—

' Yes ! thou recall'st my pride of years, for then
 ' The bowstring of my spirit was not slack,
 ' When, spite of woods, and floods, and ambush'd men,
 ' I bore thee like the quiver on my back,
 ' Fleet as the whirlwind hurries on the rack ;
 ' Nor foeman then, nor cougar's crouch I fear'd,
 ' For I was strong as mountain cataract :
 ' And dost thou not remember how we cheer'd
 ' Upon the last hill-top, when white men's huts appear'd ?'

p. 54—56.

After warning them of the approach of their terrible foe, the conflagration is seen, and the whoops and scattering shot of the enemy heard at a distance. The motley militia of the neighbourhood flock to the defence of Albert : the effect of their shouts and music on the old Indian is fine and striking.

' Rous'd

' Rous'd by their warlike pomp, and mirth, and cheer,
 Old Outalissi woke his battle song,
 And, beating with his war-club cadence strong,
 Tells how his deep-stung indignation smarts,' &c. p. 61.

Nor is the contrast of this savage enthusiasm with the venerable composure of Albert, less beautifully represented.

' Calm, opposite the Christian father rose,
 Pale on his venerable brow its rays
 Of martyr light the conflagration throws;
 One hand upon his lovely child he lays,
 And one th' uncover'd crowd to silence sways;
 While, though the battle flash is faster driv'n,—
 Unaw'd, with eye unstartled by the blaze,
 He for his bleeding country prays to Heav'n,—
 Prays that the men of blood themselves may be forgiven.

p. 62.

They then speed their night march to the distant fort, whose wedged ravelins and redoubts

' Wove like a diadem its tracery round
 The lofty summit of that mountain green'—

and look back from its lofty height on the desolated scenes around them. We will not separate, nor apologize for the length of the fine passage that follows; which alone, we think, might justify all we have said in praise of the poem.

' A scene of death! where fires beneath the sun,
 And blended arms, and white pavilions glow;
 And for the business of destruction done,
 Its requiem the war-horn seem'd to blow.
 There, sad spectatress of her country's woe!
 The lovely Gertrude, safe from present harm,
 Had laid her cheek, and clasp'd her hands of snow
 On Waldegrave's shoulder, half within his arm
 Enclos'd, that felt her heart, and hush'd its wild alarm.'

' But short that contemplation—sad and short
 The pause to bid each much-lov'd scene adieu!
 Beneath the very shadow of the fort,
 Where friendly swords were drawn, and banners flew.
 Ah! who could deem that foot of Indian crew
 Was near?—yet there, with lust of murderous deeds,
 Gleam'd like a basilisk, from woods in view,
 The ambush'd foeman's eye—his volley speeds,
 And Albert—Albert—falls! the dear old father bleeds!

' And trac'd in giddy horror Gertrude swoon'd;
 Yet, while she clasps him lifeless to her zone,
 Say, burst they, borrow'd from her father's wound,
 These drops?—Oh God! the life-blood is her own;

And

And falt'ring, on her Waldegrave's bosom thrown—
 ' Weep not, O Love ! '—she cries, ' to see me bleed—
 ' Thee, Gertrude's sad survivor, thee alone—
 ' Heaven's peace commiserate ; for scarce I heed
 ' These wounds ;—yet thee to leave is death, is death indeed.
 ' Clasp me a little longer, on the brink
 ' Of fate ! while I can feel thy drear caress ;
 ' And, when this heart hath ceas'd to beat—oh ! think,
 ' And let it mitigate thy woe's excess,
 ' That thou hast been to me all tenderness,
 ' And friend to more than human friendship just.
 ' Oh ! by that retrospect of happiness,
 ' And by the hopes of an immortal trust,
 ' God shall assuage thy pangs—when I am laid in dust !
 ' Go, Henry, go not back, when I depart ;
 ' The scene thy bursting tears too deep will move,
 ' Where my dear father took thee to his heart,
 ' And Gertrude thought it ecstasy to rove
 ' With thee, as with an angel, through the grove
 ' Of peace,—imagining her lot was cast
 ' In heav'n ; for ours was not like earthly love.
 ' And must this parting be our very last ?
 ' No ! I shall love thee still, when death itself is past.—
 ' Half could I bear, methinks, to leave this earth,—
 ' And thee, more lov'd than aught beneath the sun,
 ' If I had liv'd to smile but on the birth
 ' Of one dear pledge ;—but shall there then be none,
 ' In future times—no gentle little one,
 ' To clasp thy neck, and look, resembling me !
 ' Yet seems it, ev'n while life's last pulses run,
 ' A sweetness in the cup of death to be,
 ' Lord of my bosom's love ! to die beholding thee ! '

' Hush'd were his Gertrude's lips ! but still their bland
 And beautiful expression seem'd to melt
 With love that could not die ! and still his hand
 She presses to the heart no more that felt.
 Ah heart ! where once each fond affection dwelt,
 And features yet that spoke a soul more fair. ' p. 64—68.

The funeral is hurried over with pathetic brevity ; and the desolated and all-enduring Indian brought in again with peculiar beauty.

' Touch'd by the music, and the melting scene,
 Was scarce one tearless eye amidst the crowd :—
 Stern warriors, resting on their swords, were seen
 To veil their eyes, as pass'd each much-lov'd shroud—
 While woman's softer soul in woe dissolv'd aloud.

' Then

' Then mournfully the parting bugle bid
 Its farewell o'er the grave of worth and truth.
 Prone to the dust, afflicted Waldegrave hid
 His face on earth.—Him watch'd in gloomy ruth,
 His woodland guide ; but words had none to sooth
 The grief that knew not consolation's name :
 Casting his Indian mantle o'er the youth,
 He watch'd, beneath its folds, each burst that came
 Convulsive, ague-like, across his shuddering frame ! p. 69.

After some time spent in this mute and awful pause, this stern and heart-struck comforter breaks out into the following touching and energetic address, with which the poem closes, with great spirit and abruptness.

' And I could weep ; '—th' Oneyda chief
 His descant wildly thus began :
 ' But that I may not stain with grief
 ' The death-song of my father's son !
 ' Or bow this head in woe ;
 ' For by my wrongs, and by my wrath !
 ' To-morrow Areouski's breath,
 ' (That fires yon heav'n with storms of death),
 ' Shall light us to the foe :
 ' And we shall share, my Christian boy !
 ' The foeman's blood, the avenger's joy !—
 ' But thee, my flow'r whose breath was giv'n
 ' By milder genii o'er the deep,
 ' The spirits of the white man's heav'n
 ' Forbid not *thee* to weep :—
 ' Nor will the Christian host,
 ' Nor will thy father's spirit grieve
 ' To see thee, on the battle's eve,
 ' Lamenting take a mournful leave
 ' Of her who lov'd thee most :
 ' She was the rainbow to thy sight !
 ' Thy sun—thy heav'n—of lost delight !—
 ' To-morrow let us do or die !
 ' But when the bolt of death is hurl'd,
 ' Ah ! whither then with thee to fly,
 ' Shall Outalissi roam the world ?
 ' Seek we thy once-lov'd home ?—
 ' The hand is gone that cropt its flowers !
 ' Unheard their clock repeats its hours !—
 ' Cold is the hearth within their bow'rs !—
 ' And should we thither roam,
 ' Its echoes, and its empty tread,
 ' Would sound like voices from the dead !'

' But

STANFORD UNIVERSITY PUBLIC LIBRARY

Acq. No.

7660

Date

28.7.75.

' But hark, the trumpet—tomorrow thou
 ' In glory's fires shalt dry thy tears :
 ' Ev'n from the land of shadows now
 ' My father's awful ghost appears;
 ' Amidst the clouds that round us roll;
 ' He bids my soul for battle thirst—
 ' He bids me dry the last—the first—
 ' The only tears that ever burst—
 ' From Outalissi's soul ;—
 ' Because I may not stain with grief
 ' The death-song of an Indian chief !' p. 70—73.

It is needless, after these extracts, to enlarge upon the beauties of this poem. They consist chiefly in the feeling and tenderness of the whole delineation, and the taste and delicacy with which all the subordinate parts are made to contribute to the general effect. Before dismissing it, however, we must say a little of its faults, which are sufficiently obvious and undeniable. In the first place, the narrative is extremely obscure and imperfect ; and has greater blanks in it than could be tolerated even in lyric poetry. We hear absolutely nothing of Henry, from the day the Indian first brings him from the back country, till he returns from Europe fifteen years thereafter. It is likewise a great oversight in Mr Campbell to separate his lovers, when only *twelve* years of age,—a period at which it is utterly inconceivable that any permanent attachment could have been formed. The greatest fault, however, of the work, is the occasional constraint and obscurity of the diction, proceeding apparently from too laborious an effort at emphasis or condensation. The metal seems in several places to have been so much overworked, as to have lost not only its ductility, but its lustre ; and, while there are passages which can scarcely be at all understood after the most careful consideration, there are others which have an air so elaborate and artificial, as to destroy all appearance of nature in the sentiment. Our readers may have remarked something of this sort, in the first extracts with which we have presented them ; but there are specimens still more exceptionable. In order to inform us that Albert had lost his wife, Mr Campbell is pleased to say, that

—————' Fate had reft his mutual heart ;'

and in order to tell us something else—though what, we are utterly unable to conjecture—he concludes a stanza on the delights of mutual love, with these three lines

' Roll on, ye days of raptur'd influence, shine !
 ' Nor, blind with ecstasy's celestial fire,
 ' Shall love behold the spark of earth-born time expire.'

The whole twenty-second stanza of the first part is extremely incorrect ;—the three concluding lines are almost unintelligible.

' But

- ' But where was I when Waldegrave was no more ?
 ' And thou didst pale thy gentle head extend,
 ' In woes, that ev'n the tribe of deserts was thy friend ! '

If Mr Campbell had duly considered the primary necessity of perspicuity,—especially in compositions which aim only at pleasing,—we are persuaded that he would never have left these and some other passages in so very questionable a state. There is still a good deal for him to do, indeed, in a new edition : and working—as he must work—in the true spirit and pattern of what is before him, we hope he will yet be induced to make considerable additions to a work, which will please those most who are most worthy to be pleased, and always seem most beautiful to those who give it the greatest share of their attention.

Of the smaller pieces which fill up the volume, we have scarce left ourselves room to say any thing. The greater part of them have been printed before ; and there are probably few readers of English poetry who are not already familiar with the *Lochiel* and the *Hohinlinden*—the one by far the most spirited and poetical denunciation of woe since the days of *Cassandra* ; the other the only representation of a modern battle, which possesses either interest or sublimity. The song to ' the *Mariners of England*, ' is also very generally known. It is a splendid instance of the most magnificent diction adapted to a familiar and even trivial metre. Nothing can be finer than the first and the last stanzas.

- ' Ye mariners of England !
 That guard our native seas ;
 Whose flag has braved, a thousand years,
 The battle, and the breeze !
 Your glorious standard launch again
 To match another foe !
 And sweep through the deep, ' &c. p. 101.

- ' The meteor flag of England
 Shall yet terrific burn ;
 Till danger's troubled night depart,
 And the star of peace return.
 Then, then, ye ocean-warriors !
 Our song and feast shall flow
 To the fame of your name,
 When the storm has ceas'd to blow ;
 When the fiery fight is heard no more,
 And the storm has ceas'd to blow. ' p. 103, 104.

' The *Battle of the Baltic*, ' though we think it has been printed before, is much less known. Though written in a strange, and we think an unfortunate metre, it has great force and grandeur, both of conception and expression—that sort of force and grandeur which results from the simple and concise expression of great events and natural emotions, altogether unassisted by any splen-

dour or amplification of expression. The characteristic merit, indeed, both of this piece and of *Hohinlinden*, is, that, by the forcible delineation of one or two great circumstances, they give a clear and most energetic representation of events as complicated as they are impressive,—and thus impress the mind of the reader with all the terror and sublimity of the subject, while they rescue him from the fatigue and perplexity of its details. Nothing, in our judgment, can be more impressive than the following very short and simple description of the British fleet bearing up to close action.

‘ As they drifted on their path,
There was silence deep as death ;
And the boldest held his breath,
For a time.—’ p. 109.

The description of the battle itself (though it begins with a tremendous line) is in the same spirit of homely sublimity ; and worth a thousand stanzas of thunder, shrieks, shouts, tridents, and heroes.

‘ “ Hearts of oak,” our captains cried ! when each gun
From its adamant lips
Spread a death-shade round the ships,
Like the hurricane eclipse
Of the sun.—’

‘ Again ! again ! again !
And the havoc did not slack,
’Till a feeble cheer the Dane
To our cheering sent us back ;—
Their shots along the deep slowly boom :—
Then cease—and all is wail,
As they strike the shatter’d sail ;
Or, in conflagration pale,
Light the gloom.—’

There are two little ballad pieces, published for the first time, in this collection, which have both very considerable merit, and afford a favourable specimen of Mr Campbell’s powers in this new line of exertion. The longest is the most beautiful ; but we give our readers the shortest, because we can give it entire.

- ‘ O heard ye yon pibroch sound sad in the gale,
Where a band cometh slowly with weeping and wail ?
’Tis the chief of Glenara laments for his dear ;
And her sire, and the people, are called to her bier.
- ‘ Glenara came first with the mourners and shroud ;
Her kinsmen they follow’d, but mourn’d not aloud :
Their plaids all their bosoms were folded around :
They marched all in silence—they look’d on the ground.
- ‘ In silence they reach’d over mountain and moor,
To a heath, where the oak-tree grew lonely and hoar ;

Now here let us place the grey stone of her cairn :

" Why speak ye no word ?"—said Glenara the stern.

" And tell me, I charge you ! ye clan of my spouse,
Why fold ye your mantles, why cloud ye your brows ?"

So spake the rude chieftain :—no answer is made,
But each mantle unfolding a dagger display'd.

" I dreamt of my lady, I dreamt of her shroud,"
Cried a voice from the kinsmen, all wrathful and loud ;

" And empty that shroud, and that coffin did seem ;

" Glenara ! Glenara ! now read me my dream !"

" O ! pale grew the cheek of that chieftain, I ween,
When the shroud was unclos'd, and no lady was seen ;
When a voice from the kinsmen spoke louder in scorn,
'Twas the youth who had lov'd the fair Ellen of Lorn :

" I dreamt of my lady, I dreamt of her grief,

" I dreamt that her lord was a barbarous chief ;

" On a rock of the ocean fair Ellen did seem ;

" Glenara ! Glenara ! now read me my dream !"

" In dust, low the traitor has knelt to the ground,
And the desert revealed where his lady was found ;
From a rock of the ocean that beauty is borne,

Now joy to the house of fair Ellen of Lorn !' p. 105—107.

We close this volume, on the whole, with feelings of regret for its shortness, and of admiration for the genius of its author. There are but two noble sorts of poetry,—the pathetic and the sublime ; and we think he has given very extraordinary proofs of his talents for both. There is something, too, we will venture to add, in the style of many of his conceptions, which irresistibly impresses us with the conviction, that he can do much greater things than he has hitherto accomplished ; and leads us to regard him, even yet, as a poet of still greater promise than performance. It seems to us, as if the natural force and boldness of his ideas were habitually checked by a certain fastidious timidity, and an anxiety about the minor graces of correct and chastened composition. Certain it is, at least, that his greatest and most lofty flights have been made in those smaller pieces, about which, it is natural to think, he must have felt least solicitude ; and that he has succeeded most splendidly where he must have been most free from the fear of failure. We wish any praises or exhortations of ours had the power to give him confidence in his own great talents ; and hope earnestly, that he will now meet with such encouragement, as may set him above all restraints that proceed from apprehension, and induce him to give free scope to that genius, of which we are persuaded that the world has hitherto seen rather the grace than the richness.

ART. II. *L'Identité de l'Interet general avec l'Interet individuel ; ou la libre Action de l'Interet individuel est la vrai Source des Richesses des Nations. Principe exposé dans le Rapport sur un-Projet de Loi Agricole, adressé au Conseil Suprême de Castille, au Nom de la Société Economique de Madrid. Par Don Gulpard Melchior Jovellanos, ci-devant Ministre de Grâce et Justice, et Membre du Conseil d'Etat de S. M. Catholique.* 8vo. pp. 292. St Petersburg. 1806.

AMONG the recent productions of the Continental press, we know few, if any, on which so many circumstances conspire to throw interest, as that to which we are now about to direct the notice of the public. The extraordinary scenes which have recently been acted in Spain, have fixed upon that country, to an unusual degree, the attention of mankind; and as the mysterious and concealing policy of the antient government excluded foreigners in general from any satisfactory knowledge of their internal policy, every man of liberal curiosity must be gratified with this copious and authentic exposition.

There is something, however, in the history of this work of Jovellanos, which would have made it interesting, to whatever country it related. He wrote in a high station, while invested with the most important public trusts; and, though in circumstances such as these, which experience has proved to be far from favourable to the growth of intellect and disinterestedness, he not only rose above the prejudices which formed the groundwork of the policy in which he was an agent, but had the courage to denounce them to the body of his countrymen. His reward was such as those who profit by prejudices, would every where bestow upon those who expose them. He was immured in a dungeon; where, during seven long years, he expiated the guilt of having laboured to enlighten his countrymen on the means of improving their situation,—the crime of having told, contrary to the interest of those who upheld the abuses, that any improvement was necessary. His prison doors were only thrown open by the shock of the late revolution.

It was a particular occasion which gave birth to this interesting performance. The Supreme Council of Castile, having taken into consideration the state of agriculture in the kingdom of Spain, had prepared the scheme of a law, to be denominated an Agrarian law, for the improvement of this branch of the national wealth. Before giving this scheme the actual force of a law, it was thought proper to refer it to the Economical Society of Madrid, an association of some of the most enlightened men of the country, formed for the purpose of collecting and communicating knowledge on the

the different branches of the national weal. The present Memoir, drawn up by Jovellanos, minister of grace and justice, and a member of the Council of State, was the answer which the Society returned. The copy of the work which is now before us is a translation in the French language, which was printed in the Russian capital in 1806.

The subject of the discourse, therefore, is agriculture; but agriculture regarded in a particular point of view. It is not the art of cultivating the ground, nor the sciences to which that art must be indebted for its perfection, on which the author proposes to offer his instructions: it is the relation which subsists between agriculture and the laws; the inseparable connexion between good husbandry and good legislation; the impossibility of beholding the fields covered with riches, while the book of laws is empty of justice and wisdom. This is an inquiry with regard to agriculture which is in a great measure new; for though industry, in general, has been abundantly proved to be the inseparable companion of good laws, yet the particular manner in which the important business of agriculture depends in every country upon the laws, had not before, so far as we at present recollect, been selected for the subject of a peculiar investigation. It is an inquiry which leads to many interesting conclusions.

In an historical view which the author takes of the agriculture of Spain, he represents it, on reasons as good as the imperfection of our documents permits us perhaps to attain, as in a state of perpetual progress from the time of the Romans, till the moment when he wrote. There is something consolatory in this belief; for it leads to the delightful conclusion, that, even in those countries of Europe where improvement has most slowly forced its way, human nature has still been gaining something, and that the progressive tendency in the affairs of man is not easily overcome. The same historical view presents to the author another inference of peculiar importance,—that the condition of the Spanish agriculture has always followed the political condition of the country.

‘Telle,’ says he, ‘est l’histoire simple et abrégée de l’agriculture nationale et de son état progressif dans ses différentes époques. La Société n’a pu recueillir, comparer et vérifier les faits, sans faire en même temps beaucoup d’observations importantes qui lui serviront de guide dans le présent rapport. Toutes ces observations se renouvellent pour prouver que le sort de l’agriculture a toujours suivi celui de la situation politique de la nation, et que son influence a été telle, que ni la beauté du climat, ni la fertilité du sol, ni son aptitude à fournir les productions les plus riches et les plus variées, ni la position avantageuse de la presqu’île pour le commerce maritime, ni enfin tous les dons que la nature bienfaisante a répandus sur elle, n’ont été assez puissans pour vaincre les obstacles que cette situation opposoit à ses progrès. . . . Le sort des campagnes a toujours

été plus ou moins heureux, suivant que les loix agraires étoient plus ou moins opposées à l'intérêt de leurs habitans.'

In endeavouring to ascertain the great principle which regulates the prosperity of agriculture, he discovered, what it was impossible that a mind of such a reach should not discover, that it was the same which regulates the prosperity of every other branch of human industry—the operation of individual interest. He even professes, as indeed the title-page declares, that his whole discourse is but an illustration of this principle. It is, however, more properly speaking, a chain of deductions, or corollaries from that principle. The principle itself he takes in a great measure for granted; and indeed it is so evident, that a man who is capable of reasoning, can scarcely think it necessary to prove it. Yet we cannot help thinking, that the important doctrines of Jovellanos would have appeared to the bulk of readers in a still more striking light, had he taken pains to imprint more deeply the conviction of the truth and universality of his standard proposition. It is not simple assent to a naked doctrine, which can carry an ordinary man through a long train of inferences in practical matters, and lend to each the belief due to the proposition on which it depends. He must, as we say in ordinary language, be penetrated with the conviction: it must be incorporated with his associations, and rendered so familiar to his mind, as to suggest itself of its own accord, as often as its presence in the shape of proof is at all necessary. Even in this country, where the fundamental doctrines of political economy are much more generally understood than any where else, there is probably not one man in a hundred, even in the better educated classes, who sees, with sufficient clearness, that individual interest is the grand, and all-sufficient spring, both of intelligence and of activity in the entire field of human industry. Put the proposition to him in general terms; and the evidence it bears on the face of it, with his inability to find at the moment an exception, will probably gain you his immediate assent: But continue the conversation through one or two deductions, and unless you have been at pains to keep the proposition constantly in his eye, you will find he has lost sight of it in a very few steps. Ask him what has drained marshes, cleared forests, and converted the surface of the ground into mines much more wealthy than those of gold; he will readily answer, individual interest; every man striving to procure to himself some new advantage, wherever he possesses the satisfactory prospect of reaping in security the fruits of his labour. Ask him, too, what has converted fields, that once were mines of wealth, into marshes and forests again: he will answer with equal readiness, the obstruction of individual interests, wherever it has unfortunately happened that men were
uncertain

uncertain with regard to the enjoyment of any advantage which their labours might be directed to procure. Ask him, however, if a bounty on the exportation of corn, or a monopoly of the distilleries is necessary in Great Britain for the prosperity of agriculture; and you will be sure, if he is a proprietor or cultivator of land, to get an affirmative answer. Ask, if a monopoly of the trade of our colonies is necessary to the commercial prosperity of the country; and every man, almost without exception, will tell you, that the monopoly is nearly, if not altogether, the only source of benefit from colonies. Yet these are all instances of direct interference with the law of individual interest.

We know not if it has ever been duly considered—we are sure it has never been duly impressed upon the public—that the salutary operation of individual interest constitutes the sole ground and justification of individual property in land. It was by this appropriation that individual interest could be most effectually applied to extract the means of human enjoyment from the ground. But, remove the operation of this principle, or suppose the effect to be produced by other means; the institution of property in land must then be regarded as pernicious to human nature; and never could have been introduced. The proprietors of land, therefore, are peculiarly called upon to patronize, on all occasions, the pure operation of individual interest, and to combat every institution by which it is liable to be thwarted.

Two things are wanted for the improvement of this, as of the other branches of human industry: first, motives to exertion; and, secondly, knowledge to direct that exertion. In regard to the first, it will be readily acknowledged, that the natural reward of labour, the particular advantage which it is at any time directed to procure, is the only effectual motive for its exertion. In regard to the second, the question has been considered as more doubtful, but on very insufficient grounds. Who is so much interested in improving any process of art, as the man who is immediately to reap the advantage of the improvement? Suppose the whole class of individuals engaged in any great branch of industry, occupied with all the vigilance which individual interest can excite in studying every part of the process, with a view to save expense, or to increase produce; and then see if there be any power which government could set in motion, likely to be, in any comparable degree, equivalent to this mass of minds, thus intently, and nearly employed. As for those important aids which are sometimes derived from deeper sciences, and wider views, than the agents in the common branches of industry can be expected to reach, it will be readily allowed, that however these may help, they can by no means supersede the improvements

which unlearned sagacity and vigilance produce. Besides, government is no less unfit a guide in these than in the other class of improvements; and for as few of them has industry been any where indebted to government.

But if individual interest, in the case of agriculture, is the most effectual power to furnish both the motives to exertion, and the knowledge to direct that exertion, it possesses in itself all the principles of progression; and the best service which laws can render it, is to protect it from every thing which can disturb the operation of that important principle. Enable all the agents in this great province of national wealth to enjoy, in security, the fruits of their labour, (such is the simple task which nature has imposed upon governments), and you can do for it little more.

It is surely high time that these elementary doctrines were brought home to the breasts of legislators; for the complaint of Jovellanos, that legislation has hardly ever touched upon agriculture but to put shackles upon the operation of individual interest, is not applicable to Spain alone. There is not a country in Europe, where the legislature, either from blind and ignorant conceptions of improvement, or from base subservience to the interests of some leading classes, has not loaded agriculture with pernicious regulations, and opposed to its progress the most fatal obstacles. The service, therefore, which our distinguished author requires at the hand of legislators, is not to build up, but to pull down;—not to establish new laws, but to abolish old.

“*Pour peu qu'on medite sur cette matiere, on verra,*” says he, *que l'agriculture a toujours une tendance naturelle vers sa perfection, que les loix ne peuvent la favoriser, qu'en donnant une plus grande force à cette tendance: que cette faveur ne consiste pas autant à lui presenter des encouragemens, qu'à ecarter les obstacles qui retardent ses progrès; en un mot, que l'unique but des loix, relativement à l'agriculture, doit être, de proteger l'intérêt de ses agens, en ecarterant tous les obstacles qui peuvent embarrasser, ou ralentir son action, & son mouvement. Il est evident,*” says he in another place, *que l'office des loix vis-a-vis de l'une et de l'autre propriété,* [the property either of the land or of the fruits of the land,] *ne doit pas être d'exciter, ni de diriger, mais de proteger seulement l'intérêt de ses agens, naturellement actif et bien dirigé vers son objet.*

If these important doctrines are admitted, it remains to be inquired, what are the obstacles which oppose the progress of agriculture; and what legislation (since it is in this way alone that legislators can operate in favour of agriculture) can do to remove them.

Jovellanos has judiciously classed those obstacles under three heads; the first comprehending those which are created by the laws,

laws, and which he denominates the *political* obstacles; the second, those which arise from the state of public opinion; and which he calls the *moral* obstacles; the third, those which are referable to the physical circumstances of the country, and which he styles the *physical* obstacles. We shall follow him pretty closely through the interesting statements and illustrations which he affords us under each of those titles.

1. Political obstacles. Jovellanos touches, with a gentle hand, on the *causes* of the bad laws on this subject in Spain. In fact, he pretty plainly intimates, as he afterwards experienced, the danger of touching upon them at all. Of the extent, however, of this evil, he by no means disguises his sentiments.

‘La société,’ says he, ‘en examinant la législation Castillane, relativement à l’agriculture, n’a pu se garantir d’un sentiment d’effroi, à la vue de la multitude de loix, que renferment nos codes, sur un objet si simple. Osera-t-elle prononcer que la majeure partie de ces loix a toujours été, et est encore, ou totalement contraire, ou extrêmement nuisible, ou tout au moins inutile à leur objet?’

He presently, however, softens this censure, by declaring, what is very true, that of the neighbours of Spain, none had much cause, in this particular, to triumph in their own superiority. ‘Les codes ruraux de toutes les nations sont infectés de loix, d’ordonnances, de réglemens, dirigés vers l’amélioration de l’agriculture, et très contraires à sa prospérité.’ Talking of the propensity to accumulate law upon law, and of the ignorance ‘qu’il étoit plus nécessaire d’abroger, que d’établir; he thinks it necessary, not only to ascribe the same errors to all other nations, the most as well as the least enlightened, but to trace them to that beloved storehouse of things, both clean and unclean—a respect for antiquity. ‘Quel,’ he cries, ‘est le peuple de la terre, quelque ignoré qu’il puisse être, qui n’est pas tombé dans cette erreur, fille d’un préjugé excusable, provenant du respect pour l’antiquité?’

The first, which he examines, of the grand abuses created or supported by the laws, is that which is here translated *commons*. The *commons*, or common lands in Spain, though not entirely on the same footing as in England, yet bear a sufficiently close analogy to fall under the same description. If the operation of individual interest is the grand spring of agricultural improvement, nothing can be so adverse to improvement as the toleration of commons. They receive, accordingly, our author’s strongest condemnation. It is not, however, on this point, that the people of England now stand in need of his instruction. The conviction that commons are, in reality, so much spoil in a great measure withdrawn from utility, is so general, that nothing, ex-

cept here and there the interest of some powerful party, or the exorbitant and pernicious expense attending the passing of an act of Parliament, leaves any where a common to disfigure the face of the country. Jovellanos, however, represents them as still respected by his countrymen, and as comprehending ‘une précieuse partie des terres cultivables de l’Espagne.’

There is another nuisance of the same kind in Spain, from which we are in a great measure exempt in this country; that is, lands possessed by the municipal bodies. These, too, being withdrawn from the salutary operation of individual interest, exhibit a state of management and utility resembling that which distinguishes common lands themselves. Though Jovellanos allows that this property is equally sacred and worthy of protection with that of individuals, he thinks the national good demands, that those municipal bodies, as they show that they cannot themselves turn their land to advantage, should be compelled to divide and dispose of it, either by absolute transfer, or in the way of perpetual rent. He points out a variety of modes in which the purchase-money might be rendered more productive to the municipal body, than the land for which it was obtained; in the construction, for example, of bridges; in the formation of roads and canals; and in other works of public utility, or even as lent to the state.

He comes next to an abuse still more general, and of a still more barbarous complexion; the law by which even individuals were prohibited from enclosing their grounds; by which they were obliged to remove the fences they might have erected for the protection of the crops on the ground, when the crops were withdrawn, and to leave the whole country one great common, to be pastured by the flocks and herds of every man, till feed-time again came round. So wide was the operation of this pernicious regulation, and so durable the ignorance and negligence on which it depended, that it was not till the year 1788 that even gardens and vineyards were exempted from it.

This wretched law, the natural offspring of a barbarous period, when cultivation being in its infancy, cattle are still the principal riches of the country, and the farmer too unskilful to make provision for the winter, has been permitted to remain, partly from that apathy and that *inertia* which belong to a bad government, and partly from the influence of the *Mesta*, another of those abuses exposed by Jovellanos, and a singularity in rural economy.

The migrations of the Spanish sheep, which are fed in the mountains of Leon and the neighbouring provinces during the summer, to the plains of Estremadura in the winter, and back again when summer returns, are sufficiently known. But the formation

mation of that species of corporate body, to whom the privileges granted to these migrating flocks, called also the royal flocks, belong, we have not found any where explained but in the work before us. It is a very curious point of Spanish history.

'La fondation,' says the author, 'du troupeau royal ne fut autre chose dans le principe qu'une sauvegarde accordée par les loix à tous les troupeaux du royaume, sans exception. Et la reunion des montagnards en confraire n'eut d'abord d'autre but, que celui d'assurer la jouissance de ce bienfait. Les habitans de ces montagnes, dont la chaine se detache de Pyrennées pour se repandre dans l'interieur de notre continent, forcés de chercher en hiver des plaines abritées pour le paturage de leurs troupeaux, que la neige chassoit des sommets, sentirent le besoin de s'unir entre eux, non pour obtenir des privileges, mais pour la garantie de cette protection que les loix avoient offertes à tout le monde, et que les riches propriétaires des troupeaux riverains commençoient à usurper pour eux seuls. Voilà comment l'histoire de notre agriculture presente ces deux corps, de montagnards, et de riverains, dans un etat de guerre continuelle, dans laquelle la fonction des loix fut, de couvrir de sa protection les premiers, qui, comme les plus foibles, en avoient le plus besoin. C'est de ces principes que naquit la *Mesta* et ses privileges. L'ambition de les partager amena ensuite cette fameuse coalition, et cette ligue solennelle, qui in 1556 reunit en un seul corps les montagnards et les riverains. Cette ligue inegale, désavantageuse aux premiers, qui allerent toujours en declinant, tandis que la faveur et les moyens des seconds augmentoit de jour en jour, devint bien funeste à la cause publique, parceque elle combina la richesse et le credit des riverains, avec l'industrie et la multitude des montagnards; et produisit enfin un corps de bergers, si enormement puissant qu'à force de sophismes et de reclamations, non seulement il parvint à exercer le monopole de toutes les herbes de la presqu'île, mais il reussit encore à convertir en paturages les meilleures terres de labour, au grand detrimement des troupeaux fixes, de l'agriculture, et de la population des campagnes.'

The mischiefs arising from converting the whole country, during a considerable part of the year, into common land, for the benefit of the migrating sheep, from fixing the price of provender for them on the road, and from the other privileges which the *Mesta* were enabled to engross, can be too easily conceived by the people of this country, to render it in any degree useful for us to follow minutely the criticisms of Jovellanos. He mentions, however, one effect of this institution, namely, an aggravation of the inequality of fortunes, which would not have naturally been conceived by a stranger, and which our author laments with an emphasis, little to have been expected in a Spaniard, a man of rank and power, and a lawyer.

'Un autre abus,' says he, 'plus grave, plus urgent à reprimer, plus

plus pernicieux à l'agriculture, appelle actuellement la suprême attention du Conseil. On ne verroit pas regner parmi nous tant d'empressement à se trouver dans la confrairie de la *Mesta*, si nos loix, en facilitant d'un côté l'accumulation de la richesse entre les mains d'un petit nombre d'individus puissans, n'autorisoient en même temps d'un autre côté l'accumulation de la richesse territoriale en faveur de ces mêmes compagnies et de ces mêmes personnes ; éloignant ainsi de plus en plus l'intérêt individuel de l'économie des troupeaux et de l'agriculture, elles détournent aussi les fonds et l'industrie de la nation, qui devoient les animer. La Société, après avoir examiner ce nouveau mal à la lumière de ses principes, présente au Conseil ses nombreuses conséquences comme un effet de l'inégalité avec laquelle les loix ont distribué leur protection. '

The reflections which he immediately subjoins, discover a high degree of knowledge, joined to the noblest sentiments of humanity. How rare is it to find, in any country, a man who has been subject to the corrupting influence of the scramble for place and power, from whose lips, or whose pen, reflections of the following nature may be expected to flow !

' Comme il est impossible, ' he adds, ' de favoriser l'intérêt individuel, en lui accordant le droit d'aspirer à la propriété territoriale, sans favoriser en même temps l'accumulation de cette richesse, il est également impossible de supposer cette accumulation sans reconnaître cette inégalité de fortune, qui fonde et qui constitue la véritable origine de tant de vices et de tant de maux qui affligent les corps politiques.

' Dans ce sens, on ne sauroit nier, que l'accumulation de la richesse est un mal, mais outre que c'est un mal nécessaire, le remède n'en est pas bien éloigné. Quand tout citoyen peut aspirer à la richesse, les vicissitudes naturelles de la fortune la font passer rapidement des unes aux autres : par conséquent elle ne peut jamais être immense, ni en quantité ni en durée, pour aucun individu. La même tendance qui entraîne tout le monde vers cet objet, en multipliant les efforts multiplie les obstacles : et si, dans les progrès naturels de la liberté d'accumuler les distributions de la richesse, elle s'éloigne du niveau de l'égalité, elle devient du moins pour tous le prix de l'industrie, et le chatiment de la paresse.

' D'un autre côté, l'égalité des droits assure des effets salutaires. C'est elle, qui met les différentes classes de l'état dans une dépendance mutuelle et réciproque. C'est elle, qui les unit avec le lien puissant de l'intérêt mutuel. C'est cette gradation qui appelle les moindres citoyens à la richesse et aux honneurs. C'est elle, quiveille et qui excite l'intérêt personnel, qui anime son action, avec d'autant-plus de force, que l'égalité des droits fait partager à tous l'espérance du succès.—Ce ne sont donc pas ces loix qui occuperont inutilement l'attention de la Société. '

We come now to an obstacle raised by the laws, which Jovellanos

nos signalizes as one of the most powerful in retarding the progress of agriculture, and in which we ourselves are equally concerned with the people of Spain. The circumstance to which we allude, is the perpetuity of inheritance, without the power of alienation, in landed property, which the laws sanction in behalf either of particular families, or of particular bodies. There are various ways in which the land was locked up from subdivision and from circulation in Spain; all of them partaking, more or less completely, of the nature of our laws of primogeniture and entail. Into the distinctions of these we need not enter. It suits our purpose better, to consider the relations which are common to them all.

Of the evils which spring from these regulations respecting landed property, the genuine offspring of a barbarous and short-sighted age, that which is first selected by Jovellanos for denunciation, and which he regards as of principal malignity, is the enhancement of the price of land.

‘Les terres,’ says he, ‘sont montées en Espagne à un prix scandaleux. Ce prix est un effet de leur rareté dans le commerce, et cette rareté derive principalement de l’énorme quantité de possessions territoriales, qui est tombée en main morte. Voilà tout autant de vérités de fait, qui n’ont pas besoin de démonstration, et il ne reste plus qu’à présenter son influence sur l’agriculture.’

On this subject he appeals to the experience presented by the United States of America. There the facility with which land may be acquired attracts capital to agriculture. In Spain, and in the other countries of Europe, where land is accumulated in a few hands, and is raised, by excluding so much of it from circulation, to an enormous price, capital is banished from the cultivation of the ground. What a picture does he draw of the situation of Spain, under the baneful operation of this monopoly of her soil!

‘Ce ne sont point ici,’ says he, ‘des exagérations de zèle. Ce sont les conséquences affligeantes, mais certaines, d’un système destructeur, dont le Conseil reconnoitra l’effet, en jettant seulement un regard sur nos provinces. Quelle est celle, où la majeure partie de la propriété territoriale n’est pas tombée en main morte? Quelle est celle, où le prix des terres ne s’est point élevé à un taux si énorme qu’elles rendent à peine un demi pour cent? Quelle est celle, où les baux n’ont point monté à un prix scandaleux? Quelle est celle, où les héritages ne sont point ouverts, sans population, sans arbres, sans arrosages, et sans aucune espèce d’amélioration? Quelle est celle, où l’agriculture n’est pas abandonnée à des colons pauvres et ignorans? Quelle est celle enfin, où le numéraire ne fuit pas les campagnes, pour chercher d’autres emplois plus lucratifs?’

It is undoubtedly true, that in a country where capital overflows, as in England, the expedient of leases, if wisely regulated,

may, to a considerable extent, supply to agriculture the means which are driven from it by primogeniture and entails. It becomes in this manner again subdivided into portions which individual attention is competent to embrace. The magnitude of the produce is not such as to smother the feeling of individual interest in the minute improvements which the progress of any art requires ; and if fair and ample security is provided for the enjoyment of that produce during a sufficient number of years, adequate motives are afforded for considerable exertions, and the application of considerable capital, to increase the productive powers of the soil.

The efficacy of these motives is witnessed, to no small extent, in England, and to a much greater extent in Scotland, where the tenure of the farmer is in general on a much better foundation. But how feeble, in all cases, must be the motives for exertion and expense, to increase the productive powers of the soil, where a man daily regards it as the property of another, and reflects, that the produce only of a few years must be the sole reward of his labours and risk, while the permanent benefit departs from him to a stranger ! How feeble, even in their most perfect form, the motives of this man, to the motives of him who regards the soil he is improving as his own, and considers, that the benefit of his exertions may redound to his latest posterity ! What other cause can be assigned for the small progress which England has made in agriculture, compared with that which she has made in manufactures and commerce ? What other cause can be assigned, why, supplying half the world with manufactures, she supplies not herself with bread ? What other cause can be assigned, why every branch of her mercantile establishment, gigantic as it is, overflows with capital, while capital cannot be found to cultivate the waste lands which disfigure so many of her provinces ? Our own empire supplies us with a most remarkable fact, in confirmation of these inferences. How does it happen that the cultivation of the ground in the West Indies has been enabled to draw such masses of capital from commerce itself ? And how does it happen that the cultivator there exhibits an intensity of zeal and exertion so much beyond what is witnessed in Europe ? The only answer is, that the cultivator there is at once the cultivator and the owner of the soil ; every improvement which he makes is exclusively his own ; he is enabled to borrow capital by giving security upon his estate ; and the rapid circulation of estates from hand to hand, enlivens his activity, and accommodates him in every change of circumstances. Entirely similar is the operation of similar causes in the United States of America ; nor can it reasonably be doubted, that similar effects would flow from them in Europe.

In touching, however, upon the monopoly of the soil, the most baneful of all monopolies, established to so destructive an extent in Spain, Jovellanos was aware that he was treading upon tender ground. The church, in particular, whose jealousies are so easily awakened, and in whose hands so great a portion of the soil of Spain was inalienably locked, he endeavours to induce, by many soothing persuasions, to submit, as far as her concern in the monopoly extended, to some gentle relaxations. One argument in favour of the established policy was, that it was necessary for the maintenance of the order of nobility. This it seems was a point, in Spain, more sacred than that of the church itself. Accordingly, Jovellanos by no means takes upon him to advance a word towards impairing the monopoly of the soil, as far as the nobility themselves could be supposed to think it necessary for the maintenance of their order. With many expressions of profound respect, he only ventures to insinuate, that if the law of primogeniture and entails be adverse to agriculture, though it be necessary for the maintenance of the nobility, it ought not to be extended beyond the nobility; but that landed property, in all hands that are not noble, should be restored to the natural principles of subdivision and circulation.

But it was not merely by bad laws respecting the property of the soil that Jovellanos found agriculture retarded in Spain: the laws respecting the property of the *fruits* of the soil were no less barbarous, and no less fatal in their operation. By this he means distinctively the property of the farmer, of which he speaks in the following enlightened terms.

‘ Les fruits de la terre étant le produit immédiat du travail, et formant l’unique propriété du colon, cette propriété sacrée est d’autant plus digne de protection aux yeux de la loi, que d’une part elle représente la subsistance de la plus grande et de la plus précieuse partie des individus de l’état; tandis que d’un autre côté elle constitue l’unique récompense de leur sueur et de leurs fatigues. Personne ne la doit à la fortune, ni au hasard de la naissance; chacun la tire immédiatement de son génie et de son application. Elle est en outre très-incertaine et très-précaire, parcequ’elle dépend en grande partie de l’influence du climat, et des variations de l’atmosphère. Il est donc certain, qu’elle réunit en sa faveur tous les titres qui peuvent la rendre recommandable à la justice et à l’humanité du gouvernement. Ce n’est pas seulement le cultivateur qui est intéressé à la protection de cette propriété, c’est également le propriétaire, parce que ses produits se divisent naturellement entre le maître et les cultivateurs.’

One is pleased to find, amid these representations and expostulations of Jovellanos, that even in Spain certain reforms had actually been carried into effect. He congratulates himself, for example,
that

that amid 'la serie immense de loix, d'ordonnances et de reglemens, qui ont offensé et restreint la libre disposition des produits de la terre,' he has no longer to complain of the tax on grain—now, says he, banished for ever from our police and legislation. 'Mais cette loi,' continues he, 'une fois supprimée, et la taxe de grains pour toujours abolie, comment peut-on laisser subsister sur les autres fruits de la terre une taxe d'autant plus pernicieuse, qu'elle n'est pas réglée par l'équité et la sagesse du législateur, mais par la fantaisie momentanée des juges municipaux?'—A tax upon all the fruits of the earth, with the sole exception of grain, regulated, not by the equity and wisdom of the legislator, but by the momentary caprice of the municipal judges, was still a tolerable allowance of abuse. In fact, the municipal bodies in Spain possessed the same monopoly in the fruits of the ground, and the same power of fixing their price, as we lately had the mortification, in our account of the performance of Mr Leckie, to contemplate, in the destructive hands of the municipal bodies of Sicily.

One fact is mentioned by Jovellanos, in demonstration of the effects of these arbitrary regulations, which alone speaks volumes. It is well known to be one of the natural attendants on a very imperfect state of agriculture, such as that of Spain, to afford certain articles in extraordinary abundance, and, by necessary consequence, extraordinarily cheap. Of these, poultry, which during that state of agriculture forms part of the family of the poorest man; and finds the greatest part of its food independently of expense, constitutes a remarkable instance. It is therefore wonderful to learn, that the city of Madrid is actually supplied with eggs from France! Hear Jovellanos himself on the causes of this characteristic and melancholy circumstance.

'C'est à ces reglemens' (the wretched powers entrusted to the provincial magistrates) 'qu'on doit attribuer en grande partie la disette de certains articles de production facile, et de consommation ordinaire. Le paysan ne trouvant aucun bénéfice à les vendre à un prix ordinaire, et éloigné des marchés par les vexations qu'il y rencontre, prend le parti de ne plus les cultiver. Deux ou trois exemples suffisent pour l'en degouter à jamais, et pour fixer les objets de la culture et de l'économie d'une province entière. Qui pourra assigner une autre cause à la honteuse nécessité où nous avons été pendant quelque tems de faire venir les œufs de France, pour l'approvisionnement de la ville de Madrid?'

Omitting, as we are obliged to do, the numerous and important details of our author on the restraints and oppressions to which the cultivator in Spain is exposed, who is even deprived of the freedom of trade from province to province within his own country, we cannot forbear adverting to a few of the observations, in the work before us, on the mischiefs inflicted on agriculture by the

the taxes on Spain. We shall not stop to consider the author's demonstrations and remonstrances relative to the shameful inequalities in the system of Spanish taxation, by which the higher classes, among whom the nobility and clergy, as usual, and as we could not but have expected, stand principally distinguished, have their shoulders eased of the burden, by shifting the greater part of it to the shoulders of the poor husbandman. The picture, however, which Jovellanos draws of the direct oppressions to which the owners of the produce of the soil are exposed, is too remarkable, and too full of instruction, not to be presented, in part, to the consideration of our countrymen.

'Quatriemement,' says he, 'il est aisé de voir jusqu'à quel point l'influence des impositions provinciales doit être nuisible à l'agriculture par l'extension avec laquelle elles embrassent tous les produits. Les principales, et les plus précieuses, comme l'huile, le vin, et la viande, sont assujetties aux millions, tandis que l'alcavale, atteint jusqu'aux plus minutieuses, telles que les fruits, les légumes, le jardinage et la volaille. Qu'on juge de l'effet de ce mode d'imposition, par la répétition avec laquelle les produits de la terre se trouvent successivement gravés directement ou indirectement. Les troupeaux, par exemple, payent sur la pâture dans les loyers des prairies, auquel on n'a donné le nom de vente des herbes que pour l'assujettir à l'alcavale. Le bétail paye ensuite une nouvelle contribution, à chaque vente et révente, dans les foires et marchés, et la viande paye encore lors qu'elle est vendue pour la consommation. De manière que ces impôts, suaisissant les produits de la terre au moment de leur naissance, les poursuivent et les atteignent dans toute leur circulation, sans jamais perdre de vue ni lâcher leur proie, jusqu'au dernier instant de son existence.'

After a variety of observations on the particular abuses which he selects as specimens of that corrupt system he wanted to reform, he sums up his conclusions on the baneful effects of the taxes, in the following terms.

'Sans compter donc ce que content à l'état, et par conséquent à ces membres, les innombrables légions d'administrateurs, de visiteurs, de sergents, de gardes, qu'exige le recouvrement des impositions provinciales; sans compter le trouble, et l'inquiétude continuelle dans lequel elles entretiennent le cultivateur, qui peut ni faire un pas ni s'arrêter sans être environné des commis et de satellites; sans compter les vexations qui dérivent de l'odieuse police des registres, visites, guides, taxes, et autres formalités; sans compter l'oppression du citoyen, avili par les dénonciations, procédures, arrestations, detentions, aux quelles donnent lieu la plus petite et quelquefois la plus innocente fraude; enfin, sans compter tout ce que la liberté du commerce et la circulation intérieure souffre d'un système si ciroué, ce que nous venons de dire suffit pour démontrer, que nos loix fiscales,

examinées dans leur rapport avec l'agriculture, présentent un des obstacles le plus puissant à l'intérêt de ses agents, et par conséquent à sa prospérité.

2. Such is a specimen of the important instructions which Jovellanos offered to his countrymen, or to their government, respecting the obstacles opposed to the progress of agriculture by bad laws and political institutions. The obstacles arising from wrong opinions, is the second class he takes into consideration. In regard to so much of the mass of these as are entertained by the government, the second class of the obstructions of agriculture coincides with the first; since, to the wrong opinions of this small, but effective body, bad laws and bad political institutions are to be traced. One opinion, however, of very extensive influence in most, if not all the countries of Europe, is common both to governors and people,—that in the work of enriching a nation, commerce is far more efficacious than agriculture. This opinion, the groundwork of what Dr Smith denominates the mercantile system, which long guided, and still, in many important points, guides the economical policy of the countries of Europe, and of Great Britain among the rest,—Jovellanos traces (and probably, in its origin, with justice) to the *mania* of imitation caught from the flourishing republics of Italy and ~~Gae~~ many in the middle ages. The Spaniards, however, have not reasoned upon it exactly as the politicians of this country have done. For example, they prohibit the exportation of the raw produce of the soil, and encourage the importation; and even Jovellanos himself thinks them right in prohibiting the exportation of corn. The British legislators, on the other hand, grant a bounty on the exportation of corn, and impose a duty on the importation always, at least unless when the price is very high. The wise proceeding would probably be, in regard either to Britain or Spain, to let the nation export, when it found it for its interest to export; and to import, when it found it for its interest to import; and to trust to it as being the best judge of its own interest, in this, as in all similar cases. The subject is too extensive for us to enter upon any controverted ground; but this being one of the few cases in which we have found our author involved in an erroneous train of thought, it was necessary thus far to mark our dissent from it.

The wrong opinions, however, belonging to the more immediate agents of agriculture, form the principal source of the class of errors which our author is now considering. His disquisition on this subject is one of the most gratifying that has presented itself to our notice. Ignorance is the fruitful mother to whom he traces, as her legitimate progeny, all the evils which fall to be considered under
this

this head; and which are neither few nor small. Where, he asks—in what country has not agriculture remained in improvement behind the other great branches of art? The reason is, that it is an art more difficult to be carried on, without certain portions of knowledge and understanding, than those which admit of greater subdivision and simplicity; for, as Jovellanos very justly observes, ‘l’agriculture est bien moins un art, qu’une admirable reunion de plusieurs arts très distingués.’ He remarks, accordingly,—what is so worthy of remark everywhere else, as well as in Spain, though it has hitherto attracted anywhere so little of the attention which it deserves,—how formidable, and frequently how effectual a resistance is presented to the improver in agriculture, by the blind prejudices and coarse indocility of the labouring husbandman; who, from ignorance, and from mental inaction, is wedded to the practices to which he has been accustomed, and can accommodate neither his hand nor his mind to any process that is new. Whoever bestows due attention on the variety of operations in which the most ordinary agent in the business of agriculture must be employed, and the various kinds of knowledge which it is necessary for him to possess, will easily see, that to render him a proper instrument in an actively improving, and by consequence a changing agriculture, his mind must be rendered alert and pliant by education, sufficiently enlightened to believe that improvements may be made, and to think that it is not unworthy of him to second the wishes of the improver. In what a favourable situation for progress in agriculture would that country be placed, which should possess a peasantry thus qualified and disposed,—where the principal instrument, the principal machine of the art, was of so admirable a temper and mould,—it is surely unnecessary to explain; as, on the other hand, every man, by whom any striking improvements in agriculture have been attempted, bears loud and voluntary testimony to the difficulties he experienced, partly from the aversion, and partly from the incapacity of the agents he had to employ.

Jovellanos is of opinion, that one of the best expedients for transmitting knowledge to the labourers in the soil, is to communicate it first to the proprietors of the soil. He marks, with profound indignation and contempt, the existing state of education in Spain.

‘Quel abandon déplorable,’ he cries, ‘dans notre système d’instruction publique. Il semble que nous avons pris à tâche de négliger les objets d’instructions utiles et de multiplier les instituts des connoissances inutiles . . . Les sciences ont cessé d’être pour nous un moyen de chercher la vérité, et sont devenues une ressource pour trouver de quoi vivre. Le nombre des étudiants s’est accru avec l’imperfection des études; et de même que ces insectes qui, naissant

de la putrefaction, servent à la propager, les theologiens scholastiques, juristes, casuistes, et tous les mauvais professeurs des facultés intellectuelles, envelopperent dans leur corruption les principes, le gout, et jusqu'au souvenir des sciences utiles.'

For explaining what he considered necessary to be done towards imparting a knowledge of the useful and experimental sciences to the class of owners of the soil, he returns again and again to the incurable vices of the system of education, which had been set up in the ages of darkness, and transmitted, by means of the obstinate resistance to change in the agents employed, with little or no improvement to the present day.

'La Société,' says he, 'ne proposera pas d'aggreger cette espèce d'enseignement au plan de nos universités; tant qu'elles seront encore ce qu'elles sont, et ce qu'elles ont toujours été jusqu'à present, tant qu'elles seront dominées par l'esprit scholastique, jamais les sciences experimentales ne pourront germer aupres d'elles. Des objets distincts, un caractere different, une autre methode, et un esprit opposé animent les unes et les autres, les separent, et les rendent incompatibles entre elles. Une longue et triste experience a confirmé cette verité.' He even proceeds so far as to say, that to found a system of education any thing like complete, ('ce point,' he observes, 'si digne de nos desirs) il faudra debuter par un renversement total de la forme et du systeme actuel de nos ecoles generales.'

After a variety of details, into which we are sorry that we cannot enter, respecting the plan for instructing the proprietors of the soil, he comes to the highly important case of the labourers. On this point, unfortunately, the numbers among ourselves are not few who have much to learn from the Spanish statesman.

'Le second moyen,' says he, 'de rapprocher la science de l'interet, consiste dans l'instruction des laboureurs. Ce seroit une chose ridicule, que de vouloir les assujettir à l'etude des sciences; mais il est tres-raisonnable de chercher à les mettre à même de profiter de leurs resultats; et voilà a quoi se reduit notre desir. L'entreprise est grande par son objet, mais simple et facile dans ses moyens; il ne s'agit que de diminuer l'ignorance des laboureurs, ou pour mieux dire de multiplier, et de perfectionner les organes de leur entendement.'

It is objected, however, by those who have unfortunately taken up prejudices against the people, that it is impossible to make useful knowledge descend to them. Jovellanos leaves not this misapprehension without its answer.

'Quand,' says he, 'les proprietaires possederont les sciences utiles, ne doit-on pas esperer que leur interet, peut-être meme leur vanité, les engagera à faire des essais dans leurs terres, et à appliquer à leur culture les connoissances dues à leur etude, les nouvelles decouvertes, et les nouvelles methodes adoptées dans les autres pays? Et quand ils l'auront fait avec fruit, ne devra-t-on pas esperer egale-

ment;

ment ; que leurs conseils et leur exemple persuaderont leurs fermiers, et les feront participer à leurs ameliorations ?

‘ On suppose que le laboureur est esclave des prejugeés, qu’il a reçus par tradition, et il l’est sans doute, parcequ’il ne peut ceder à d’autres leçons qu’à celles qui lui entrent par les yeux ; mais par la meme raison n’est il pas plus docile à cette espece de combinaison qui anime et augmente son interet ? L’orgueil des savans lui refuse jusqu’à cette docilité ; mais qu’on fasse attention un moment à la grande masse des connoissances, que l’agriculture a reunie, meme dans la portion la plus stupide de ses agens ; et on reconnoitra tout ce que doit dans tous les pays l’agriculture à la docilité des laboureurs. ’

He brings to the support of the same interesting proposition, truths of a still more general nature.

‘ Il est impossible, ’ he says, ‘ qu’une nation possede les sciences dans un certain degre d’etendue, sans qu’une partie de leurs lumieres se repande jusqu’à la plus basse classe du peuple ; parceque, s’il est permis de s’exprimer ainsi, le fluide de la science se repand d’une classe à l’autre, et se simplifiant, se divisant toujours d’avantage dans son cours, s’accommode enfin à l’intelligence des esprits les plus simples et les plus rebelles. Par ce moyen, le laboureur et l’artisan, sans penetrer le jargon mysterieux du chimiste, dans l’analyse des marnes, ni le raisonnement du naturaliste dans la recherche hardie des tems et des moyens de leur formation, connoissent leur utilité pour l’amelioration des terres et le degreissement des draps. C’est à dire qu’ils connoissent tout ce que la science a enseigné d’utile sur les marnes. ’

When he comes to consider the degree of positive instruction, not which *ought* to be given to the people—for they ought to receive as much possible—but which *can* be given to them, without sacrificing other objects of still more imperious necessity, he says,

‘ La Société ne sollicite pour eux, que la connoissance des premieres lettres, c’est à dire, qu’ils sachent lire, ecrire, et compter. Quel champ immense ces connoissances simples et sublimes n’ouvrent-elles pas à l’esprit humain ? Cette instruction si necessaire a tout individu pour perfectionner les facultes de la raison et de son âme, si avantageuse à tout pere de famille pour conduire les affaires de la vie civile et domestique, si importante à tout gouvernement pour ameliorer l’esprit et le cœur des citoyens, est celle que la Société reclame, et qui suffira pour mettre le laboureur, ainsi que les autres classes laborieuses en etat de concevoir, non seulement les verités sublimes de la religion et de la morale ; mais encore les principes simples et clairs de la physique, qui conduisent à la perfection des arts. Il suffira que les resultats et les decouvertes, dans les sciences les plus compliquées, soient depouillés de l’apparat ou du jargon scientifique, et reduites à des propositions claires et simples pour etre comprises par l’homme le plus grossier, quand on aura perfectionné les organes de son entendement.

‘ Que Votre Altesse (it is thus the Councils of State are addressed in Spain) daigne par consequent multiplier par tout l’enseignement des premieres lettres ; qu’il n’y ait ni bourg, ni village, ni paroisse, qui en soit privé ; qu’il n’y ait aucun individu, quelque miserable qu’il soit, qui ne puisse recevoir facilement et gratuitement cette instruction. Quand la nation ne devoit pas ce secours à tous ses membres, comme l’acte le plus signalé de sa protection, elle se le devoit à elle-meme, comme le moyen le plus simple d’augmenter sa gloire et sa puissance. N’est-ce pas en effet le plus honteux tenuoignage de notre insouciance, que de voir dans l’abandon et dans l’oubli une branche d’instruction si generale, et si avantageuse, tandis que nous protegions avec tant d’ardeur les instituts des sciences partielles, inutiles, ou dangereuses.’

We are obliged, though reluctantly, to omit the expedients proposed by our author for accomplishing the great objects here proposed. And we are not unwilling to leave the enlightened and philanthropic reflections of this real philosopher and statesman, without any commentary, to the meditations of those among us, who are still as far behind him in knowledge as humanity.

3. As to the physical obstacles which Spain presents to the progress of agriculture, the observations of Jovellanos are confined within narrow compass. Nature, he remarks, has been liberal to Spain ; but the inhabitants have not seconded the bounty of nature. The climate of Spain is in general dry. The neglect of irrigation he therefore stigmatizes as one of the vices of the people ; though he grants that the difficulties attending this improvement, is one of the physical obstacles peculiar to Spain, which the husbandman is called upon to overcome. The different provinces of Spain being extremely different in their soil, climate, and by consequence in their produce—articles, must very frequently be raised in one province, which are required for the supply of a very distant province. This renders good roads, navigable canals, and other channels of communication, peculiarly necessary ; yet no country is more wretchedly provided with them. Of physical obstacles, there are many in Spain, as well as other countries, which, from their magnitude, or from the extent of their influence, it peculiarly belongs to government to remove. Jovellanos remarks, that governments would never want funds for such useful purposes, did they not waste so much in ways that are useless, and often in such as are pernicious. He would like to see established in every country a fund, to be denominated the *amelioration fund*, for the express purpose of aiding, as far as government is competent to aid, the progress of agriculture, and the other useful arts.

Such are the instructions, the censures and expostulations, which this Spanish philosopher and patriot deemed fit a few years ago

ago to address to his countrymen. It has been our principal object to exhibit as distinct a view as possible of a work, presenting so many claims to attention; and, for that purpose, we have restrained ourselves from those reflections, in which the interest of the topics introduced would otherwise have prompted us to indulge. There are a few questions, however, which we are irresistibly tempted to ask.

How many years, for example, have gone by, since we received a book of this nature and utility from any statesman or minister of justice in our own country?

Did Jovellanos perform a more patriotic service, by exposing openly, and censuring the errors and abuses by which his country suffered, than he would have done, had he, by palliations, by sophistry and excuses, endeavoured to make it appear that she was suffering from no errors and abuses? And if such a conduct was patriotic in Spain, may it not be so in other countries, — in Great Britain for example?

Whether there are any errors and abuses in Great Britain of a similar, or of any other description? or, whether there are none — and hence all writers of the censorial character, like Jovellanos, unnecessary?

• Whether it were useful in Spain, that the owners and cultivators of the ground should be well instructed; but not at all useful in Great Britain? Or whether Jovellanos was entirely mistaken, — it being useful in no country?

Whether Jovellanos, who censured the bad institutions of his country, or the Prince of the Peace who punished those who censured them, was the greatest patriot? Whether there is any other country, where those who thus censure, and those who thus punish, are in situations analogous?

To conclude with a reflection of a different description. — Among a people subject to the minute and incessant oppression which we here perceive the peasantry in Spain endured, could the flame of patriotism catch in such a degree, as to make them perfect heroes in defence of the very government under which they had suffered? — A valuable fragment, from the hand of the same Jovellanos, which Lord Holland has done us the service to present to us in the Appendix (No. 2.) to his *Life of Lope de Vega*, is highly worthy of being taken into the account, in making up our minds on this question.

ART. III. *Strictures on two Critiques in the Edinburgh Review, on the Subject of Methodism and Missions; with Remarks on the Influence of Reviews, in general, on Morals and Happiness.*
By John Styles. 8vo. London. 1809.

IN routing out a nest of consecrated cobblers, and in bringing to light such a perilous heap of trash as we were obliged to work through, in our articles upon the Methodists and Missionaries, we are generally conceived to have rendered an useful service to the cause of rational religion. Every one, however, at all acquainted with the true character of Methodism, must have known the extent of the abuse and misrepresentation to which we exposed ourselves in such a service. All this obloquy, however, we were very willing to encounter, from our conviction of the necessity of exposing and correcting the growing evil of fanaticism. In spite of all misrepresentation, we have ever been, and ever shall be, the sincere friends of sober and rational Christianity. We are quite ready, if any fair opportunity occur, to defend it, to the best of our ability, from the tiger-spring of infidelity; and we are quite determined, if we can prevent such an evil, that it shall not be eaten up by the raily and numerous vermin of Methodism. For this purpose, we shall proceed to make a few short remarks upon the sacred and silly gentleman before us,—not, certainly, because we feel any sort of anxiety as to the effect of his strictures on our own credit or reputation, but because his direct and articulate defence of the principles and practices which we have condemned, affords us the fairest opportunity of exposing, still more clearly, both the extravagance and the danger of these popular sectaries.

These very impudent people have one ruling canon, which pervades every thing they say and do. *Whoever is unfriendly to Methodism, is an infidel and an atheist.* This reasonable and amiable maxim, repeated in every form of dulness, and varied in every attitude of malignity, is the sam and substance of Mr Styles's pamphlet. Whoever wishes to rescue religion from the hands of didactic artisans,—whoever prefers a respectable clergyman for his teacher, to a delirious mechanic;—whoever wishes to keep the intervals between churches and lunatic asylums as wide as possible,—all such men, in the estimation of Mr Styles, are nothing better than open or concealed enemies of Christianity. His catechism is very simple. In what hoy do you navigate? By what shoemaker or carpenter are you instructed? What miracles have you to relate? Do you think it sinful to reduce Providence to an alternative? &c. &c. &c. Now, if we were to content ourselves with using to Mr Styles, while he is dealing about his imputations of infidelity, the uncourtly language which

which is sometimes applied to those who are little curious about truth or falsehood, what Methodist would think the worse of him for such an attack? Who is there among them that would not glory to lie for the tabernacle? Who that would not believe he was pleasing his Maker, by sacrificing truth, justice and common sense, to the interests of his own little chapel, and his own deranged instructor? Something more than contradiction or confutation, therefore, is necessary to discredit those charitable dogmatists, and to diminish their pernicious influence;—and the first accusation against us is, that we have endeavoured to add ridicule to reasoning.

We are a good deal amused, indeed, with the extreme disrelish which Mr John Styles exhibits to the humour and pleasantry with which he admits the Methodists to have been attacked; but Mr John Styles should remember, that it is not the practice with destroyers of vermin to allow the little victims a *respite* upon the weapons used against them. If this were otherwise, we should have one set of vermin banishing small-tooth combs; another protesting against mouse-traps; a third prohibiting the finger and thumb; a fourth exclaiming against the intolerable infamy of using soap and water. It is impossible, however, to listen to such pleas. They must all be caught, killed and cracked, in the manner, and by the instruments which are found most efficacious to their destruction; and the more they cry out, the greater plainly is the skill used against them. We are convinced a little laughter will do them more harm than all the arguments in the world. Such men as the author before us cannot understand when they are outargued; but he has given us a specimen, from his irritability, that he fully comprehends when he has become the object of universal contempt and derision. We agree with him, that ridicule is not exactly the weapon to be used in matters of religion; but the use of it is excusable, when there is no other which can make fools tremble. Besides, he should remember the particular sort of ridicule we have used, which is nothing more than accurate quotation from the Methodists themselves. It is true, that this is the most severe and cutting ridicule to which we could have had recourse; but, whose fault is that?

Nothing can be more disingenuous than the attacks Mr Styles has made upon us for our use of Scripture language. *Light and grace* are certainly terms of Scripture. It is not to the words themselves that any ridicule can ever attach. It is from the proposterous application of those words, in the mouths of the most arrogant and ignorant of human beings;—it is from their use in the most trivial, low, and familiar scenes of life;—it is from the illiterate and ungrammatical prelacy of Mr John Styles, that any
these

tinge of ridicule ever is or ever can be imparted to the sacred language of Scripture.

We admit also, with this gentleman, that it would certainly convince the most vulgar and contracted heart, to ridicule any religious opinions, methodistical or otherwise, because they were the opinions of the poor, and were conveyed in the language of the poor. But are we to respect the poor, when they wish to step out of their province, and become the teachers of the land?—when men, whose proper ‘talk is of bullocks,’ pretend to have wisdom and understanding, is it not lawful to tell them they have none? An ironmonger is a very respectable man, so long as he is merely an ironmonger,—an admirable man if he is a religious ironmonger; but a great blockhead, if he sets up for a bishop or a dean, and lectures upon theology. It is not the poor we have attacked,—but the writing poor, the publishing poor,—the limited arrogance which mistakes its own trumpery sell for the world: nor have we attacked them for want of talent, but for want of modesty, want of sense, and want of true rational religion,—for every fault which Mr John Styles defends and exemplifies.

It is scarcely possible to reduce the drunken declamations of Methodism to a point, to grasp the wriggling lubricity of these cunning animals, and to fix them in one position. We have said, in our review of the Methodists, that it is extremely wrong to suppose that Providence interferes with special and extraordinary judgments on every trifling occasion of life; that to represent an innkeeper killed for preventing a Methodist meeting, or loud claps of thunder rattling along the heavens, merely to hint to Mr Scott that he was not to preach at a particular tabernacle in Oxford-road, appeared to us to be blasphemous and mischievous nonsense. With great events, which change the destiny of mankind, we might suppose such interference, the discovery of which, upon every trifling occasion, we considered to be pregnant with very mischievous consequences.—To all which Mr Styles replies, that, with Providence, nothing is great, or nothing little,—nothing difficult, or nothing easy; that a worm and a whale are equal in the estimation of a Supreme Being.—But did any human being but a Methodist, and a third or fourth-rate Methodist, ever make such a reply to such an argument? We are not talking of what is great or important to Providence, but to us. The creation of a worm or a whale, a Newton or a Styles, are tasks equally easy to Omnipotence. But are they, in their results, equally important to us? The lightning may as easily strike the head of the French emperor, as of an innocent cottager; but we are surely neither impious or obscure, when we say, that one would be an important interference of Providence, and the other comparatively not so. But it is a loss of time to reply to such trash; it pre-
sents

sents no stimulus of difficulty to us; nor would it offer any of novelty to our readers.

'To our attack upon the melancholy tendency of Methodism, Mr Styles replies, 'That a man must have studied in the *schools of Hume, Voltaire, and Kotzebue*, who can plead in behalf of the theatre; that, at fashionable ball-rooms and assemblies, seduction is drawn out to a system; that dancing excites the fever of the passions, and raises a delirium too often fatal to innocence and peace; and that, for the poor, instead of the common rough amusements to which they are now addicted, there remain the simple beauties of nature, the gay colours, and scented perfumes of the earth.' These are the blessings which the common people have to expect from their Methodistical instructors. They are pilfered of all their money,—shut out from all their dances and country wakes,—and are then sent penniless into the fields, to gaze on the clouds, and smell to dandelions!

Against the orthodox clergy of all descriptions, our sour devotee proclaims, as was to have been expected, the most implacable war,—declaring, that, '*in one century, they would have obliterated all the remaining practical religion in the church, had it not been for this new sect, every where spoken against.*' Undoubtedly, the distinction of mankind into godly and ungodly—if by godly is really meant those who apply religion to the extinction of bad passions—would be highly desirable. But when, by that word, is only intended a sect more desirous of possessing the appellation, than of deserving it,—when, under that term, are comprehended thousands of canting hypocrites and raving enthusiasts—men despicable from their ignorance, and formidable from their madness,—the distinction may hereafter prove to be truly terrific; and a dynasty of fools may again sweep away both church and state in one hideous ruin. There may be, at present, some very respectable men at the head of these maniacs, who would insanify them with some degree of prudence, and keep them only half mad, if they could. But this won't do; Bedlam will break loose, and overpower its keepers. If the preacher sees visions, and has visitations, the clerk will come next, and then the congregation: every man will be his own prophet, and dream dreams for himself: the competition in extravagance will be hot and lively, and the whole island a receptacle for incurables. There is, at this moment, a man in London who prays for what garments he wants, and finds them next morning in his room, tight and fitting. This man, as might be expected, gains between two and three thousand a year from the common people, by preaching. Anna, the prophetess, encamps in the woods of America with thirteen or fourteen thousand followers, and has visits every night from the prophet *Elijah*. *Joanna*

anna Southcote raises the dead, &c. &c. Mr Styles will call us atheists, and disciples of the French school, for what we are about to say; but it is our decided opinion, that there is some fraud in the prophetic visit; and it is but too probable, that the clothes are merely human, and the man measured for them in the common way. When such blasphemous deceptions are practised upon mankind, how can remonstrance be misplaced, or exposure mischievous? If the choice rested with us, we should say,—give us back our wolves again,—restore our Danish invaders,—curse us with any evil, but the evil of a canting, deluded, and Methodistical populace. Wherever Methodism extends its baneful influence, the character of the English people is constantly changed by it. Boldness and rough honesty are broken down into meanness, prevarication, and fraud.

While Mr Styles is so severe upon the indolence of the Church, he should recollect that his Methodists are the ex-party; that it is not in human nature, that any persons who quietly possess power, can be as active as those who are pursuing it. The fair way to state the merit of the two parties is, to estimate what the exertions of the lacrymal and suspicious clergy would be, if they stepped into the endowments of their competitors. The moment they ceased to be paid by the groan,—the instant that Easter offerings no longer depended upon jumping and convulsions,—Mr Styles may assure himself, that the character of his darling preachers would be totally changed; their bodies would become quiet, and their minds reasonable.

It is not true, as this bad writer is perpetually saying, that the world hates piety. That modest and unobtrusive piety, which fills the heart with all human charities, and makes a man gentle to others, and severe to himself, is an object of universal love and veneration. But mankind hate the lust of power, when it is veiled under the garb of piety;—they hate canting and hypocrisy;—they hate advertisers and quacks in piety;—they do not choose to be insulted;—they love to tear folly and impudence from that altar, which should only be a sanctuary for the wretched and the good.

Having concluded his defence of Methodism, this fanatical writer opens upon us his Missionary battery, firing away with the most incessant fury, and calling names, all the time, as loud as lungs accustomed to the eloquence of the tub usually vociferate. In speaking of the cruelties which their religion entails upon the Hindoos, Mr Styles is peculiarly severe upon us for not being more shocked at their piercing their limbs with *kimes*. This is rather an unfair mode of alarming his readers with the idea of some unknown instrument. He represents himself as having paid considerable attention to the manners and customs of the Hindoos;

doos ; and, therefore, the peculiar stress he lays upon this instrument, is naturally calculated to produce, in the minds of the humane, a great degree of mysterious terror. A drawing of the *kime* was imperiously called for ; and the want of it is a subtle evasion, for which Mr Styles is fairly accountable. As he has been silent on this subject, it is for us to explain the plan and nature of this terrible and unknown piece of mechanism. A *kime*, then, is neither more nor less than a false print in the *Edinburgh Review* for a *knife* ; and from this blunder of the printer has Mr Styles manufactured this Dædalean instrument of torture, called a *kime* ! We were at first nearly persuaded by his arguments against *kimes* ;—we grew frightened ;—we stated to ourselves the horror of not sending missionaries to a nation which used *kimes* ;—we were struck with the nice and accurate information of the *Tabernacle* upon this important subject :—But we looked in the errata, and found Mr Styles to be always Mr Styles,—always cut off from every hope of mercy, and remaining for ever himself.

Mr Styles is right in saying we have abolished many practices of the Hindoos since the establishment of our empire ; but then we have always consulted the Bramins, whether or not such practices were conformable to their religion ; and it is upon the authority of their condemnation, that we have proceeded to abolition.

To the whole of Mr Styles's observations upon the introduction of Christianity into India, we have one short answer :—it is not Christianity which is introduced there, but the debased mummeries and nonsense of Methodists, which has little more to do with the Christian religion, than it has to do with the religion of China. We would as soon consent, that *Bredum* and *Solomon* should carry the medical art of Europe into India, as that Mr Styles and his Anabaptists should give to the Eastern World their notions of our religion. We send men of the highest character for the administration of justice and the regulation of trade ;—nay, we take great pains to impress upon the minds of the natives the highest ideas of our arts and manufactures, by laying before them the finest specimens of our skill and ingenuity. Why, then, are common sense and decency to be forgotten in religion alone ? and so foolish a set of men allowed to engage themselves in this occupation, that the natives almost instinctively duck and pelt them ? But the missionaries, we are told, have mastered the languages of the East. They may also, for ought we know, in the same time, have learnt perspective astronomy, or any thing else. What is all this to us ? Our charge is, that they want sense, conduct and sound religion ; and that, if they are not watched, the throat of every European in India will be cut :—

the answer to which is, that their progress in languages is truly astonishing ! If they expose us to imminent peril, what matters it if they have every virtue under heaven ? We are not writing dissertations upon the intellect of Brother Carey, but stating his character so far as it concerns us, and caring for it no further. But these pious gentlemen care nothing about the loss of the country. The plan, it seems, is this.—We are to educate India in Christianity, as a parent does his child ; and when it is perfect in its catechism, then to pack up, quit it entirely, and leave it to its own management. This is the evangelical project for separating a colony from the parent country. They see nothing of the bloodshed, and massacres and devastations, nor of the speeches in Parliament, squandered millions, fruitless expeditions, jobs and pensions, with which the loss of our Indian possessions would necessarily be accompanied ; nor will they see that these consequences could arise from the *attempt*, and not from the completion of their scheme of conversion. We should be swept from the peninsula by Pagan zealots ; and should lose, among other things, all chance of ever really converting them.

What is the use, too, of telling us what these men endure ? Suffering is not a merit, but only useful suffering. Prove to us that they are fit men, doing a fit thing, and we are ready to praise the missionaries ; but it gives us no pleasure to hear that a man has walked a thousand miles with peas in his shoes, unless we know why, and wherefore, and to what good purpose he has done it.

But these men, it is urged, foolish and extravagant as they are, may be very useful precursors of the established clergy. This is much as if a regular physician should send a quack doctor before him, and say, do you go and look after this disease for a day or two, and ply the patient well with your nostrums, and then I will step in and complete the cure ;—a more notable expedient we have seldom heard of. Its patrons forget that these self-ordained ministers, with Mr John Styles at their head, abominate the established clergy ten thousand times more than they do Pagans, who cut themselves with cruel *kimes*. The efforts of these precursors would be directed with infinitely more zeal to make the Hindoos disbelieve in Bishops, than to make them believe in Christ. The darling passion in the soul of every missionary is, not to teach the great leading truths of the Christian faith, but to enforce the little paltry modification and distinction which he first taught from his own tub. And then what a way of teaching Christianity is this ! There are five sects, if not six, now employed as missionaries, every one instructing the Hindoos in their own particular method of interpreting the Scriptures ; and when these

these have completely succeeded, the Church of England is to step in, and convert them all over again to its own doctrines. There is, indeed, a very fine varnish of probability over this ingenious and plausible scheme. Mr John Styles, however, would much rather see a *kime* in the flesh of an Hindoo, than the hand of a Bishop on his head.

The missionaries complain of intolerance. A weasel might as well complain of intolerance when he is throttled for sucking eggs. Toleration for their own opinions,—toleration for their domestic worship, for their private groans and convulsions, they possess in the fullest extent; but who ever heard of toleration for intolerance? who ever before heard men cry out that they were persecuted, because they might not insult the religion, shock the feelings, irritate the passions of their fellow-creatures, and throw a whole colony into bloodshed and confusion? We did not say that a man was not an object of pity, who tormented himself from a sense of duty, but that he was not so great an object of pity as one equally tormented by the tyranny of another, and without any sense of duty to support him. Let Mr Styles first inflict forty lashes upon himself, then let him allow an Edinburgh Reviewer to give him forty more,—he will find no comparison between the two flagellations.

These men talk of the loss of our possessions in India, as if it made the argument against them only more or less strong; whereas, in our estimation, it makes the argument against them conclusive, and shuts up the case. Two men possess a cow, and they quarrel violently how they shall manage this cow. They will surely both of them (if they have a particle of common sense) agree, that there is an absolute necessity for preventing the cow from running away. It is not only the loss of India, that is in question,—but, how will it be lost?—by the massacre of ten or twenty thousand English, by the blood of our sons and brothers, who have been toiling so many years to return to their native country. But what is all this to a ferocious Methodist. What care Brothers *Barrel* and *Ringletub* for us and our colonies? If it were possible to invent a method by which a few men sent from a distant country could hold such masses of people as the Hindoos in subjection, that method would be the institution of *castes*. There is no institution which can so effectually curb the ambition of genius, reconcile the individual more completely to his station, and reduce the varieties of human character to such a state of insipid and monotonous tameness; and yet the religion which destroys castes is said to render our empire in India more certain! It may be our duty to make the Hindoos, Christians,—that is another argument: but, that we shall by so doing strengthen our empire,

we

we utterly deny. What signifies identity of religion to a question of this kind? Diversity of bodily colour and of language would soon overpower this consideration. Make the Hindoos enterprising, active and reasonable as yourselves,—destroy the eternal track in which they have moved for ages,—and, in a moment, they would sweep you off the face of the earth. Let us ask, too, if the Bible is universally diffused in Hindostan, what must be the astonishment of the natives to find that we are forbidden to rob, murder and steal,—we who, in fifty years, have extended our empire from a few acres about Madras over the whole peninsula, and sixty millions of people, and exemplified in our public conduct every crime of which human nature is capable. What matchless impudence to follow up such practice with such precepts! If we have common prudence, let us keep the gospel at home, and tell them that Machiavel is our prophet, and the god of the Manicheans our god.

There is nothing which disgusts us more, than the familiarity which these impious coxcombs affect with the ways and designs of Providence. Every man, now-a-days, is an *Amos* or a *Malachi*. One rushes out of his chambers, and tells us we are beaten by the French, because we do not abolish the slave trade. Another assures us, that we have no chance of victory till India is evangelized. The new Christians are now come to speak of the ways of their Creator with as much confidence as they would of the plans of an earthly ruler. We remember when the ways of God to man were gazed upon with trembling humility,—when they were called inscrutable,—when piety looked to another scene of existence for the true explanation of this ambiguous and distressing world. We were taught in our childhood that this was true religion; but it turns out now to be nothing but atheism and infidelity. If any thing could surprise us from the pen of a Methodist, we should be truly surprised at the very irreligious and presumptuous answer which Mr Styles makes to some of our arguments. Our title to one of the anecdotes from the Methodist Magazine is as follows—‘*A Sinner punished—a Bee the instrument;*’ to which Mr Styles replies, that we might as well ridicule the Scriptures, by relating their contents in the same ludicrous manner. *An interference with respect to a travelling Jew; blindness the consequence. Acts, the ninth chapter, and first nine verses. The account of Paul’s conversion, &c. &c. &c. page 38.* But does Mr Styles forget, that the one is a shameless falsehood, introduced to sell a twopenny book, and the other a miracle, recorded by inspired writers? In the same manner, when we express our surprise that sixty millions of Hindoos should be converted by four men and sixteen guineas, he asks, what would have become of Christianity

Christianity if the twelve Apostles had argued in the same way? It is impossible to make this infatuated gentleman understand that the lies of the Evangelical Magazine are not the miracles of Scripture; and that the Baptist Missionaries are not the Apostles. He seriously expects that we should speak of Brother Carey as we would speak of St. Paul; and treat with an equal respect the miracles of the Magazine and the Gospel.

Mr Styles knows very well that we have never said, because a nation has present happiness, that it can therefore dispense with immortal happiness; but we have said, that, where of two nations both cannot be made Christians, it is more the duty of a Missionary to convert the one which is exposed to every evil of barbarism, than the other, possessing every blessing of civilization. Our argument is merely comparative: Mr Styles must have known it to be so;—But who does not love the Tabernacle better than truth? When the tenacity of the Hindoos on the subject of their religion is adduced as a reason against the success of the missions, the friends to this undertaking are always fond of reminding us how patiently the Hindoos submitted to the religious persecution and butchery of Tippoo. The inference from such citations is truly alarming. It is the imperious duty of Government to watch some of these men most narrowly. There is nothing of which they are not capable. And what, after all, did Tippoo effect in the way of conversion? How many Mahometans did he make? There was all the carnage of Medea's Kettle, and none of the transformation. He deprived multitudes of Hindoos of their caste, indeed; and cut them off from all the benefits of their religion. That he did, and we may do, by violence: but, did he make Mahomedans,—or shall we make Christians? This, however, it seems, is a matter of pleasantry. To make a poor Hindoo hateful to himself and his kindred, and to fix a curse upon him to the end of his days!—we have no doubt but that this is very entertaining; and particularly to the friends of toleration. But our ideas of comedy have been formed in another school. We are dull enough to think, too, that it is more innocent to exile pigs, than to offend conscience, and destroy human happiness. The scheme of baptizing with beef broth is about as brutal and preposterous, as the assertion that you may vilify the gods and priests of the Hindoos with safety, provided you do not meddle with their turbans and toupees, (which are cherished solely on a principle of religion), is silly and contemptible. After all, if the Mahometan did persecute the Hindoo with impunity, is that any precedent of safety to a government that offends every feeling both of Mahometan and Hindoo at the same time? You have a tiger and a buffalo in the same enclosure; and the tiger

drives the buffalo before him ;—is it therefore prudent in *you* to do that which will irritate them both, and bring their united strength upon you ?

In answer to all the low malignity of this author, we have only to reply, that we are, as we always have been, sincere friends to the conversion of the Hindoos. We admit the Hindoo religion to be full of follies, and full of enormities ;—we think conversion a great duty ; and should think it, if it could be effected, a great blessing : but our opinion of the Missionaries and of their employer is such, that we most firmly believe, in less than twenty years, for the conversion of a few degraded wretches, who would be neither Methodists nor Hindoos, they would infallibly produce the massacre of every European in India ; * the loss of our settlements ; and consequently of the chance of that slow, solid, and temperate introduction of Christianity, which the superiority of the European character may ultimately effect in the Eastern world. The Board of Controul (all Atheists, and disciples of Voltaire, of course) are so entirely of our way of thinking, that the most peremptory orders have been issued to send all the missionaries home upon the slightest appearance of disturbance. Those who have sons and brothers in India may now sleep in peace. Upon the transmission of this order, Mr Styles is said to have destroyed himself with a *kime*.

ART. IV. *Agriculture the Source of the Wealth of Britain: A Reply to the Objections urged by Mr Mill, the Edinburgh Reviewers and others, against the Doctrines of the Pamphlet, entitled, " Britain independent of Commerce ;" with Remarks on the Criticism of the Monthly Reviewers upon that Work.* By W. Spence, F. L. S. 8vo. London. 1808.

MR SPENCE is an acute man ; but, unfortunately, quite ignorant of the principles of political economy. He detects, with much alacrity, some palpable blunders of his antagonists ; and then proceeds, with the most exemplary self-complacency, to propound as new discoveries, certain truths which no one at all acquainted with the subject ever thought of disputing ; and to repeat certain fallacies which had been completely refuted and exposed more than thirty years ago. It is really provoking to find how

* Every opponent says, of Major Scott's book, ' What a dangerous book ! the arrival of it at Calcutta may throw the whole Indian Empire into confusion ; ' and yet these are the people whose religious prejudices may be insulted with impunity !

how very slowly truth and sound reason make their way, even among the reading classes of the community; and how incredibly ignorant those who undertake to instruct others frequently are, of what has been done by their predecessors. If the persons who have bought five editions of Mr Spence's pamphlet could only be persuaded to look into the *Wealth of Nations*, they would need few cautions of ours; and if Mr Spence would take the trouble of understanding that celebrated work, we have so good an opinion of his sagacity, as to be persuaded, that he would either cease to write upon economical subjects, or write to retract and atone for his first publications. Notwithstanding the soundness of the foundation which was laid for this science, in the great work we have just mentioned, and the large share of public attention which it has ever since received, it is lamentable to think, that its history has hitherto consisted in the alternation of opposite errors; and that one fallacy has only been discredited, in order to make room for another. At one time, the whole riches of a nation were supposed to consist in its specie; and the politicians of that day dealt out their predictions of prosperity, or of ruin, according as circumstances seemed to indicate the ebb or the flow of that golden flood. This opinion being exploded, it has since been maintained, that the coin which circulates in a nation forms no part of its riches. By one class of reasoners, it has been contended, that paper currency is the source of incalculable evils; while it is boldly asserted by another hand, that the precious metals are of no use whatever, and that gold and silver should never enter into our circulation: and, in like manner, while the benefits of foreign trade are very absurdly exaggerated by shortsighted politicians, Mr Spence and others, in their zeal to run down this popular notion, have overlooked all its peculiar advantages.

The threatened exclusion of our trade from the whole continent of Europe, seems first to have drawn this author's attention to the subject; and he informs his readers, that, from the very beginning, he contemplated that event without any of that dismay which was so generally felt by his countrymen,—being firmly convinced, that the prosperity of Britain was perfectly compatible with the ruin of her foreign trade. He accordingly treated the prevailing alarms with a considerable degree of ridicule; and, in pure compassion to the weakness and folly of his fellow-citizens, and with a view to communicate to others the same happy serenity of mind which he himself possessed, ventured upon his first publication. Its success, he informs us, has even exceeded his expectation,—many of those who were brooding over the approaching ruin of their country, having derived great consolation from the display which was there made of its internal resources.

After having very attentively considered both Mr Spence's publications, we are truly sorry to say, that we are far from participating in those feelings of unconcern with which, he informs us, he has been long accustomed to view the commercial hostility of our enemy. His reasonings, indeed, appear to us to be so exceedingly superficial, and his notions respecting commerce to be so fundamentally and obviously erroneous, as to need only to be clearly stated to deprive them of all power of delusion. With regard to his great practical conclusion, indeed, for the sake of which the whole work is written, he appears to us to have fallen into such gross and palpable contradictions, that although we were to admit the truth of all his abstract doctrines, it is evident that no one of his conclusions would follow. In the treatise before us, he admits distinctly, that the want of foreign trade would deprive us of many of our accustomed conveniences and enjoyments; and that many of those commodities, which are brought from abroad, could not be procured so easily or so cheaply, by any exertion of industry at home. He acknowledges, that a system of self-denial will be necessary, in case our intercourse with foreign countries should be interrupted; and he expressly mentions, that the 'piled warehouses, and unemployed hands,' of the manufacturers of Leeds, Manchester and Birmingham, are the immediate consequences of the enemy's hostile decrees. After all these admissions, it is truly surprising to us, that Mr Spence should venture to assert, that we are independent of foreign commerce. In what respect, it may be asked, are we independent? Is it not evident, from his own account of the matter, that we are dependent upon it for many comforts and conveniences;—that the industry of the country can be much more profitably exerted when we exchange its surplus produce for the surplus produce of other nations;—and that owing to the loss of our foreign trade, our merchants are distressed with a load of unsaleable commodities, and are forced to discharge their workmen, either to starve, or to trust to chance, for a precarious subsistence? What sort of independence, then, is it that Mr Spence speaks of? or in what respect do his opinions differ from those of the persons whom he calls his antagonists? Did any body ever pretend that we could not have bread, beer, or potatoes, without foreign trade? or what other evils have ever been predicted from its destruction, than those which he has himself enumerated? If we add to the list the loss of the fixed capital embarked in that commerce, and the immediate misery and ruin which would fall on the persons who now derive their subsistence from it, we do not know where we could look for a more complete view of the evils of such an occurrence.

Independent, however, of the palpable inconsistencies into which

which Mr Spence has been betrayed in making the practical application of his doctrines, it certainly appears to us, that his whole hypothesis respecting commerce is founded in error. In our observations on his first publication, we stated that the chief advantages of commerce consisted in that improvement of manufacturing industry which it necessarily produced, and in the consequent cheapness of all manufactured commodities. This statement, however, having been rather misunderstood, we shall now take an opportunity of explaining the principle there alluded to, somewhat more at large; and as it is to this view of the subject that we chiefly trust for a refutation of Mr Spence's doctrines, we shall premise a short abstract of his argument, separating it of course from all the extraneous topics which he has mingled in the discussion.

It is the essential characteristic of agricultural industry, according to Mr Spence, to *create* wealth; all that produce which remains after paying the cultivators employed in raising it, being a clear addition to what is already in the country,—while the effect of manufacturing industry is only to modify the rude produce already in existence, and to fit it for use; in which process, the food consumed by the workman must, it is said, be equal to the value which he adds by his industry to the raw material; so that commerce and manufactures can in no case directly augment the wealth of a nation. Their great utility consists in realizing in a more durable substance the produce of the soil, and in indirectly encouraging agriculture, by affording a greater choice of luxuries and conveniences, on which its surplus produce, to any extent, may be expended. It may be supposed, that the profit gained upon manufactures is an independent source of wealth; but it is evident, that this profit, however beneficial to the individual, is acquired at the expense of others; the gain of the seller being evidently the loss of the buyer. A coach which cost thirty quarters of corn may be sold for sixty, in which case the coachmaker will gain a very great profit; but, is it not plain that this profit is acquired at the expense of the purchaser, and that the nation would be equally rich, although the coach had been sold for its original cost? A revenue is here transferred, but not created. It is difficult then to conceive what peculiar advantages we derive from our commercial intercourse with other countries, since the produce of our domestic manufactures would afford ample encouragement to our agriculture, and since this appears to be the only benefit which can in any case be derived from commerce. The peculiar nature of the foreign trade which Britain carries on, renders its loss also of less consequence; as her exports consist generally of durable commodities, for which she receives in return

such articles as tea, wine, sugar, tobacco, silk, &c.—which, being designed for almost immediate consumption, are a source of loss rather than of profit; and all of which, besides, or substitutes for them, could be produced at home, at a small additional expense. On these grounds, Mr Spence concludes, that the wealth of Britain has been chiefly derived from her agriculture, and from her domestic industry; and that all the plans of her enemies for her ruin, will be perfectly nugatory, so long as these sources of her prosperity remain unimpaired.

The whole of this statement, it appears to us, is founded in error; and every separate branch of the argument involves a separate fallacy. In the *first* place, it is absurd to say that agriculture *creates* wealth; or that it produces it in a different manner from any *other* manufacture. Man never creates. The quantity of matter in the universe is always the same. All that he does, is to take advantage of its physical properties, to arrange or to mould it in such a way as to make it more subservient to his use or gratification than it was before. This process may be called manufacturing: and agriculture, it is obvious, is just as much a manufacture as distillation or carpentry. The husbandman takes advantage of the known properties of seed, water, air, and perhaps other elements, to arrange them, by a labour seconded by nature, in the form of grain, turnips, &c. The distiller takes advantage nearly of the same elements to arrange them in the form of spirits; and the carpenter takes advantage of the physical properties of iron and timber, to arrange certain masses of the latter in the form of tables, chairs, &c. None of these labourers create any thing; and all of them effect their purpose, by availing themselves of the physical properties of the substances they work upon. The readers who may wish to see this principle (which is the direct antidote to the radical error of the economists) more fully developed, will find it at p. 358 of our IVth volume. In the mean time, we may take it for granted that Mr Spence, by overlooking it, has built the whole of his argument upon a rotten foundation. The superstructure, however, could not have stood anywhere.

In estimating the advantages of commerce merely by the profit or loss of the individuals concerned in a particular transaction, it is evident, that Mr Spence reasons on very narrow and imperfect views of the subject. If commerce, by improving manufacturing industry, reduces the price of manufactures, it clearly benefits all those by whom manufactures are consumed. We endeavoured, in our review of Mr Spence's former publication, to confirm this view of the subject, by a reference to his own illustration of a coach, in the constructing of which fifty quarters of corn were supposed to be expended; but which could not possibly have been
made,

made, in a lower stage of manufacturing industry, for double the quantity. The benefit of manufactures, in this particular case, consists, therefore, in making the coach *cheaper to the consumer*, and in thus allowing him to expend the difference between its present and its former price on other enjoyments. His wealth, therefore, is in reality increased; inasmuch as an increase of wealth consists in the increased command over the luxuries and conveniencies of life. Mr Spence, it is very remarkable, does not dispute that this is the effect of commerce; but he maintains, that it is produced *indirectly*. In point of fact, it is produced just as directly as wealth is ever produced. But, if it be admitted that it is produced, we care very little what verbal qualification Mr Spence may annex to his concession. There is obviously an end to his argument against the utility of manufactures. It is proper, however, to open up this important subject a little more fully.

It is by assigning to each individual his peculiar task, in the great work of providing for the wants of the society to which he belongs, that men acquire that dexterity and skill, which enable them, with the same quantity of labour, to produce a greater return of the luxuries and conveniences of life. The more minutely labour is subdivided, the greater dexterity will each labourer acquire, and the more will society profit from his labour. It is perhaps as much from this general improvement in the management of its industry, as from its progress in agriculture, that a nation grows rich; and commerce is absolutely necessary to carry into effect that great arrangement, by which all the individuals of an extensive country, being made to labour in concert, are afterwards enabled to exchange with each other the surplus produce of their industry, and thus to distribute to every individual the share which he is entitled to receive out of the general stock. The greater the number of those who are joined together in this partnership of labour and enjoyment, the more valuable will be the produce of their industry. The joint labour of a thousand individuals will produce a much greater quantity of commodities, than if each was endeavouring to supply his wants by his own separate efforts. In the same manner, the inhabitants of a great country will derive much greater advantages from their combined exertions, than if they were divided into a variety of independent communities, each pursuing its own separate plans of industry and improvement. Upon the same principle, a variety of nations joined together in one great mercantile confederacy, ministering to each other's enjoyments by a free and liberal intercourse, will be enabled to arrange their industry upon a still more enlarged scale of convenience. On the other hand, a country shut up from all intercourse with the rest of the world, and, consequently, de-

pending on its own internal resources for the supply of its necessities, will be forced to prosecute certain modes of industry, in spite of every disadvantage of situation or of soil; and its commerce being confined to the market of its own territory, the quantity of any commodity which can be either produced or manufactured, can never exceed what is sufficient to supply its internal consumption. Its manufactures, therefore, can never grow to that extent to which they would soon expand, if they were allowed to adapt themselves to a wider market; and the principle of the division of labour can never be so extensively acted upon. In the management also of that great branch of internal industry—the cultivation of the soil, a country which has no outlet for its surplus produce, must be subjected to great disadvantages, as it must consider, not what it can *most abundantly produce*, but what it can *most certainly consume*. Mr Spence seems perfectly aware of this objection to his theory; although he does not appear to perceive that it is quite conclusive against it. Accordingly, he very gravely informs us, that foreign luxuries, such as wine, sugar, &c. could be produced in Britain, ‘but not so cheaply as they could be brought from other countries!’ And yet, after this admission, he asserts that Britain is independent of commerce; although it is manifest, that it is by commerce alone that we can obtain many things essential to our comfort; and that, without it, we should be reduced to the miserable condition of working much harder, and deriving less fruit from our labour.

It is hardly necessary to point out to our readers how much more slowly a country must increase in opulence and improvement, while it can neither freely avail itself of the natural advantages of its soil, nor of the industry of its inhabitants, than when the market of the world is thrown open to the enterprize of its merchants. When nations enjoy a complete freedom of commercial intercourse, they are not fettered, in the management of their industry, by any narrow considerations of their own particular wants. They consider, not so much what they want themselves, as what they can produce in greatest plenty and perfection; and, what they cannot consume, is exported in exchange for such luxuries or conveniences as can be produced or manufactured with greater advantage in other countries. In these circumstances, each nation will be enabled to pursue such plans of industry as seem best adapted to its circumstances, or to the extent of its capital. Its manufactures being enlarged for the supply of the extensive market of the world, the most ample scope will be found for the exercise of skill and economy, in the distribution of the labour which they set in motion. None will be established but such as can be prosecuted with peculiar advantages; and no efforts will be made to
force

force a scanty produce from an unfavourable soil. In this, then, consists the great and peculiar benefit of commerce, that it allows a nation to make the best possible use, both of its soil and of its industry; and to draw from the most distant regions the supply of its wants. It collects into one spot all the rarest luxuries of the most favoured countries,—all the choicest productions of nature and of art; thus affording new facilities either for accumulation or for enjoyment.

It appears, therefore, that commerce contributes directly to augment the wealth of a nation, by increasing its command over all the conveniences and comforts of life; and that Mr Spence, in framing his theory, has overlooked the important effects which result to society from the division of labour, and the consequent improvement of manufacturing industry. Not only will a nation lose all those advantages by losing any part of its trade, either foreign or domestic, but it will be subjected to great additional inconvenience, by having those markets shut against it, to which the general plan of its commerce had been gradually accommodated. The degree of inconvenience will be greater or smaller, indeed, according as the scheme of its domestic industry is more or less intimately interwoven with its foreign trade. In a vast and populous country like China, with every diversity of soil and climate,—abounding with the most various luxuries, and depending, consequently, very little on the surplus produce of other states,—the loss of foreign trade would be very little felt. But a nation which possesses a more confined territory, incapable of supplying its inhabitants with the conveniences and luxuries which they require, must depend on its connexion with other countries for its most essential comforts; and it must always, on this account, prepare a surplus of manufactured produce for foreign sale. Considerable embarrassment will consequently be produced, by any interruption in its accustomed intercourse with those countries to which its manufactures are usually exported. The domestic commerce of Britain is very much accommodated to the supply of foreign markets. With her narrow territory, her overflowing capital, and the skill and talent of her numerous artizans, foreign trade is eminently beneficial to her, both as it contributes to increase her enjoyments, and to give employment to her growing capital: and, accordingly, all her great manufacturing towns, such as Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Sheffield, Glasgow; &c. employ a great part of their industry in preparing manufactures for exportation. If it were possible, therefore, to exclude her commerce from all its accustomed markets, all that portion of her produce which was formerly sent abroad, and which brought back, in return, the productions of other countries, must now
remain

remain unsaleable at home ;—the consequence of which must be, the distress of her merchants, and the stagnation of her industry. Her commerce being confined to the supply of her own narrow market, the quantity of any commodity manufactured could never exceed what was sufficient for the internal consumption of the country. All those great manufactures, therefore, which had grown and flourished along with the extension of her commercial intercourse, and which depended on foreign markets for an outlet to their produce, must now decline ; great part of the capital and industry which they set in motion must be for a time rendered useless ; and must slowly, and with difficulty, force its way into new employments, for the purpose of providing those conveniences which could have been more cheaply brought from other countries. The whole frame of her commerce must thus be disjointed and broken up, in order to be newmodelled upon the diminutive scale of her own particular wants ; and, while society is holding this retrograde course, great misery must prevail. Merchants and manufacturers must be ruined,—labourers must be thrown idle,—and the dexterity and skill on which they depended for a subsistence, must be rendered for ever useless to them. The waste of capital will, at the same time, be enormous—all that wealth which is invested in the materials of the ruined manufactures being irrecoverably lost. Such must infallibly be the consequences, if the commerce of Britain, which has now extended itself over the whole extent of the globe, were suddenly forced back, and pent up by unnatural violence, within her own territory. Although Mr Spence seems perfectly aware of the extent of the mischief, yet he still maintains, with singular inconsistency, that we are independent of foreign commerce ; and gravely endeavours to show, what nobody ever doubted, that we would gradually be forced to accommodate our trade to the necessities of our situation,—that out of the wrecks of our former manufactures, new and more puny establishments would arise, suited to the narrow market to which they would hereafter be confined,—that the ruin would not be total,—that we might still retain a great part of our population,—and that the established order of society might still survive the shock of this commercial revolution. Such seems to be the sum and substance of his arguments ; and, truly, the topics seem to be judiciously selected for consoling our ruined merchants and starving manufacturers !

The perishable nature of the commodities we receive from other countries, furnishes Mr Spence with a separate argument against the utility of foreign commerce. We import, he observes, wine, rum, brandy, sugar, tobacco, and a variety of other luxuries, which, so far from enriching the country, rather tend to its impoverishment ;—we export, in return, hardware, woollens, and

variety of other manufactures, which endure for years, and are essential to the most useful purposes of life. What we import, therefore, is very quickly consumed; but we export substantial wealth. Now, this is neither more nor less than the old absurdity, so triumphantly ridiculed by Dr Smith, of expecting to grow rich by hoarding up pots and pans, and keeping clear of such perishable articles as bread and beef. Suppose one country abounded in metals, but was too barren to grow corn to feed its inhabitants, and another was extremely fertile in grain, but had neither iron nor brass in its entrails,—would it be improvident in the workers of metal to give their durable commodities for things so perishable as flour and biscuit? Or, would not the benefit be equal and reciprocal, if each got what it wanted, in exchange for what it had no use for? The durability of a commodity adds, no doubt, to its value, and is an element in the calculation by which that value is compared with that of other commodities. If a pan could only be put once on the fire, as a piece of bread can only be put once in the belly, less bread would be given in exchange for it in barter; and the reason why so much is now given for it, is, that it can be used so long and so often. After this is taken into account, however, the barter is again quite equal; and both parties must be gainers who are willingly parties to it. This, indeed, is an epitome and exemplification of the true nature and use of foreign commerce in general. It is not confined, of course, to things of prime necessity; but, wherever it exists, its benefits are as certain and substantial as in this imaginary case of a trade between the kingdom of iron and the kingdom of bread-corn.

We have thus endeavoured to expose this delusion respecting commerce; and we heartily wish, that, along with it, we could banish that spirit of paltry cavilling and verbal contention which seems to have so generally infected the present generation of writers on subjects of political economy. This trifling is not merely vexatious: it may mislead some; and it unquestionably tends to bring the science itself into discredit with ordinary readers. A writer may no doubt display considerable talent in supporting an absurd theory; but he ought to recollect, that those who wish to be made wiser by what they read, feel extremely little interest in any of those discussions in which ingenuity is matched against common sense. It is rather a remarkable circumstance, that this paradox about the inutility of foreign commerce, should have been spread abroad at a time when our merchants and manufacturers are actually suffering no inconsiderable evils from its interruption. It proves, indeed, that Mr Spence must have a very sincere confidence in the solidity of his doc-

trines, when he persists in sending them forth to meet, in the general distress of the country, their own practical refutation.

ART. V. *Dr Milner's Appeal to the Catholics of Ireland.* Dublin 1808.

A Letter to Lord Viscount Southwell. By J. B. Trotter, late private Secretary to the Right Honourable Charles James Fox London, 1809.

IN the discussion respecting the Catholic question, which took place in the summer of 1808, Lord Grenville in the House of Lords, and Messrs Grattan and Ponsonby in the Commons stated from authority, that the Catholics were willing to allow to the Crown a negative in the appointment of their Bishops. As the popular argument against the Catholics had always been, that the heads of their church were appointed by a foreign power, this permission, on their part, for the interference of the Crown, as it went to remedy the supposed pernicious effects of such foreign appointments, could not fail to be highly popular with, and acceptable to, the great body of the Protestants. It accordingly produced the happiest effects for the cause of Catholic emancipation; and gave to the question an air of triumphant success, which it had never before assumed.

In about six weeks, however, after this declaration in Parliament, there broke out in Ireland the most violent spirit of opposition to the proposed *veto* of the Crown in matters of religion. The lower order of priests caught the flame,—the rebel party in Ireland fanned it,—and the prelacy, against their better judgment, and, we believe, their sincere inclinations, were compelled to vote such a change in the constitution of their church to be inexpedient.

Before forming any judgment upon the point now at issue, it is necessary to bring the facts clearly into view. The manner in which the Irish prelates have hitherto been elected, is as follows. Upon * the vacancy of any titular Roman Catholic diocese in Ireland, the Chapter elects a Vicar Capitular to govern it *per interim*; and having what is termed the right of *postulation*, the Chapter also recommends three persons to the see of Rome, who are termed *dignus*, *dignior*, *dignissimus*. Confirmation, with the permission to be consecrated, is granted always to one of them, generally

* *Vide* Sir John Hipposly Coxe's Speech, p. 117.—A production containing more information upon the subject of the Catholics, than any other which we have seen; and which certainly ought to be made public.

generally to the first on the list, or the *dignissimus*. The titular Deans are also appointed by the Pope, on the recommendation of their diocesans; and, in this instance also, a papal bull is necessarily expedited. The right of postulation, nominally exercised by the Chapter, was in fact exercised by the Irish Bishops,—by a general agreement among whom, the list transmitted to Rome was always arranged.

This is an accurate statement of the manner in which the appointments to bishopricks in Ireland has always taken place; and upon this statement, it appears to us quite plain, that it is unjust to couple together the *veto* upon the prelacy with the privileges asked for by the Catholic laity. There is some sense in saying we must be protected from the interference of a foreign power, which foreign power may very probably be under the influence of France. But it turns out, that the interference of the Pope is only nominal, and that, in point of fact, he no more appoints the Catholic Bishops of Ireland, than he does the Protestant Bishops of England. Long custom has made the nomination of the first upon the list almost a matter of course; and if the Pope should choose, contrary to antient custom, to deviate from this, he has only his choice of two other persons,—neither of them originating in his own preference or opinion. How is it possible, under these circumstances, that any disloyal person (for that must be the danger) can be introduced by the Pope? The mischief, if any, must be done by the *Prelates themselves*,—in whom the nomination of the members of their own order is substantially vested. The *veto*, then, should be upon the presentation by the Prelates, and not upon the Pope's confirmation; and, if so, why is it more reasonable that the Crown should possess a rejecting power over the Bishops of the Catholics, than over the Elders of the Presbyterians, or the Rabbis of the Jews? The dread of foreign influence, indeed, is a good reason for the introduction of a *veto*; but when that influence, as in this case, is shown to be merely nominal, we are at a loss to justify such an exaction upon any other principle. The last twenty years has been a constant series of restitutions to the Catholics; the greater part from fear—some from generosity; and, yet, in no one single instance has this *veto* ever been made an indispensable condition. When the Catholics were permitted to purchase land, no mention was made of a *veto*;—when they were allowed to vote for members of Parliament, it was not required as a condition;—nor was it mentioned when innumerable penalties against their religion were repealed. Whence comes it, then, that the price is enhanced, exactly in proportion as the situation of the world, and the necessity for conciliation seem to recommend the most prompt and gratuitous concessions? and that we are selling civil and religious liberty

liberty for a price, when we have so often before granted them as a boon?

If the *veto* is not demanded upon the plea of Bishops being appointed by a foreign power, there can be no other principle on which it is at all just to require it. They entirely deny the interference of the Pope in any point but their church discipline; and are willing to deny it upon oath. And if (as has been irresistibly said so often before) you cannot believe a Catholic upon oath, all your penal laws may as well be repealed to-morrow; for their efficacy rests entirely upon the supposition, that a Catholic believes in oaths, and will not perjure himself.

If the mass of Catholics, therefore, are obstinate in refusing the *veto*, we certainly think it ought not to be insisted upon as the condition of emancipation. But we are really at a loss to say whether it is more weak to refuse such a request, or to make it. The Catholics admit that it is no infringement of the discipline of their church. The King of Prussia, a Protestant, exercised the same power. The Emperor of Russia has a *veto* on the appointment of Catholic bishops; the states had a *veto* on the appointment of Catholic priests within the united provinces. Why are the Irish Catholics to refuse what so many other Catholic churches have granted to the natural, though perhaps the unreasonable jealousy of Protestant governments?

We are utterly astonished to meet with such a collection of trash in the pamphlet of Mr Trotter;—to find that any man, who has lived under the shadow of Mr Fox, should evince such a total absence of good sound sense upon a question of such immense importance. When were such aboriginal feuds, as those which separate the two countries, ever appeased without mutual concession? What object, at the present time, can be of such moment to every man of principle and understanding, as to unite the whole British people in one firm indissoluble mass against France?—and this period it is that Mr Trotter has chosen for an appeal to the religious jealousy, the national vanity, and the irritable passions of the Irish. ‘Could I (my Lord) lead you to the mouldering towers, and melancholy, yet venerable ruins, where the creeping ivy possesses what once resounded to the harp, and echoed the praises of the Deity;—could I then say to you, my Lord, was there not something august in your countrymen adhering, through the long lapse of time, to what they deemed the earliest and first doctrines of Christianity!’ &c.; and all this, too, and more of the same stamp, when Mr Trotter has left school—positively quitted his grammar school ten years;—when he has enjoyed the confidence and friendship of Mr Fox;—when three or four weeks longer will terminate the last monarchy in Europe! In what small portions
has

has it pleased Almighty Providence to deal out to mankind that most excellent gift of *common sense*!

We have all along been the steady friends of Catholic emancipation; but we do most sincerely regret the late resolutions into which the Catholic prelates have been driven by the disaffection of some, and by the ignorance of many more. The *veto* ought to have been conceded. It saved the pride of many opponents, by giving them a fair pretext for changing their opinions; it soothed the groundless alarms of others; it violated no point of discipline in the Catholic church; and was, upon the whole, an expedient of the most sovereign efficacy, which, at no very distant period, would have produced Catholic emancipation, not only as a matter of course, but almost by acclamation. We still indulge an hope that the prelacy will be able to carry their point; and that the absurd and ridiculous opposition of their flocks will subside. It is not of the slightest consequence whether the *veto* is conceded under an administration hostile to the Catholics. The business of the Catholics is to put their enemies as much as possible in the wrong;—and the way to do so is, to make every concession possible to Protestant jealousies, consistent with honour and principle. The concession now asked for has been granted by all other Catholic churches similarly situated; and has been always approved by the holy see.

If the Catholics, however, will do nothing for themselves, the difficulty must be got over without their interference; and perhaps the whole business will in this way be better done. We would admit the Catholicity into Parliament, and into every rank of the army or navy. We would make a provision for their clergy;—and the sign manual of the King, once obtained, should entitle the Catholic Bishops and Deans to their salaries for life. This *veto* upon the salary would soon operate as a *veto* upon the Bishop; and produce that understanding between the Prelacy and the Castle, which is the security desired. The laity having their grievances redressed, and being liberated from the burthen of supporting their clergy, would entertain no jealousy of the provision: nor would the consent of the Catholics, or their interference, be in the slightest degree necessary; for nobody would be compelled to receive their salaries, if they did not chuse to apply for them. To this increase of the power of the Crown, we do not object. Ireland is distant,—smarting under the destruction of its separate empire, of a different religion, and exposed to the intrigues of France. For these reasons, such an increase of royal influence appears to us salutary. A quarter of the appointments to parochial salaries we would vest in the Crown; a few in the Bishops; and sell the rest to private patrons, for the raising of the general fund—which
should

should be placed in the stocks, with interest payable in a general office at Dublin, or by fixed agents elsewhere. Something of this kind must be done,—and done soon. Ireland increases rapidly in strength—rapidly, we fear; in disaffection, and in the desire of separation. The Catholic strength and wealth, it must be remembered, increases eight-fold in proportion to that of the Protestants. The time for petitioning may soon end, as it did with America; and the time for demanding begins. Things may turn out otherwise, though we do not think they will; but we sincerely believe that the longer the concession is delayed, the more must be granted. To conciliate Ireland, scarcely any price is too great. That effected, there is every probability that we may yet weather the storm to which we are exposed: Till it is done, no man can look upon the precarious foundation on which our empire rests, without lively apprehensions of danger to himself, and the deepest sentiments of contempt for those to whose baseness (for that is the word) that continuation of danger is to be ascribed.

ART. VI. *A complete System of Astronomy.* By the Rev. S. Vince, A. M. F. R. S., Professor of Astronomy and Experimental Philosophy in the University of Cambridge. Vol. III. Cambridge. 1808.

THE volume here announced consists of a set of Astronomical Tables, the most accurate and complete, by far, that we have ever had an opportunity to examine; the epitome or essence of all that is most accurate in the observations of Cassini, Halley, Bradley and Maskelyne; of all that is most profound in the investigations of Newton, Euler, Lagrange and La Place. It is the numerical expression of the results that have been obtained from the most elaborate comparison of the theory of gravitation, with the observations of astronomy; and presents us with a picture of the heavens, the truth of which is not confined to the present age, but extended indefinitely both into the past and the future.

We regret that no preface or advertisement announces precisely to whom astronomers are indebted for this invaluable present, and what is the exact share which Mr Vince himself claims in the work which he has given to the world;—in what respects he is to be regarded as the editor,—in what as the author of the present volume. We do, however, gather from the preliminary notices and instructions belonging to particular tables, that most of them

them are the work of two distinguished foreigners, BURG and DE LAMBRE; both of them, particularly the latter, well known as astronomers and mathematicians. From thence also we learn, that the rules and formulas which have served for the construction of the tables, are those of La Place, contained in his *Mécanique Céleste*.

The tables of Burg and Delambre were originally printed in France, and a few copies were sent to England by the National Institute, or the Board of Longitude, as presents to the Royal Society and the Royal Astronomer. They were accompanied with the following letter from De Lambre; which does much credit both to the writer and the person to whom it is addressed.

‘ Institut National, Classe des Sciences Physiques et Mathématiques, Paris, le 20 Février, 1806. Le Secrétaire perpétuel pour les Sciences Mathématiques à Monsieur Maskelyne, Astronome Royal et Membre de la Société Royale de Londres.

‘ *Monsieur, et respectable Confrère,*

‘ Le Bureau des Longitudes me charge de vous offrir Sept Exemplaires des Tables qu’il vient de publier. Cet hommage de sa haute estime et de sa reconnaissance étoit bien dû à l’auteur du plus grand et du plus précieux recueil d’Observations qui existe. C’est à cette Source que nous avons puisé, Monsieur Burg et moi, pour la plus exacte détermination des coefficients des équations Lunaires et Solaires; c’est là que nous avons trouvé la confirmation des inégalités que la théorie peut bien indiquer, mais dont la valeur ne pourroit être fixée que par des calculs qui sont encore au-dessus des forces de l’analyse; en fin, c’est à vous que nous devons la connoissance des mouvemens moyens, et de toutes les constantes que l’observation seule peut donner. Recevez donc, avec bienveillance, un ouvrage auquel vous avez si puissamment contribué. Nous serons très flattés, si vous jugez nos Tables dignes d’être employées aux calculs du Nautical Almanack, suivant l’apparence que nous en donne votre dernier préface.’

The tables referred to in this letter are those of the Moon, and are the work of Burg; but, along with them, were sent over, if we mistake not, the other tables already referred to, which were the work of De Lambre himself, and which appear to constitute the principal part of the present volume. Mr Vince tells us, that the tables of the Sun, of Jupiter, Saturn and Uranus, or, as that planet is here styled, the Georgian, together with the tables of Jupiter’s satellites, were all constructed by De Lambre from the theory and formulas of La Place.

We are left in an uncertainty with respect to the tables of Mercury, Venus and Mars; or rather, as nothing is said to the contrary, we are to consider them as drawn up by Mr Vince himself.

It may be proper to observe, for the information of some of our readers, that what is called an equation in astronomy, is the correction that must be made for an irregularity in the motion of a planet, if we would deduce the true place from the mean, or from that which the planet would occupy at any time, if its revolution round the sun was performed with uniform velocity. Astronomical tables therefore contain, first, the mean motions of the planets, or the places which they would have if they revolved uniformly; and, next, the equations, or the corrections that must be applied to these uniform motions, in order to deduce from them the true places of those bodies. The arguments of these equations are the quantities on which the equations depend, and by means of which they are found out in the tables. These arguments depend on the time, and on certain known quantities; they are therefore *functions*, as mathematicians express it, of the time, or of the mean motion; so that, when any instant of time is given, the arguments of the equations for that instant can be computed; and from them are found, in the tables, the equations or corrections that are to be applied to the mean motions.

Again, the epochs of the mean motion of a planet are the places of the planet, supposing its motion uniform, at certain points or epochs of time, from which the calculations are supposed to begin. The tables of the Sun, in this volume, contain his mean place, determined, for two radical epochs, with all the exactness that the latest improvements in astronomical observation can give. The first is for the first of January 1752, determined from a comparison of 720 of Dr Bradley's observations. The second for the first of January 1802, determined from about 400 passages of the Sun over the meridian, observed at Greenwich and Paris, between 1798 and 1802. The result of this has been, to make the secular mean motion, or the mean motion of the sun in 100 years, $0^{\circ} 45' 45''$ more than 100 complete revolutions, which is less by $15''$ than in De Lambre's former tables.

The same table that contains the mean place of the Sun for the beginning of January for every year, contains the arguments of several small inequalities that affect the motion of the Earth, or the apparent motion of the Sun. These have been received in other tables, but are here given with more accuracy than before. The first arises from the place of the Moon relatively to the Sun, and proceeds from this, that it is not the centre of the Earth, but the centre of gravity of the Moon and Earth that describes an ellipse round the Sun. A small inequality, arising from this cause, displaces the Earth by a quantity that alternately increases and diminishes the Sun's longitude, in the course of every lunation, to the amount, when a *maximum*, of seven seconds and a half.

The

The disturbances produced by the action of Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, on the Earth, come next. Each of these inequalities depends chiefly on the difference of the heliocentric place of the planet and of the Earth, and varies, as is known, from the theory of disturbing forces, nearly as the sine of that angle. The calculation is here pushed to much greater exactness, however; the eccentricity of the orbit, both of the disturbing and disturbed planet, being taken into account. The *maxima* of these four corrections are $15''$, $6''$, $12''.5$, $1''$.

Next follows the nutation of the Earth's axis, as produced both by the Moon and by the Sun. The equation of the centre is next given, with its secular variation, or its change produced by the constant diminution of the eccentricity of the Earth's orbit, deduced from the theory of gravity by La Place, and agreeing well with the phenomena actually observed. This equation is calculated for every 10 minutes of the mean motion, so as to save much time to the computer.

There is a very ingenious device employed in these tables, by which all the numbers are rendered additive, so that no negative quantity, or one that is to be subtracted, ever enters into the computation. Two different contrivances, the same in their principle, are employed for this purpose. When an equation is negative, take the difference between that equation and the whole circumference, and add this to the mean motion, dropping, as is usually done, the entire circumference, which has, in effect, been added to the negative equation. Suppose, for example, the equation were, $-1^{\circ} 10' 20''$, or that $1^{\circ} 10' 20''$ was to be subtracted from the mean motion; instead of this last number, the table gives $11^{\circ} 28' 49' 40''$ to be added to the mean motion; and then 12, or the entire circle, being left out, as is always done of course in these calculations, the quantity that remains is just the same that would have been obtained by ordinary subtraction.

In the case of smaller equations, such as proceed from the disturbances arising from the mutual action of the planets on one another, the method of rendering them additive is somewhat different. To each equation, the *maximum*, or the greatest affirmative value which belongs to that equation, is added. The sum thus produced is always additive, but too great by the *maximum* equation. To allow for this, the epochs of the mean motion, to which these equations are to be added, are all diminished by an equal quantity; and this subtraction being made, in the original construction of the tables, nothing is left to be done by the computer who uses them, except to make those additions which the precepts direct. This device is used by La Lande in some of his tables, but is not employed generally, as in those before us.

It cannot be doubted that there is a great advantage in all this, as the complication arising from mixing the operations of addition and subtraction is a source of error, especially to those who are not versed in algebraic calculation. At the same time, it must be allowed, that the tables become, in this way, less descriptive, on inspection, of the actual phenomena of the heavens. They do not represent to us inequalities that first increase, afterwards decrease, become equal to nothing, and then pass over to the negative side, and diminish the mean motion by the same quantities, and for the same length of time that they had increased it. This effect is lost; but if the probability of error in computation is diminished, it must be considered as a full compensation for what is at most only a theoretical defect.

It is not a little curious to remark, that our measures of time on the surface of the Earth are affected by such remote bodies as Venus, Mars and Jupiter; and that a well regulated clock should be capable of affording a measure of the power with which these planets act upon the Earth. This is however true; and a table of the inequality which they produce in the equation of time, forms the 30th of the solar tables. As the equation of time depends upon the Sun's right ascension, which is affected by the disturbing forces of the planets just mentioned, it is evident that an inequality in that equation must be produced from this cause. The amount, when a maximum, is a little more than 3^{sec} . The action of Jupiter, therefore, and the other planets, may affect our reckoning of time to the amount of three seconds.

An equation is also set down for the aberration of light, or the velocity with which light is propagated. If the Earth's motion were uniform, the Sun would appear advanced beyond his true place, at all times, by $20''\frac{1}{2}$; but as the velocity of the Earth increases and diminishes alternately in the course of its annual revolution, the quantity of the aberration, which depends on the ratio of the velocity of the Earth to the velocity of light, must also vary. The amount of this variation is calculated in these tables, we believe for the first time: it does not exceed one third of a second. The source of this inequality has been long known; but the amount of it was so inconsiderable, that it was needless to pay attention to it, till all the quantities, equally small, were reduced to computation.

The rectilineal distance of the Earth and Sun, or, as it is called, the *radius vector* of the Earth's orbit, is also one of those elements that is materially affected by the action of the planets. These joint actions may amount to seven parts in 100,000, or about the fourteen thousandth and three hundredth part of the *radius vector*.

Th^a

The whole of these equations are computed with the greatest care; the rules for applying them are very perspicuously drawn up; and we can only remark one circumstance which would have added to their value, viz. to have set down the formula from which the equations of every particular table were computed.

The tables of the Sun are followed by those of the Moon,—the same that obtained the prize from the Board of Longitude of Paris in the year 1800. They are the work of M. Burg, as already mentioned; and are deduced, by the rules of La Place, chiefly from a series of more than three thousand two hundred observations made at Greenwich between the years 1765, 1793. The method followed in the construction of them, is founded on the algebraic solution of those equations, known by the name of *equations of conditions*. The place of a planet, relatively to a fixt point in the heavens, may be expressed, as we know from the theory of gravitation, by a series of the form, $A + B \sin x + C \sin y + D \sin z$, &c.; in which x, y, z , are variable angles depending on the time; while A, B, C, D , are constant, but unknown quantities, that remain to be determined. When, therefore, by astronomical observation, the place of a planet for a given instant of time is found, we have an equation of this form: $A + B \sin x' + C \sin y' + D \sin z' = M$, M being the longitude reckoned from some given point, and being known as well as $x', y',$ &c.; so that A, B, C, D , are the only unknown quantities.

By another observation, another equation of the same kind is given, and so on; a new equation being found by every new observation. When, of such equations, as many are taken as there are unknown quantities, values of each of these quantities may be found; and, when the same process is followed for other sets of observations, were there no error in the observations, the values of A, B, C, D , would be the same that were first found; but, as the observations are subject to some error, however small, this sort of exact coincidence cannot be expected; and we must, therefore, content ourselves with taking a mean of the different values of the unknown coefficients thus determined. Various devices for the extermination of the unknown quantities, and the computation of the mean values, must naturally occur in the prosecution of such a work, which, from the great number of equations that must be compared, becomes extremely laborious. M. Burg used to compare nine or ten hundred observations for each of the coefficients he had to determine. He verified all these by a second computation, and generally found that the same coefficient differed in its value but a fraction of a second. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the coefficients are determined to as great a degree of accuracy as astronomical observation is at present capable of yielding.

But, after all these computations had been gone through, and a number of corrections added to those already contained in the tables of Mayer and Mason, M. Burg still found that there was an inconsistency in the mean places, that, by help of these corrections, were deduced from distant observations. No method of extricating himself from this difficulty occurred, nor probably would have occurred, for several ages, if astronomical science had been left to derive its accuracy from observation alone. The discovery of a secular equation of the Moon, of so long a period as 185 years, by La Place, resolved the difficulty, and enabled our author to give to his tables a more perfect agreement with observation, than had ever yet been attained. This equation depends on the longitude of the Moon's apogee $+ 2$ longitude of the node $- 3$ times longitude of the Sun's apogee, and is given in these tables, united with the other secular equation of the Moon, formerly supposed to be an acceleration of her mean motion, but now found by La Place to be a periodical equation, though, of so long a period, that the calculus has not yet ventured to explore its extent.

The excellence of these tables will be best understood by comparing them with others. The tables of Mayer contained only fourteen equations for the Moon's longitude. Mason, an English astronomer, gave a new edition of these tables, in which he added eight more equations, which Mayer had given in his theory, but thought of too little consequence to reduce them into tables. M. Burg introduced, in addition to all these, six others, which are entirely new. Besides these, the secular equations of the anomaly and node, and the equation which has a period of 185 years, have been introduced. The tables thus reformed do far exceed in accuracy any yet known. The French mathematicians, before they awarded the prize to M. Burg, examined the merits of his tables with much care, and compared them with a great number of Dr Maskelyne's observations, and of their own, such as M. Burg had not made use of in the composition of his work. The result was highly favourable. The error, in few cases, amounted to 10 or 12 seconds, which is but half of that which was met with in former tables. At p. 43, Mr Vince has given the formula from which the whole of the lunar equations are computed. An example of a calculation of the Moon's place is added, which now occupies, even when all its parts are disposed with the utmost regularity and good order, no less than two quarto pages. The accuracy of the result, however, is such, as will appear to astronomers, a full compensation for the increase of their labour. When the error of the tables is reduced to 10",

a space which the Moon describes in her orbit in less than 20" of time, the longitude may be found by lunar observation to an arch that corresponds to the third part of a minute of time, or to 5' of a degree on the Earth's surface, or to 5 nautical miles; a degree of accuracy fully sufficient for all the purposes of navigation, and far beyond any expectation, that the most sanguine theorist, thirty years ago, could possibly have entertained. Such is the success with which Geometry has conducted the astronomer through the labyrinth of the lunar irregularities. Were Pliny alive, he might see the indignation, to which he has so emphatically alluded, now converted into exultation. *Multiformi hæc (Luna) ambage torsit ingenia contemplantium et proximum ignorari maxime sidus, indignantium.* The irregularities which so long obstructed the science of astronomy, have been the principal means of its advancement; and just in proportion to the difficulty of interpreting their language, is the force with which they depose in favour of the theory of gravitation.

The tables of the motions of the two inferior planets, Mercury and Venus, follow those of the Moon: the disturbance that either of these planets endures from the Earth, or from the superior planets, is too small to be taken into account in our calculations. The disturbing causes have the less effect, that, on these two planets, the solar action is very powerful. Venus gravitates to the Sun with more than twice the force, and Mercury with more than nine times the force with which the Earth gravitates.

The tables of Mars contain the disturbance in the motions of that planet, which arise from Jupiter, Venus, and the Earth; and therefore, they depend on the situation of Mars relatively to these three planets. These disturbances, together with the other equations of Mars, seem to be calculated with great exactness, and very much on the plan of those already mentioned. They are not said to be the work either of Burg or De Lambre; and therefore have, no doubt, been computed by Mr Vince himself.

The motions of Jupiter and Saturn, which are contained in the next tables, have been more difficult to determine with accuracy, than those of any other of the primary planets. The quantities of matter of these bodies, make their mutual action powerful; while their distance from the Sun weakens the controul of the central force.

Dr Halley, when he came to study the motions of these planets, found that the motion of Jupiter appeared to be accelerated, and that of Saturn retarded; and to explain this, he introduced two equations; that of Jupiter of $3^{\circ} 49'$ at its *maximum*; that of

E 4

Saturn

Saturn $9^{\circ} 15'$, both of them having the same period, and running through the whole series of their changes in the space of 2000 years. These equations, however, were purely empirical; they were not deduced at all from the principles of gravitation; and they have since proved to be inaccurate; though, as a first approximation, they do honour to the research of Dr Halley, and the extent of his views. Euler, who, in the *Memoirs* that gained the prize from the Academy of Sciences at Paris for 1752, was led to the consideration of this subject, found that, according to the theory of gravitation, the motion of Jupiter should be accelerated, and that of Saturn retarded, but as appeared to him by equal quantities; which was not agreeable to observation. These inequalities also appeared to Euler to be periodical, though the period was of great extent, no less than 324000 years. Euler, however, acknowledged, that some changes which he had made in the form of the quantities which he had to treat, in order to avoid difficulties that appeared to be insurmountable, might very well introduce great uncertainty into the extent of the above period; and he added, with the candour that belongs to real superiority, that he did not then know any method by which the amount of these alterations could be determined.

The nature of these inequalities, then, was very imperfectly understood; and it did not appear clear that they were circumscribed within any period, and were not of infinite extent, so as in reality to affect the mean motions; the one mean motion being destined to increase, and the other to decrease, without limit. La Grange undertook the solution of the same difficulty; but the method of approximation which he employed, was still such as to leave the result uncertain as to the periodic change or constant increase of these two irregularities. La Place afterwards engaged in the same investigation; and, having pushed his approximation further than either of the other geometers, he found that the inequalities were really periodical, and did not of course affect the mean motion of either of the planets. His process was not, however, so satisfactory as to remove all doubt; when La Grange was so fortunate as to give a complete demonstration of this great truth in physical astronomy, that all the changes which can happen in our system, in consequence of the law of gravitation, must needs be periodical, and cannot affect either the mean motion or the mean distance of any of the planets. *

Still, however, the exact amount of these equations, and of the period by which they are circumscribed, remained undetermined.

* *Mém. Acad. Berlin*, 1776.

mined. La Place undertook the consideration of the question anew, and came at last to the discovery of the theorems, by means of which these irregularities have been reduced into a table. He found, that both in the case of Jupiter and of Saturn, the argument of the equations is the same, viz. five times the mean longitude of Saturn — twice the mean longitude of Jupiter $+ 5^{\circ} 34' 8'' - a \times 59''$, a being the number of years reckoned from 1750. The sine of the arch made up of these five elements, multiplied into $20' 49\frac{1}{2}'' - a \times .0'' 427$ gives the equation for Jupiter; and multiplied into $-(48' 44'' - a \times 0''.1)$ the equation for Saturn. The period required for these equations to revolve or to pass through the whole series of their changes, is far less than that suspected by Euler, but is still very considerable. The argument above stated increases at the rate of $23'.51$ annually; so that it requires 918.76 years to run over an entire circumference, or 360 degrees. It is not, therefore, till after the expiration of 918 years, and a little more than three quarters of a year, that the phenomena of these inequalities will return in the same order.

While these equations were unknown, the mean motions of Jupiter and Saturn could never be accurately ascertained. If the observations compared belonged to centuries, when the rate of Jupiter's motion, on account of this equation, was increasing, his velocity or mean motion would come out too great; if the contrary took place, it would come out too small; and the same as to Saturn. The knowledge of these equations was therefore quite essential to the accuracy of the tables of these planets.

There are, besides these, ten other equations that express as many inequalities in the motion of Jupiter produced by the action of Saturn, the algebraic expression of which our author has given us, and which, if their *maxima* are all added together, amount nearly to twelve minutes. Besides the great equation of Saturn already mentioned, there are six others which affect his motion, arising from the action of Jupiter, the amount of which, taken at their *maxima*, is greater than in the former case, amounting to $19' 57''$. The effects of the disturbances on the linear distance of each of these planets from the sun, is also exhibited in the tables.

The tables of Uranus, or, as that planet is here called, the GEORGIAN, follow those of Saturn. The disturbances of the motion of that planet by Jupiter and Saturn, are calculated according to the theory of La Place. They are seven in number; and when their *maxima* are added together, the sum is $7' 20''$; a limit, which the whole disturbance that this planet can suffer from its two powerful neighbours never can exceed.

It must be observed, that, in this planet, there is also an irregularity of a long period, viz. of 569 years, which astronomers must take into account when they determine the mean motion.

However uncourly it may appear, we think it our duty to remonstrate with our author against the name of the *GEORGIAN*, which he has, in compliance with a fashion peculiar to the English, thought proper to give to the most remote of the planets. In a book of astronomical tables, so perfect as that which is now before us, destined, most probably, to go down itself, but certainly destined to convey its knowledge to latest generations, nothing of a perishable and temporary nature should be admitted. A term, therefore, should not have been introduced, which never will be recognized by posterity, and cannot obtain, either now or afterwards, the suffrage of any foreign nation. The experience of what has already happened, in similar circumstances, may assure us of what cannot fail to take place hereafter. The name of the *Medicean* stars, imposed on the satellites of Jupiter, was never received beyond the boundaries of Tuscany, and there only for a few years. Yet no sovereigns ever deserved better of literature and science than the family of Medici; and, if their name has not come down associated with the stars discovered by Galileo, so, neither are we to expect, that the name of the most respectable sovereign of the House of Brunswick is to continue united to the discoveries of Herschel. When the celebrated astronomer of Palermo discovered more lately a new planet, he called it by the name of *CERES*, and added the epithet of *Ferdinanda*. The name of *Ceres* is now universally recognized, and that of *Ferdinanda* as generally forgotten. It is true, that George the Third has many titles to be remembered by the friends of science, to which few of his contemporaries have any pretensions. One of these titles, of particular weight on the present occasion, consists in his having been the Patron and Benefactor of the great observer, by whom the limits of our system have been so much extended, and our notions of the universe so greatly enlarged. But the name of a mortal, though sometimes inscribed in the heavens, has never yet been given to any of the planets. In conformity with the general nomenclature of our system, *URANUS* belongs naturally to a body placed beyond the orb of Saturn. We shall therefore do well to anticipate the decision of posterity, by at once adopting a term that must ultimately prevail.

The tables that follow next, are those of the satellites of Jupiter. The motions of this planetary system, though withdrawn from common observation, and visible only to astronomers, are nevertheless peculiarly interesting, not only by their use for determining the longitude of places on the Earth, but from the verification they

they afford of the law of gravitation, as inferred from the motion of the primary planets. The determination of the motions of the satellites, however, is attended with peculiar difficulties. Their orbits are seen so obliquely from the Earth, that their angular motions about their primary are not objects of direct observation; and the laws of those motions are inferred, chiefly from the eclipses that the satellites suffer when they fall into the shadow of Jupiter. In consequence of this, it remained for a long time doubtful whether all the phenomena accompanying them could be explained by the principle of gravitation alone. The most accurate tables of the satellites, till very lately, were those of Wargentin, which contained several empirical corrections, adopted to explain appearances, but without any investigation into the causes or the principles by which they were produced. But in the tables before us, the reproach of empiricism is completely banished from this as well as every other part of astronomy. In the case of the satellites, this was not done without great difficulty. La Place found the whole theory of their motion contained in twelve differential equations of the second order, from the integration of which, twenty-four constant but unknown quantities were introduced. In this state, he gave over the calculus to De Lambre, who determined these quantities by a comparison of the formulas with observation, (*Méch. Céleste*, vol. iv. p. 68.) on the principles already mentioned, when we were speaking of the tables of the Moon.

The first satellite moves in the plane of Jupiter's equator, and describes a circular orbit, in which no eccentricity or inequality, arising from its eccentricity, has been discovered. It participates a little, nevertheless, of the eccentricity of the third and fourth satellites, which are both considerable, and which, by the mutual gravitation of all the four, are sympathetically imparted to the first and second. The only considerable inequality, however, in the motion of the first, is that which arises from the attraction of the second, and has, for its argument, twice their difference of longitude as seen from Jupiter. From this equation, which has for its period an interval of 437 days, with the decimal .659 of a day, La Place has determined the mass of the second satellite.

The eclipses of the first satellite are remarkable for having given occasion to the discovery of the velocity of light. On reviewing this subject, M. de Lambre makes the time that light takes to describe the mean distance between Jupiter and the Sun $42' 46''$; and between the Sun and the Earth $8' 13''.2$; from whence the aberration of the Stars comes out $20''.255$, agreeing perfectly with Dr Bradley's observations. From this, as La Place has remarked (*Méch. Céleste*, tom. IV. *Introd.*) it necessarily follows, that light

light has the same velocity over the whole space between Jupiter and the Earth, that it has when it arrives at the surface of the Earth.

The second satellite is disturbed both by the first and third; the course of its inequalities, as well as of the first, is circumscribed by the space of 4374.659, above mentioned.

The motion of the third satellite is subject to some curious anomalies, which are nevertheless perfectly consistent with the theory of gravitation. This planet has two distinct equations of the centre, belonging to two different axes and two different eccentricities. The one of these has been proved by La Place to belong to the orbit of the satellite itself; the other is an emanation, as it were, from the eccentricity of the fourth satellite. This inequality, therefore, depends not on the magnitude and position of the eccentricity of the orbit of the third satellite itself, but on the magnitude and position of the eccentricity of the fourth, and is a necessary, though very unexpected, result of the equality of action and reaction. It is remarkable, that the Swedish astronomer Wargentin, from the mere comparison of the eclipses of the satellites, suspected the existence in this satellite of two equations of the centre; but, not perceiving that the one of these equations was to be reckoned from the apsis of the fourth satellite, he found that his hypothesis could not be reconciled with appearances, and so abandoned it for another which could at least be reconciled with them for a time; but not for a long period, because it is not consistent with the principle of gravitation. This fact seems to show to what extent the laws of the planetary motions might become known, by observation alone, in the hands of ingenious men, and how very limited, at least in complicated cases, that extent would be, if it received no assistance from the science of dynamics, and the theory of gravitation.

The fourth satellite moves in a plane somewhat inclined to the equator of Jupiter; and its nodes have a retrograde motion, by which they go back an entire circumference in 531 years. In consequence of this motion, the inclination of the orbit of the satellite to the plane of Jupiter's orbit varies continually; it was at a maximum between the years 1680 and 1760, and continued nearly the same for a long time; but of late it has increased again, according to a law which it would have been very difficult to discover, without the aid of theory. All these variations are accurately expressed in the tables. The eccentricity of this satellite, and the equation of its centre, are greater than those of the third.

One of the most remarkable results from the theory on which these tables are founded, is the knowledge of the masses of the satellites

satellites relatively to Jupiter. It follows, from the calculus of La Place, that the third satellite, which is the largest, is about the 11300th part of the mass of Jupiter; or, to express it by means of a unit with which we are more familiar, about double the mass of the Moon, taking this last as $\frac{1}{68.5}$ of the quantity of matter in the Earth. The fourth, or outermost satellite, is nearly half the third, and is therefore nearly equal to the Moon; the second satellite contains about half the quantity of matter of the Moon; and the first, or innermost, about two-fifths. These masses of the satellites are derived from their action on one another, and the degree in which that action modifies the force of Jupiter itself. Another result, from the same source, is very satisfactory. The want of sphericity in Jupiter, or his oblateness, as it makes his attraction decrease not exactly in the inverse ratio of the squares of the distances, affects the motions of the satellites, and is particularly sensible by its effect on the duration of their eclipses. These considerations make the polar axis of Jupiter .9287, the equatorial diameter being 1. Actual observations with the micrometer, taking a mean, gives .929; between which and the former result there is no sensible difference. This shows, as La Place remarks, that the attraction of Jupiter is composed of the attraction of all its particles, since the observed compression of this planet does so perfectly agree with the motions of the ap-sides, and the nodes of the orbits of the satellites.

In these remarks on the tables of the satellites, we have chiefly followed the information of La Place, in the fourth volume of the *Mécanique Céleste*. The instructions prefixed to the tables in the volume before us, contain very little information about their construction. They are confined to what is merely technical, or to what is necessary for directing the calculator in the use of the tables. To this object they are well adapted, and are drawn up with accuracy and distinctness. Whether they are the work of De Lambre or Mr Vince, we are not informed.

The tables contained in this volume stand thus

Solar tables	-	-	-	-	31
Lunar tables	-	-	-	-	60
Of Mercury	-	-	-	-	8
Venus	-	-	-	-	7
Mars	-	-	-	-	26
Jupiter	-	-	-	-	23
Saturn	-	-	-	-	19
Georgian	-	-	-	-	17
Satellites of Jupiter	-	-	-	-	51

being

being in all 248 in number, and occupying 244 pages, of which 117, or nearly one half, are devoted to the satellites of Jupiter.

The volume before us, besides the tables that have been enumerated, contains nine for computing the astronomical refraction according to the formulas investigated by La Place in the tenth book of the *Mécanique Céleste*.

We are left here, as in several other places, at a loss to determine what part of these tables is the work of Mr Vince, and what part belongs to De Lambre or some other of the French astronomers. To judge from internal evidence, we should think that all those where the *metre* is used for measuring the height of the barometer, and where the thermometer has the centesimal division, are taken from the French. Those, again, which serve to reduce the metre to English feet, or the centesimal thermometer to Fahrenheit's, are, no doubt, of home manufacture. Out of the nine tables then, we will ascribe, on this principle, only two to Mr Vince, and those of a very simple construction. If in this estimate we do injustice to our author, he is himself to blame for not having given us more explicit information.

By means of these tables, we hope that more accuracy will be given to the determination of the atmospherical refraction than has been done hitherto. More simplicity, if it could be obtained, we must say, seems still desirable; we are also far from thinking that the hypothesis introduced by La Place into his investigations on this subject, is free from objection. On the subject of refraction, something more simple and satisfactory may perhaps still be looked for. To the other parts of these tables, we cannot extend a similar conjecture.

Among the instructions prefixed to the tables, we find a few pages on the method of determining the coefficients, or constant quantities in astronomical equations, when the form of these equations is known. One of them is by Dr Maskelyne, and displays that address in uniting the facility with the accuracy of calculation which is so characteristic of the writings of that astronomer. Another method of resolving the same problem, also very ingenious, is given by Mr Vince himself. These investigations both belong to the head of conditional equations, of which mention has been already made.

We cannot but consider the tables now described as forming a great epoch in astronomical science; one that is memorable now, and that will be more memorable hereafter. These tables contain no equations, nor allowances for irregularity, that the theory of gravitation does not involve in it; and they contain, we believe, all those which that theory does involve. This cannot be affirmed of any astronomical tables that have
have

have hitherto existed. Those of Halley contained some equations that were empirical, and under a form, as such equations are very likely to be, that was imperfect; so that they became every day less conformable to the appearances which they were meant to express. His tables also wanted a vast number of those equations which the theory of gravitation has since pointed out, and of which the amount, before they were so pointed out, was rendered evident, by the inaccuracy of the tables, even when they were most perfect. The tables of Mayer and La Lande came much nearer perfection: they were constructed after the problem of the *Three Bodies* had been resolved; and they contained a great number, though not all of the equations, deducible from the solution of it. But as the *Mécanique Céleste* of La Place is the only work in which the whole of the conclusions from that problem, and consequently from the principle of gravitation, are fully developed; so it is since the publication of that work that the calculations of De Lambre and others have given to the tables of astronomy all the correctness which the combination of theory and observation is able to afford. The tables thus produced are extremely exact; and if they have any imperfections, it must be left for future observation to discover them. If even they, like all former tables, shall gradually recede from nature; if they shall agree with the heavens the less, the longer they continue to be compared with them; then must one of two conclusions be admitted. Either some of the consequences from the principle of gravitation must lie so deep as to have escaped the profoundest investigations that have yet been made in science; and as the Moon's great equation, and the great equations of Jupiter and Saturn, had withstood the efforts of all the mathematicians before La Place, so are there still some that have eluded his sagacity. But if this cannot be admitted, then must we suppose some other principle than the mutual gravitation of the particles of matter, to affect the motion of the heavenly bodies. At present we have no reason to think that either of these suppositions is true. The theory of La Place is already compared, not with a single point, or with the state of the heavens as observed for a few years, but as observed from the beginning of astronomical science, or for more than 2000 years. But as, after all, the ultimate decision of these questions must be referred to experience and observation, the period at which this reference was first made by the publication of these tables, is an era, to which, we are persuaded, that the astronomers and philosophers of future ages, however perfect the condition of knowledge of which they may be destined to participate, will look back with respect and gratitude.

Though it must be acknowledged, that the mathematicians of

this country, since the time of Newton, have had little share in the difficult and arduous researches to which these tables owe their perfection, we have great pleasure in remarking, how much, as far as observation is concerned, is due to the skill of our astronomers. The observations of Bradley and Maskelyne, have afforded the only *data* sufficiently correct to enter into the calculus of La Place and De Lambre. It is satisfactory to see this merit so well stated, and so candidly acknowledged, in the letter above quoted. Notwithstanding the spirit of hostility that has so long animated England and France against one another, it is comfortable to think that there are a few men in each, impartial enough to do justice to the merits of one another.

Though we must leave to futurity the ultimate decision of the question, whether any power beside that of gravity is concerned in the motions of the heavenly bodies, we cannot help entertaining the belief that no other will be found, and that the law resulting from that principle, *viz.* that the irregularities of our system are all periodical, will be confirmed by the experience of all future ages. Not doubting the existence of this law, so conformable to the wisdom and beneficence of the Author of nature, we must consider the curious question that was agitated between Newton and Leibnitz, concerning the permanence of our system, as completely resolved. The former being aware of the disturbance or irregularity produced on one planet by the action of another, suspected that such inequalities might increase in the lapse of time, so as to bring about the ruin of the system, unless the power of the Creator were interposed to restore that order which it had originally established. Against this doctrine, so contrary to the principles of his philosophy, and leading to conclusions which he deemed so inconsistent with the wisdom and foresight of the Supreme Being, Leibnitz remonstrated with great warmth. He argued, that it was to entertain very narrow and inadequate ideas of Divine perfection, to suppose that the Author of nature could be reduced to the necessity of amending what he had done; that he had made a world, which, like a clock or watch, required to be wound up and refitted at certain intervals; or that he had created a system which carried in itself the principles of its own destruction. Dr Clerk undertook the defence of Newton, and combated with great acuteness the only metaphysician in the world to whom he could be deemed inferior. Into this controversy, however, it is not necessary for us to enter, as Geometry has now decided the question, and has no longer left it for a subject of metaphysical dispute. The calculations of La Grange and La Place have shown, that Newton and Leibnitz were, in some respects, both in the right; in other respects, both in the wrong. They have proved,

proved, that the irregularities which the former suspected are real, but so curiously adjusted in the actual state of our system, that they are all periodical, and that, in the midst of them, the period of every planet's revolution, and its mean distance from the Sun, are for ever unassailable by any of the causes of change. By the permanence of these two elements, as by an immoveable bulwark, order and regularity are preserved in our system; confusion and disorder eternally excluded. There is no danger, therefore, of that accumulation of irregularities which Newton suspected: and such is the constitution of the world, that a preternatural interposition may be necessary to destroy, but cannot be necessary to preserve it.

Newton, therefore, was fully justified in supposing the existence of such disturbances; and it can hardly be imputed to him as an error, that he did not know, that, in the lapse of time, there will be a perfect compensation among these disturbances,—a discovery which, at that time, it was impossible for him to make, and which, after a century of the most laborious research, his own Geometry has only lately revealed to some of his most favoured disciples.

Leibnitz, on the other hand, though he was right in his conclusion, that no preternatural interposition is necessary to support the present order, was wrong, if he denied the existence of the disturbances to which that order is, in fact, unavoidably exposed. He also argued in a manner in which he had no right to do, if, supposing those disturbances to exist, he yet maintained that they could not ultimately produce confusion. He here took for granted a proposition which we now know to be true, but which, in his time, was impossible to be proved. His argument implied, that there is no geometrical or numerical impossibility in constructing a system, so that the mutual action of its parts, according to any one general law, should produce neither change nor derangement of the mean or average condition of the whole. For ought that he knew, or had any means of discovering, there might be, in this supposition, a palpable absurdity, like that of extracting the square root of a negative quantity, or describing a square, of which the diagonal and the side should be commensurable with one another. There might be here some of the barriers which nothing can overcome, and which the power that is most wisely directed will be least disposed to counteract. If, notwithstanding this great assumption, Leibnitz arrived at a just conclusion, we may admire the boldness, but we must acknowledge the *felicity* of his argumentation. In the reasoning of Newton, though the conclusion was erroneous, we perceive the caution and depth which are characteristic of his philosophy.

ART. VII. *A Series of Discourses on the Principles of Religious Belief, as connected with Human Happiness and Improvement.* By the Reverend Robert Morehead, A. M. of Baliol College, Oxford, &c. &c. 8vo. pp. 450. London and Edinburgh. 1809.

THERE is a very remarkable passage in Bishop Burnet's history of his own times, to which we have often wished to call the attention of the clergy of the present day. It occurs near the beginning of the Second Book, where, speaking of the state of religion at the period of the Restoration, he observes, that the outrageous zeal and fervour of the sectarians, having partly spent itself by its own extravagance, and been partly discredited by the recent change in the government, the minds of men were naturally hurried into an opposite extreme; and a general spirit of impiety spread itself through the body of the nation. The churchmen, rejoiced to get back to their livings, and secure in the favour of government, were in general given up to sloth and negligence; and religion was in no little danger, says Burnet, of falling into general disesteem, if a new set of men had not appeared of a very different character and description. These, he states, were generally of Cambridge, and trained under *Cudworth, Wilkins, More, Whitchcote*, and some others, who, perceiving that the minds of men required to be more liberally enlightened, and their affections to be more powerfully engaged on the side of religion than was formerly thought necessary, set themselves, as the Bishop expresses it, 'to raise those who conversed with them to a nobler sort of thoughts, and to consider the Christian religion as a doctrine sent from God, both to *elevate* and to *sweeten* human nature.' With this view, he further informs us, 'they laboured chiefly to take men off from being in parties, from narrow notions, and fierceness about opinions. They all so continued to keep up a good correspondence with those who differed from them in opinion, and allowed a great freedom both in philosophy and in divinity.' Out of this seminary, and from this sort of training, came *Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Patrick* and others, who, by their liberal and enlarged views of religion, their great powers of reasoning, and, above all, by the 'gentleness and reasonableness of their way of explaining things,' reclaimed the great body of the people, both from the dregs of fanaticism, and the folly of impiety; and may be said to have rescued the nation from a long night of spiritual and moral darkness.

It is impossible for any reflecting person not to see the application of these passages to the times which lie before us. Fanatics

tics and sectaries have, for many years, been propagating doctrines as absurd and extravagant as any which signalized the days of the Commonwealth; and rational religion, sound learning, argument, and common sense, have been set at defiance at least as daringly, and, we believe, among a much larger proportion of the people. In the present state of society, however, this cannot be expected to last long. Intelligence and habits of reasoning are now too generally diffused, to make it possible that such pestilent absurdities should continue to influence so large a part of the community. They will fall before the ridicule which they provoke, and the alarm which they naturally excite. The hot fit will go off; and it will be succeeded, we fear, by a cold one, still more distressing and deadly. Men, awakened from the delirium of Methodism, and looking with shame and disgust upon the extravagancies of their supposed inspiration, will be but too apt to consider religion in general as an illusion, and to go headlong into all the folly and the profligacy of infidelity. The great body of our present fanatics are persons in the lowest ranks of society; and it is a maxim indeed with the whole sect, to discourage the use and cultivation of mere human reason. When their fever subsides, therefore, it is very unlikely that they will settle of themselves in any system of moderation, or be able to perceive the boundaries which divide enthusiasm from piety. In estimating the dangers of this revulsion, too, it is necessary to remember, that almost all the existing sects inculcate a rigid and self-denying morality, at least with regard to all the grosser and more ordinary vices of the vulgar, and that it is probable that their prevalence may have had considerable effect in repressing that dissoluteness of manners, to which the increasing wealth of society has held out so much temptation. If these great multitudes, therefore, are suddenly let loose from their present restraints, and not placed, at the same time, under the controul of a more rational principle, there is obviously great reason to fear that irreligion and licentiousness will take joint possession of the community, and that we shall pay for the fanaticism which now deforms our society, by a long period of vice and disorder.

These considerations, while they bring more into view the extent of the mischief of that delirious enthusiasm, which is still more pernicious in its remote consequences than in its immediate effects, naturally lead us to consider what remedy can be provided for a state of things so alarming. And here, the example of the great and judicious divines commemorated by Burnet, naturally suggests itself as peculiarly worthy of imitation. We are afraid our present race of preachers is not exactly of that description;—and that examples are now but rare, either of that lofty think-

ing,—that aversion from party and fierceness for opinions,—or of that gentleness and reasonableness of manner which won over the Puritans in the days of King Charles, and saved those who had renounced fanaticism from renouncing Christianity along with it. A certain tame and languid triteness—a puny scholarship—and either a supercilious feebleness, or a haughty and revolting asperity, are the characteristics of most of our modern sermons. It is not, we fear, by such arms, that the cause of true religion is now to be maintained; nor can the Church hope, by such a system of warfare, either to reclaim the mutinous bands of the sectaries, or to repress the more dreadful disorders which may be apprehended from their sudden disbanding. What religion now requires in her ministers, is a warmer zeal, and a more kind and ardent affection,—a large, tolerating, and profound reason, and a gentle and conciliating address;—something to remove the fanatic charge of coldness and indifference,—and a great deal to conciliate and attract those, who, from prejudice or habitual disregard, are now disposed to shut their ears to their instructions.

Whether the author before us had any view to the present critical state of religious opinions in this country, we cannot pretend to determine; but what he has here done appears to us to be excellently calculated to meet it. His book is written with great force of reasoning, and great earnestness of manner; and, while he endeavours to conciliate the haughty prejudices of the philosopher, by large and profound views as to the reasonableness and evidences of religious belief, he labours to rouse and awaken the indifferent, by the most animated exposition of its importance; and, above all, to win the attention and good will even of the prejudiced and disaffected, by an uniform strain of affectionate and indulgent anxiety, and a sort of parental gentleness and kindness of feeling, which appears to us to be truly evangelical. It is this singular and unaffected benevolence of manner,—this tone of genuine goodness and conciliating candour, so unlike the contemptuous arrogance of vulgar theologians, that forms the chief charm of the volume before us; and induces us to point it out to the attention of the public, as eminently calculated to fix the principles of the young and careless, and to improve the charity and mend the hearts of readers of every description. It is but fair, however, that Mr Morehead should be allowed to explain the objects he had in view in his own language.

‘It has been my design,’ (he observes in the preface), ‘in the following discourses, to exhibit a view both of the evidences and the effects of religious belief, somewhat more simple and popular than has usually been attempted; and without fatiguing the reader with controversy, or overwhelming him with facts, to fix his attention upon

upon those great principles, both in the constitution of man, and in the visible administration of Providence, that seem to lead most directly to a sense of the truth and the benefits of religion.

‘ Much has been written, both recently and in older times, upon this most important of all subjects ; and the grounds of our faith have been vindicated by many eminent divines and philosophers, with a force of reasoning and an extent of learning, to which nothing, it is probable, can now be added or replied. These profound and argumentative writers, however, are not always intelligible, and are but rarely attractive, to the multitude whom they would reclaim from error ; and vainly multiply their proofs and refutations, to an audience whom they have not engaged to be attentive.

‘ To me it has always appeared, that the greater part of those who are indifferent to the truths of religion, have been left in this state rather through an indolent misapprehension of its true nature and general foundations, than from the effect of any positive error, or false creed of philosophy. Controversy, or formal argument, therefore, will have but little effect upon them ; and their cure is to be effected, not by topical applications of detailed proof or special refutation, but by the general tonics of more enlightened and comprehensive views as to the nature of man and of the universe,—arguments that point out the connexion and consonancy between religion and all that we know or feel of existence,—and reflections which tend to cultivate those dispositions which lay the foundations of religious belief, not only in our understanding, but our affections.

‘ It has sometimes appeared to me also, that many of our orthodox writers have assumed too severe and contemptuous a tone towards those whom they laboured to convert ; and have employed a certain haughty sternness of manner, which is not perhaps altogether suitable to the mildness of the gospel of peace, and which has, at any rate, an obvious tendency to indispose many from listening to their instructions.’ Preface, p. vii.—x.

The discourses themselves, which are twenty-eight in number, are not formally connected with each other ; but treat successively of subjects which have a natural affinity, and are arranged in such an order, as to lead the reader gradually from the more elementary principles to the practical conclusions. They begin with general views of natural religion, and of the moral and religious nature of man ; and pass on through the proofs of immortality to the consideration of the reasonableness of faith, and the evidences of revelation. The benefits of religion are then considered in its connexion with charity, and pure and enlightened morality in general—in its power of consolation, and its tendency ‘ to sweeten and elevate human nature.’ The subject is wound up with some very striking discussions on religious education, on public worship, and on the practice of meditation. The discourses are each of them extremely short and perspicuous—entering

tering at once into the subject of consideration—and, without the formality of a methodical argument, bringing strongly forward the most comprehensive and original views with regard to it, and colouring the whole with the persuasive eloquence of kind and exalted feeling.

It is impossible, in a work of this nature, to give our readers any just idea of the merit of the didactic or argumentative parts of such a publication. Almost all we can do is, to lay before them a fair specimen of the author's manner of thinking and writing: and we make our first extract from a sermon on the consolation to be derived from religion in affliction, exemplified in the case of the loss of children. The immediate occasion of this discourse seems to have been suggested by the prevalence of a violent epidemic among the children in the author's place of residence; and it is written throughout with that touching and tender eloquence which flows almost spontaneously from the heart of a good man in the presence of real sorrow. After reciting the text of Rachel weeping for her children, the author goes on—

‘ In the hour in which I speak, my brethren, such a voice, I fear, is but too frequent in the houses of our city; and many a tear is now falling from the eyes of parents over the lifeless remains of infant innocence and beauty. The same God, who, on one memorable occasion, permitted a bloody tyrant to be the minister of his inscrutable designs, in the destruction of holy innocents, more frequently sends disease among the young of his people; and, year after year, as at the present hour, many a spotless soul returns to him, untied by the dangers, and unpoilted by the sins of that earthly course on which it had begun to enter. It is an hour in which even Religion must for a time be still, and listen, with sacred respect, to the voice of Nature, which, even in its excesses of “*lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning,*” is yet the voice of God in the human heart. When she may speak, however, Religion can utter the words of consolation; and it is her office to seize upon those hours when the hearts of some are broken with affliction, and when many are trembling with apprehension; and to press those lessons of wisdom, which are heard too often with indifference, in the pride and the gaiety of common life.

‘ To those who are not parents, a dispensation of this kind may seem, perhaps, of a much less afflicting nature than many others. A child is but an insignificant object in the eye of the world, and seems but a trifling loss to society. To a parent, however, those very circumstances, which render his child of little value to others, are the most attractive. It is his delight to retire from the serious cares and busy occupations of men into the unanxious scenes of childish playfulness; to repose his thoughts upon some countenances on which the world has left no traces of care, and vice has impressed no marks of disorder; and to find within his own house, and sprung from his

own loins, some forms which recall the image of primeval innocence, and anticipate the society of heaven. When these innocent beings are torn from us, we suffer a calamity, with which a stranger, indeed, will imperfectly sympathise, but of which the heart knoweth the bitterness; and the sorrow may only be the deeper, and more heartfelt, that it must be disguised and smothered from an unpitying world.

‘To such sorrows of the heart, it is the office of Religion to apply the words of consolation; and when the first tumults of grief are at an end, to inspire the soul of the mourner with loftier sentiments. She suggests, in the first place, that, in the kingdom of God, there is no loss of existence; that the hand of infinite wisdom changes, indeed, the sphere of action in which the rational soul is destined to move, but never deprives it of the being which the hand of beneficence bestows. She points to a higher world, in which the inhabitants are “*as little children*,” and she hesitates not to affirm, that the soul of infant innocence finds its way to that region of purity, the air of which it seemed to breathe while yet below. She speaks here with a voice of confidence which may sometimes fail to be inspired, even from the contemplation of a long life spent in the practice of virtue. The best men have contracted many failings in the course of their earthly trial; and when we commit their bodies to the dust, while Religion calls upon us to look forward to their final destiny with holy hope, she yet permits some foreboding fears to cloud the brightness of the prospect. In less favourable cases, all we can do is to withdraw our minds from the vices of the departed, and rather to fix them, with apprehension and purposes of amendment, upon our own. But when we follow to the grave the body of untried innocence, we at the same time restore to the Father of spirits the soul which he gave, yet unpolluted by the vices of time, and still an inmate meet for eternity. When the tears of nature are over, faith may here look up with an unclouded eye, and see that Saviour, whose descent upon earth cost so many tears to the mothers of Bethlehem, now speaking comfort to the mothers of his people, and telling them, that he who here below “*suffered little children to come unto him*,” still delights to throw around them the arms of his love, when, like him, they have burst the bonds of mortality.’ p. 301—308.

After some further reflections, equally beautiful and impressive, the author winds up this part of his subject by the following soothing and original suggestion.

‘We are all well aware of the influence of the world: we know how strongly it engages our thoughts, and debases the springs of our actions: we all know how important it is to have the spirits of our minds renewed, and the rust which gathers over them cleared away. One of the principal advantages, perhaps, which arises from the possession of children, is, that in their society the simplicity of our nature is constantly recalled to our view; and that, when we return from the cares and thoughts of the world into our domestic circle, we behold beings whose happiness springs from no

false estimates of worldly good, but from the benevolent instincts of nature. The same moral advantage is often derived, in a greater degree, from the memory of those children who have left us. Their simple characters dwell upon our minds with a deeper impression; their least actions return to our thoughts with more force than if we had it still in our power to witness them; and they return to us clothed in that saintly garb which belongs to the possessors of a higher existence. We feel that there is now a link connecting us with a purer and a better scene of being; that a part of ourselves has gone before us into the bosom of God; and that the same happy creatures which here on earth showed us the simple sources from which happiness springs, now hover over us, and scatter from their wings the graces and beatitudes of eternity.' p. 310, 311.

The same tenderness of heart, and the same sweet and engaging eloquence, is observable in the following passage, in the sermon 'on the Nativity of Christ;' in which a new view, we think, is taken, and a new use made, of the circumstances of that great event. After mentioning the prodigies which announced the birth of the Redeemer, the preacher proceeds—

'The beauty and solemnity of these miraculous occurrences are greatly enhanced by the plain and homely character of the natural appearances with which they are contrasted, and with which, at the same time, they so harmoniously combine. The mighty event which called down an angel of God to visit the virgin solitude of the daughter of David; which brought the host of heaven to speak peace and joy to the simple innocence of shepherds; which interrupted the calm speculations of the Eastern sages, and impelled them to follow a miraculous sign into a foreign land; seemed, to all outward appearance, to be nothing more than the birth of a child in some of the lowest circumstances of human fortune. "*When they were come into the house* (says the Evangelist, speaking of the wise men), *they saw the young child, with Mary his mother.*"

'It is possible, that this simple and unimposing form in which our Saviour is first presented to us, may operate with some minds to the prejudice of his religion: I shall therefore endeavour, in a very few words, to show, that, on the contrary, it affords a strong confirmation of its truth; that it corresponds exactly with the wants and wishes of the human heart; and, finally, that there is a striking coincidence between this first appearance of our Lord, and the whole genius and spirit of Christianity.

'In the first place, then, is it possible that any messenger from heaven could come before us in circumstances more completely inconsistent with the supposition of artifice or imposture? "*When they were come into the house, they beheld the young child, with Mary his mother.*" What is there here to excite our most jealous apprehensions, or to afford a ground of suspicion to the most vigilant distrust? Is it possible that, in this simple domestic scene, the seeds of deception should be striking root? Was the mother mingling
with

with her caresses the proud thought that her son was destined to lead after him a deluded world? or was the infant, while he answered to her smiles, dreaming of the enterprise which lay before him? When we behold a dark-minded prophet issuing from the depth of solitudes and deserts, infusing a lofty enthusiasm into the minds of a barbarous people, and leading them on to conquest and devastation, we, who are beyond the sphere of the delusion, can at once affirm, notwithstanding the splendour of his success, that he owed it to hypocrisy and deception. How different the scene here presented to us! It is humble, and makes no pretensions; but it finds its way into our souls by the same passages by which truth is conveyed to them. When we are in the presence of "*the young child, and Mary his mother,*" do not our hearts inform us, that the God of truth is not far from us?" p. 99—102.

After alluding to the natural desire of all men to find something condescending and sympathetic blended with the majesty of the Heavenly Instructor, the author proceeds—

“ I am only at present led to remark to you in what a pleasing manner this circumstance is corroborated by the little simple incident now before us, and the short glimpse afforded us of the infant years of Jésus, while he was yet an inmate in the house of his parents, and before he felt himself called upon to execute the mighty designs for which he was sent into the world. How beautifully is the awful character of a supernatural instructor softened down by these means to our hearts and affections! Can we be afraid of approaching a child? Is there any thing in the house of Mary which can excite our apprehension and alarm?

“ My third remark was, that there is a very striking coincidence between this first appearance of our Lord, and the whole genius and spirit of Christianity. It is a remarkable characteristic of our religion, that while it is doing every thing for the good of mankind which can be done, it yet seems to be doing nothing. It resides in the hearts of the faithful, and silently influences the conduct of their lives. It flows in a quiet stream through nations and communities of men, and, by an unobserved principle of improvement, refines and beautifies their manners and institutions. It is secretly, and by slow degrees, bringing in that "*better kingdom, wherein dwelleth eternal righteousness;*" and yet, to the eyes of the world, every thing seems to be proceeding as it had done from the beginning. With this gentle and unobtrusive form, in which Christianity at all times appears to us, the history of its introduction corresponds. The miracles which then accompanied its progress were exhibited to those only who could feel their value. No vain display of prodigies interrupted the course of nature and the business of the world; no portents of terror shook the world at the descent of its Creator. When the Eastern sages came with splendid offerings, in expectation of finding some royal babe, they were introduced to the lowly dwelling and

and the humble group of the text, "*the young child, with Mary his mother.*"

'Further, my brethren, Christianity is the religion of love and mercy;—and, therefore, its Author is first presented to us in the most amiable of all human forms. It is the religion of a pure and simple heart;—and its Author first appears to us in the very shape and image of simplicity and innocence. "*Suffer little children to come unto me* (says he), *for of such is the kingdom of heaven;*"—and he himself, accordingly, first comes to us as a little child. When the law was given to the Jews, it was proclaimed with circumstances of terror corresponding to the nature of the institution. The voice of God was heard from Mount Sinai, speaking from the thunders and lightnings. The gospel of peace springs up to us from the cradle of an infant!' p. 104—107.

We may make our next extract from one of the sermons upon Immortality. The text is Ezekiel's vision of dry bones; and we quote a few passages, as a specimen of the interest and animation which Mr Morehead can communicate even to subjects which may appear the most trite and familiar.

'The opening of this description, my brethren, presents a picture which we are naturally averse to contemplate. We fly from it into the scenes of dissipation; "*the harp and the viol are in our feasts;*" and we seek to banish, in the transitory enjoyments of our being, the forebodings of its final close. There are times, however, when "*the hand of the Lord is upon us,*" and when the most thoughtless of us are "*carried out in the Spirit of the Lord, and are set down in the midst of the valley which is full of bones.*" We are called, perhaps, to follow to the grave the parents whom we venerated and loved; the companions of our youth, or the partners of our affections, drop down in the dust before us; even the buds of infancy are nipped; and those new affections, which seemed to carry us forward into a long futurity, are suddenly crushed in the moment of their formation. We then, willingly sit down with the prophet "*in the midst of the valley which is full of bones.*" We hear the wind sigh through the grass which covers them; we raise our languid eyes, and fix them on the monuments of mortality; we "*pass by them round about;*" the world, with all its splendour, and toil, and gaiety, vanishes from our sight: and we are drawn, by an irresistible impulse, to contemplate, with undivided attention, the gloomy scene, in which all we have admired or valued here, must inevitably terminate; on the "*very many bones in the open valley,*" deprived of every principle of life, and become "*very dry.*"

'In these moments of melancholy thought, when all the occupations of men seem insignificant, and for no end; when the labours or the enjoyments which fill up the space of our "*few and evil days*" seem only to deceive us with false hopes, or to give us a taste of happiness which must speedily pass away; when the beauty of creation itself

is lost to us, and the sun which shines above our heads seems only to "light us to the tomb;" what, I beseech you, is the only inquiry which we are anxious to make, the only information we are willing to receive? The voice which spoke to the prophet is then heard to speak in every human heart, and to utter the words of incalculable import, "*Son of man, can these bones live?*" The reply to this solemn inquiry will not, in that hour, my brethren, be the careless trifling of the sophist. The lofty mind of man will not then stoop to play tricks with its own ingenuity; but the eye of nature will be raised to heaven, burning through its tears; and the voice of the heart will cry aloud to the Father of existence, and will seek from him the knowledge of the destiny of man. "*O Lord God, thou knowest.*" The gloom of the grave is no darkness to thee; thou breathest into man the breath of life, and thou takest it away; thou alone canst tell whether his being may be renewed!

'It is thus we may interpret the reply of the prophet; and it is in this manner that light begins to break in upon the obscurity of "*the valley which is full of bones.*" With what gratitude are the first rays of that celestial light then hailed; and how eagerly does the soul apply for still further illumination to that living Source whence alone it can flow! How many doubts and misgivings are dispelled, when the God of nature is once fairly recognized; and, when the appeal is made to him, how willingly does he insinuate the prophecy of immortality!' p. 181—5.

The following eloquent recommendation of Christian charity, in our judgments of each other, exemplifies, in a striking manner, what we said in the outset, of the characteristic indulgence and liberality of this author.

'Yet in however sad a condition,—into whatever disorder man is thrown, he still retains some vestiges of his high original, and never seems entirely lost to the sense of good. When he is a martyr to vice, he hangs his head, and blushes with the consciousness which oppresses him; and if he should be unable to cast off the yoke, he yet shows that it is grievous to be borne. The most shameless characters will, in general, be found to be those who have had the least opportunity of knowing what is good; who, from the misfortunes of their childhood, have been thrown loose upon society, and accustoming, from their earliest years, to low and degenerate infamy. Indeed, on whatever forms of vice we fix our attention, something will occur to palliate; no man will appear radically and innately bad; and the race of men in general will seem rather to be labouring under a heavy misfortune, than to be the objects of unrelenting vengeance.

'If, then, my brethren, we could assume the station of some superior being, qualified to sit as judge on man,—himself exempt from human weaknesses, and only the spectator of human conduct,—even from such a station we could scarcely look down on this poor mortal creature with any other emotions than those of tenderness

and pity. True; we should be astonished with the view of extravagant folly; we should be shocked with the sight of detestable guilt; we should be confounded with seeing a creature formed to be good and happy, immersing itself in depravity, and running headlong to destruction. Yet there would be always something in man which would make pity predominate; and when we gazed in horror at the hardened ruffian, dealing in blood and breathing fury, we should still recollect the innocent playfulness of the same creature, while yet a child in its mother's arms.

'Such seems to be the aspect in which man has appeared to the great Being from whom he originally proceeded; and who, notwithstanding all his wanderings, has yet not discarded for ever this prodigal son. Some beings, we are told, of a higher nature than ours, have lost themselves so far, and have been guilty of such flagrant disobedience, that the Almighty has abandoned them to destruction. But to man an extraordinary rescue has been granted, and the most compassionate of all Beings has been sent into the world, to instruct, to comfort, and to die for him. Solicitations and entreaties have been made to call in the greatest sinners; and no human being appears too mean and despicable to receive the offer of heaven and of eternal happiness.

'Such is man in the eye of God; what, then, ought he to be in the eye of man?' p. 255—258.

There is an excellent sermon 'On the Temporal Advantages of Christianity,' from which we wish we had room to make more extracts than we dare now venture on. After drawing a fine picture of the superior morality, gentleness and security of modern times, the author proceeds—

'Are these distinguishing characteristics of the Christian world to be ascribed solely to the progress of civilization and philosophy? Why, then, were they not to be found in the ancient world? Some of the nations of antiquity were greatly advanced in all the arts and improvements by which social life is benefited and adorned; but they were far from possessing the same principles of wisdom, of humanity, and of justice, which are now understood at least, if they are but imperfectly brought into action. We are in the habit of boasting greatly of our advantages in point of civilization and philosophy; but we are not always very willing to acknowledge the source from which these advantages are derived to us. I will not, however, hesitate to affirm, that unless a steady beam from heaven had opened up to man the path of truth and of wisdom, the world would still have exhibited the melancholy spectacle of the blind leading the blind; and, instead of that fair and increasing fabric of knowledge and of improvement which we now behold rearing around us, which is founded upon the Rock of ages, and which the winds and the rains of time assail in vain, we should still have beheld the efforts of man wasted on some tower of Babel, beginning in extravagance, and terminating in confusion.

' From

‘ From these extensive views, let us turn to the more familiar consideration of the influence of Christianity on the habits of private life. How beautifully have these been improved by it! How much have the grosser vices been extirpated, or driven into obscurity! There is a sanctity and purity in the private life of good men, and by a kind of necessity in the domestic life of all men, which was far from prevailing in the world before the introduction of the gospel. Even politeness, and the manners of good society, however artificial they may be, are yet, in a great measure, produced by the influence of Christianity on the public mind. The amusements of men are regulated by the same spirit. There is a decency prevalent, which is expressive of innocence, and which cannot with impunity be greatly violated. Thus luxury has been restrained within bounds; the higher orders of society are prevented from carrying a license of manners far beyond the limits of propriety; and while they are indulged in those elegancies of life which are suited to their station, they are yet kept in check by the warning voice, that they must “*use these things as not abusing them.*” p. 200—202. *

The same strain of thought and of feeling is discernible in the following passage from a sermon on the evidences of immortality. The author is endeavouring to show how necessary it was that this great truth should be confirmed by a special revelation.

‘ But, secondly, my brethren, may we not be permitted to suspect that, upon this head, philosophers sometimes deceive themselves; and that the faith which they place in the doctrine of immortal life, however firmly it may rest on arguments from reason, is yet not a little supported in their minds by principles of which they are not so well aware. The most pious of the heathen philosophers did not shake off entirely their belief in the superstitions of their age, but were led often to think and feel like the least instructed of their countrymen. Among all the follies of the superstitions which surrounded them, they were yet willing to believe that revelations had been given to the human race; and they scarcely ever arrived at so much confidence in the conclusions of their own reason, as not to wish at least that some revelation might be given. If there is really any man in modern times, who, without faith in Christianity, still possesses a firm conviction of his immortality, I will venture to affirm, that the faith of that man is supported in no small degree by the existence of Christianity everywhere around him; and if he saw not the multitude going to the house of God, he would have less assurance than he now feels, that there is an eternal house in which all the true worshippers of God will one day be assembled.’ p. 165—66.

The following passage from a sermon on religious rites, is also extremely characteristic of the author. He is speaking of the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper.

‘ It may be remarked, that this method of instituting a memorial of his death, was quite in the manner adopted by our Lord in all his

instructions, and in his common conduct. It seemed part of his plan, to show that wisdom might be collected from every incident, the most trivial; and that the most serious truths might be impressed upon the mind from the occasion of very slight events. Thus, his instructions were constantly drawn from some of the circumstances in his own or his disciples' situation; and every common occurrence in their lives he turned into a source of useful doctrine. On this occasion, bread and wine were incidentally on the table before them; and, by a natural reference to his body and blood, to which these elements bore some resemblance, he made them symbols of the most important event which was ever to happen in the annals of time.

'The beauty and interesting nature of this sacrament appear, accordingly, from attending to the circumstances in which it was instituted. Secondly, let us attend to the manner of its observance. The event to be commemorated, is the death of our Saviour for the sins of the world. The manner in which this is commemorated, is not in sackcloth and ashes, in tears and lamentations, and stripes and penance. We are not required "*to give our first born for our transgression; the fruit of our body for the sin of our soul.*" We are not desired to go forth on pilgrimages to the holy sepulchre; to collect from every quarter relics of the cross; and to wear out the sacred pavements in prostration and kneeling. Nothing harsh; nothing burdensome; nothing melancholy is required from us. We are only desired to meet in fellowship around the table of our Lord; to personate the holy apostles; and to receive the sacred elements which he formerly distributed to those well-tried servants, when he met them for the last time before his death. We are desired to kneel down together, with the kind affections of Christian brethren, of men who partake in the same misfortune, and who look forward to the same deliverance. Perhaps, it may not be going too far to say, that the very form of this sacrament is a proof, that, in the whole course of our Christian warfare, nothing is expected from us which requires any very extraordinary or violent exertion. Our Saviour has done so much, that we are desired to do little more, than with faithful and honest hearts to look forward to the completion of his work. He asks nothing that is grievous and distasteful to our feelings; he only bids us remember him: and the manner in which we are to remember him, is not with downcast and sorrowful countenances, but with glad hearts, and by a social and friendly ceremony.' p. 359-362.

We shall not distress our profane readers with any further extracts. Those which we have now given afford a fair specimen of the book, and we scarcely think will appear tedious even to those gay persons. The pious, of course, find good in every thing; and, we suppose, take thankfully, and in good part, whatever is offered to them in the spirit of piety. They are the well that need not the physician; and sermons are their food, and not their

air physic. It is in the treatment of inveterate diseases, however, and in the management of refractory patients, that the skill of the physician is put to the test. Theology, we have no doubt, may be cooked more exquisitely for the palate of a spiritual episcure, than it is in the mess before us; but, considering it as a restorative for the weak, a sedative for the nervous, and a stimulant for the lethargic, we cannot bestow too much praise on its preparation. It is not our fault, but the fault of the world, if we are not able to describe its peculiar merits, any better than by saying, that we do not know any book of sermons over which a man of the world will be so little apt to yawn,—at which a scoffer will find so little opportunity and so little temptation to laugh,—and in which even a fanatic will so rarely meet with anything to excite his scorn or his fury.

ART. VIII. *A Permanent and Effectual Remedy suggested for the Evils under which the British West Indies now labour; in a Letter from a West India Merchant to a West India Planter.* London. Richardsons. 8vo. pp. 48. 1809.

SUCH is the unfortunate character of our colonial policy, that events, apparently the most advantageous to the national cause, are found to produce the most serious inconvenience to our West India settlements. The sugar market, which had experienced a considerable rise in consequence of the prohibition of the corn distillery, has been reduced to almost its former state of depression, by the capture of Martinique. A new example is thus afforded of the radical inefficacy of the remedies hitherto proposed for West India distresses; and if we look back to the history of these distresses, we shall find occasion for a similar observation at every stage. They commenced in 1799, when a large and unexpected importation of sugar glutted the market. This overstock, and the consequent pressure on the planter, has since been permanent, with the exception of two intervening periods of relief. These occurred in 1800 and 1804. In the former of these years, sugar was introduced into the home distillery; in the latter, the crop was deficient, and prices rose in consequence of the small importation. Of ten years, therefore, two only have been satisfactory to the planter; and, what is still more remarkable, the favourable prices of both these years have been the result, not of any settled system of policy, but of accidental and transient causes. All this shows that the evil is deeply rooted, and that neither the exertions of the West India merchants, nor the labours of our Parliamentary Committees, have produced any "permanent and effectual remedy."

The

The pamphlet which bears this imposing title is the work of a West India merchant, who recommends at once a reduction of the growth of sugar, as the only means of obtaining an adequate price. This opinion we have ourselves uniformly entertained; but subject to the qualification, that when once a balance should be established, by a series of sacrifices on the part of the planter, an advantage so painfully obtained should not be forfeited by the avidity of our ministers to make new conquests among the sugar colonies of our enemies. Recent experience however has shown, that any such expectation would be ill founded, and that the planter would have no security for the permanent efficacy of the proposed remedy. He must not flatter himself, that deliberate calculations of public utility will outweigh, in the minds of our governors, the *clat* of a conquest. The lives and the treasure wasted in the capture, the subsequent expence of defence, and even the ultimate unproductiveness of the acquisition, are all considerations too cold and feeble to stay the hand of such animated combatants. Neither must the British planter expect, that our government will adopt as a permanent rule, the exclusion of the produce of newly conquered colonies from home consumption. This measure is new; it has been practised only in the two instances of the Danish islands and Martinique; it is adverse to the wishes of the consumers of such produce in this country; it is adverse to the wishes of our manufacturers. Of course a very numerous class will be interested in opposing such restrictions, and in urging government to adopt the plan of unlimited intercourse, as that which would enable the mother country to extract the largest profit from her new acquisition.

Since, therefore, the planter can have no security, during the war, for deriving any benefit even from a reduction of growth, it behoves him to consider what other means may afford him an immediate relief. We have felt ourselves under the necessity of objecting to several of those expedients, which the West India body have pressed with the greatest urgency; and this opposition must be repeated, whenever their claims are at variance with those general principles which govern the prosperity of nations. But the late proceedings of our Government have rendered the planter an object of peculiar commiseration. Not only is he obliged to send all his produce to one market, but he has the mortification of finding that market glutted by the intervention of strangers. The original compact between him and the mother country, was that of monopoly for monopoly; but the mother country has virtually released herself from the obligation, at the very time that she claims its most rigid observance from him. After opposing his relief at the expence of other classes of the community, we consider it due, therefore, both to justice and humanity, to plead his cause against oppression.

sion. He has been instrumental, indeed, in creating his own embarrassments, and he has prolonged their duration, by an ignorance of the proper mode of relief. He has no claim, therefore, to favour or exclusive privilege; but he has a claim to impartial justice, and to the full benefit of his own activity in extricating himself from the misery in which he is involved.

One of the greatest advantages resulting from the study of that legacy which Dr Smith bequeathed to his species, is the knowledge that, in all matters of commercial intercourse, justice and policy infallibly go together. It is in vain that artificial distinctions are suggested between the interests of one part of an empire and another; or, to speak more generally, it is in vain that we imagine that what causes loss to those with whom we trade, can be productive of gain to us. It results from the nature of trade, and from the operation of capital, that the commercial advantages of both parties are inseparably interwoven; that no circumstance can yield us large profits, except the prosperity of those with whom we trade; and that all gains which we appear to make at the expense of those with whom we trade, are ultimately deductions from our own emolument.

But the maxims which regulate our colonial policy are of a very different description. It is there assumed as a principle, that a radical difference exists between the interest of the mother country and her colonies; and it is a suitable corollary to this proposition, that, in all cases of competition, the latter must be sacrificed to the former. Hence the compulsion to send us home the whole of their produce, whether we want it or not; hence the threatened compulsion to take all stores from our North American colonies, to the utter exclusion of the United States. It never enters into the calculation of these active statesmen, that for every hundred pounds which we gain in consequence of them, our planters lose a thousand; that every thousand pounds thus lost, is lost to the employment of British industry, and forms a deduction from the sum of British capital. The outside appearance is all that they seem able to comprehend, in regard to any measure of colonial policy. They enlarge, for example, on its employing an additional number of British shipping, without considering that this employment is procured by the sacrifice of a portion of national wealth, which, under better management, would have been adequate to the employment of ten times as many ships and seamen.

There is nothing, therefore, that promises more fairly to alleviate the distresses of the planter, than to give him the free disposal of that surplus produce which remains after supplying the

consumption of the mother country. Simple as this request is, and beneficent as its effects would be to the empire at large, it would have to encounter the opposition of several powerful classes amongst ourselves, who, in the true spirit of mercantile prejudice, would conceive themselves grievously injured. Indeed, so erroneous are the views of many among us, in all complicated questions of national policy, that it is matter of no little difficulty to predict when we may become enlightened enough to adopt this measure in its full extent. One branch of it, however—the barter of colonial produce for American stores, appears, from what has lately passed in Parliament, to be under consideration at present; and the advantage is so clearly on the side of liberality, that we are induced to lay the merits of the case pretty fully before our readers.

Ever since the settlement of our North American and West Indian colonies, the former have been in the habit of supplying the latter with fish, stores, and lumber. This intercourse is founded both on their vicinity and on their relative objects of cultivation. So long as North America remained British, this intercourse was free and uninterrupted; but when the United States became independent, the continuance of the traffic was restricted to British shipping. During peace, this restriction was not productive of serious injury; but in war, it was speedily discovered that our merchantmen could not fail in the face of enemy's privateers with sufficient regularity for the supply of our colonists. Accordingly it became necessary to permit the access of American vessels; which was done under the limitation, that they should be vessels of only one deck and under seventy tons burden. The exchange of commodities was also restricted in conformity to the profound maxims of the mercantile system. Instead of following the course of reason and common sense, and permitting buyer and seller to make their bargain in their own way, our laws allowed only a very limited export of sugar and coffee in American ships. Of sugar, for example, the quantity was confined to 6000 hhds. The rest we must needs bring home *in toto*, that we might make sure, as we imagined, of the profit on it in every stage. We cared very little whether this was injurious or not to our colonies; and we had not sense enough to foresee that it would be injurious to ourselves.

Such was the nature of the traffic between our sugar colonies and the United States from 1794 to 1806. It is to be observed, that although virtually permitted by Government, it was not during all this time acknowledged in law, being carried on in virtue of proclamations issued from time to time by the governors of our West India colonies, on their own responsibility, for which they were

were afterwards indemnified by an Act of Parliament. In 1806, the new Ministry, desirous of gradually opening the eyes of the public to the futility of certain favourite laws, brought forward the American Intercourse Act; an Act, by which, without any substantial change in the traffic, a character of legality was conferred on it, and our island governors exempted from responsibility for its toleration. The clamour, raised against this Act by the shipping interest, and by several of our merchants, will remain on record as a striking example of mercantile bigotry, and an evidence of the disqualification for liberal views which a life of practical detail has a tendency to produce. The Ministers gave way, in some degree, to this clamour; with a facility of acquiescence, which, when shown, as in this instance, to the claims of selfishness and prejudice, deserves no other name than weakness. The point in which they yielded, was that which we have noticed above—the permission of selling a stipulated quantity of sugar and coffee to the Americans. This permission they consented to take away, and to prohibit entirely the future sale of either of these articles to the Americans:—a remarkable example of the pernicious half-measures so often introduced into our political code by the influence of particular classes of the community, in opposition to the national interest, and in contradiction to the wishes of Government.

The prohibition proved, as might have been foreseen, extremely injurious to the planters. Embarrassed by an overstock of produce, they have since continued to petition Government to permit the barter of sugar and coffee with the Americans, to a limited extent at least. In this request they are now joined by the Committee of the House of Commons, which sat last session on West India affairs. The report of this Committee shows, that our planters receive from the United States an annual supply of stores, consisting chiefly in the essential articles of fish, flour, staves and lumber; that in consequence of the prohibition in regard to the barter of sugar and coffee, our planters are now forced to pay for two-thirds of these stores in money; that this money is afterwards carried to the enemy's islands, and invested in the purchase of produce; that this produce is carried to America, where it supplies the consumption of the country, and leaves a surplus to be conveyed in American shipping to Europe, where it operates to the exclusion of our own produce from the continental markets. The Committee therefore recommend, that the planters should be permitted to barter sugar and coffee with the Americans to a certain extent—to the extent, namely, of the value of the stores which they receive from them.

Nothing can be more reasonable or more consonant to sound policy than this recommendation. The opposition to it proceeds now, as formerly, from two quarters—our Canada merchants, and

our shipping interest. The former, by whom we mean our merchants connected with Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, lay in a claim to the exclusive supply of all stores which Great Britain cannot herself furnish to her colonies. But it seems from the Report (July 1807) of a Committee sufficiently disposed to favour the views of the British North Americans, that our provinces are as yet very ill fitted to meet the wants of the sugar planters; and it is shown by the very explicit evidence of the agent for Jamaica (Report, 10th June 1808,) that on an average of years, the planters take only one tenth of their stores from British America, and the remaining nine-tenths from the United States. The conclusion therefore is, that however we may be disposed to confine this traffic to our own shipping or our own provinces, in peace, war is not the season for the exclusion of neutrals; because they can bring cheap and frequent supplies of stores to our planters, while our own shipping are subject to extra expense from high insurance, and to delays both from want of seamen and of convoys.

Such is the state of the case as it regards the Canada merchants. The arguments of the shipping interest will require a much longer consideration; not from being in reality of greater weight, but from their being connected with the maintenance of our navigation-laws, that popular system, to which so many of our politicians good-naturedly attribute our naval superiority.

The value of American stores annually imported into our colonies (before the embargo) has been computed, we understand, at 25,000 hogsheads of sugar. This quantity is equal to the average cargoes of about seventy of our West Indiamen. The greatest evil, then, that can happen, is the employment of seventy sail of shipping less in that branch of trade, that is, a twelfth of the whole number. Against this, however, the shipowners exclaim with a vehemence, of which the real motive is an apprehension of lessened profit, but under the convenient plea of a concern lest the country should suffer by the discouragement of our seamen. There is no ground, however, for dreading the discouragement in the slightest degree. During war, so many of our seamen are pressed into the navy, that the majority of the crews of our West Indiamen are Danes, Swedes and Germans. If we compute the number of British seamen at present on board seventy of our West Indiamen at five hundred, we are probably above the mark. This is, therefore, the whole number that would be exposed to want of employment; but this want of employment would be of very short duration: since it is well known to all connected with shipping, that our shipmasters give a decided preference to British over foreign seamen. Accordingly, room would
very

very soon be made for these seamen on board of our East or West Indiamen, and a correspondent number of foreigners excluded. There is, therefore, not the slightest apprehension that a single British seaman would, by this measure, be put out of employment.

The second argument against the requested barter, is addressed to our mercantile jealousies. It is this. 'You limit the extent of the barter by law; but neither the British planter, nor the American shipmaster, will be disposed to confine themselves to this limit. They will endeavour to export more produce than the value of the imported stores.' The answer is as follows. Before 1806, the Americans being allowed to load and unload at creeks and bays, smuggling might have been practicable; but, since that year, they have been obliged to confine themselves to certain specified ports, at each of which there is a customhouse, with at least three officers, and generally more. These receive manifests, and grant clearances, with the same regularity as in Great Britain. Instruct these officers to value every American cargo on its arrival, and to regulate the amount of exported produce by the strict amount of exported stores; or, if you wish to avoid giving a discretionary power to your customhouse officers, let a specific and permanent value by quantity be affixed to American stores in general orders from home, (as, staves at so much the thousand, flour so much the cwt., &c.); and direct that, without the formality of repeated valuations, the import of certain quantities of stores shall justify the export of correspondent quantities of produce. Besides, were the means of prevention less effectual, it would be no easy matter to smuggle so bulky a commodity as sugar. A late Chancellor of the Exchequer urged this circumstance (Budget 1806) as an argument for laying an additional tax on sugar; and it would be hard dealing towards the planter, to take the benefit of the argument, in burdening his produce, while we denied its application for his relief.

Could the shipowners take a deliberate view of their own interest, they would find that this measure, however ungracious in appearance, would in reality be in their favour. They might, indeed, employ fewer ships by a twelfth in the West India trade; but the rate of freight, at present so much complained of, might be raised when the commodity conveyed could better afford an advance. Besides, if relief be denied the planter, his crops must fall off, (as is shown by the author of the pamphlet before us), and their freight be lost in future to the shipowners; while, if the barrier in question be permitted, there is a chance that the full quantity will be kept up for the shipowner at a peace, at which time there can be little doubt of an end being put to the access

of American vessels. These unwelcome agents will thus have preserved to our shipowners an extent of employment, which they are unable, during war, to preserve for themselves.

We would recommend to the perusal of the shipowners, the following extract from Sir William Young's *Common-Place Book*, (p. 163.), on the subject of the America Intercourse Act of 1806, against which the shipowners had petitioned.

'Admitting the whole of the case as stated by the petitioners to Parliament, I must contend, that they look for relief, where relief is not to be had: in resorting to the American intercourse with the West Indies, they catch at a mere straw, which cannot hold them up for a moment; they ask for that which they could not avail themselves of, if granted; they seek a monopoly of a carrying-trade, of which they could not retain a share for more than a single season, even if it was practicable for them, under the circumstances of the war, to engage in at all. *British built* schooners, and other small craft of Bermuda, navigated according to law, that is, as allowed in war, by three fourths American sailors, but in fact principally by negro slaves, and belonging to storekeepers in the British islands, would, from under-freight, and frequency of trip, out-traffic, and soon chase from the trade every English ship; and not a shipowner of London, or shipbuilder of the Thames, would be benefited.'

Having thus examined the measure of barter, as it regards the shipowners, we shall next advert to its effects on the West India merchants, and on our Government. Our ministers, like our merchants, are so much accustomed to attach the notion of profit to business of all kinds, and in all quantities, that it is a matter of no small difficulty to persuade them that they can be gainers by a partial relinquishment. Nothing, however, can be clearer than this in respect to both these parties. By lessening the overstock in the home market, you raise prices. The merchant would earn a larger commission by selling 200 hogsheads of his correspondent's sugar at a fair price, than 250 hogsheads at the ruinous price of late years; and, what is of infinitely greater consequence to him than any commission, his correspondent, who generally owes him a large sum, would be redeemed from the danger of insolvency. To Government there would be a gain in two ways; directly, in saving the bounties payable on export when the home market is low; and indirectly, to a much larger amount, in the improved circumstances of the planters, and their consequent ability to pay taxes. The property-tax, for instance, which at present is a blank letter in regard to planters, because they have no income, would, in case of an improvement of their circumstances, become a fund of considerable produce.

Obvious and incontrovertible as these arguments are, their progress in operating conviction has been extremely slow; or, rather,

ther, they would have had no chance against our favourite system of absolute monopoly, had not the misery of the planter spoke in the loudest accents. The fear of entirely losing so productive a member of the community, has at last awakened a part of us to the necessity of granting the permission to barter,—a permission which sound policy would have dictated long ago. Still, however, the prospect of obtaining it is doubtful. It is now about eighteen months since the majority of the London West India merchants were persuaded, or rather alarmed, into an application to Government for the permission in question. To this request Government at that time gave a direct negative; but, since additional light has been thrown on the subject by the report of the Committee, it is to be hoped that no objections will be urged from so high a quarter.

We have now considered this measure with reference to our shipping interest, our mercantile interest, and our revenue. To the first, we contend that it is not injurious; to both the others, we have shown that it is highly beneficial. Still, however, it is alleged that it would be an infraction of the Navigation-laws; and the name of Navigation-laws is so sacred with the multitude, who scarcely know what they mean, as well as with the very small number whose knowledge of them is somewhat more accurate, that it may be necessary to discuss this part of the subject at some length.

In the first place, it is a curious circumstance, after all we have heard on the subject, that there would, strictly speaking, be no infraction of the Navigation-laws. These laws do not restrain the direct intercourse between us and any foreign country whose shipping brings us her own produce, and takes back ours. The object of these laws is, to prevent a third party from acting as a carrier between the two. In the present case, the point at issue regards the direct intercourse between two countries exchanging their respective produce; there is no question of a third party as carrier: of course the case does not come under the Navigation-laws. It is our colonial monopoly act which would be infringed; but as this title is not altogether so popular as Navigation-law, the ship-owners graciously enough make use of the latter.

But, admitting that the colonial monopoly act is substantially a part of the navigation code, does it follow, that nothing bearing the name of Navigation-law is to be infringed or altered? If so, why did the present Ministry, the friends of this code, so conspicuously infringe it, in their second Order of Council of 11th November, 1807? If it be admitted that these laws, like all other laws, are open to alteration, when the advantage of a partial relaxation is clearly greater than its disadvantage, it would be difficult

cult to find a case in which the balance of advantage was clearer than in the present.

What was the object of our Navigation-laws? To maintain and increase the number of our seamen, for the purpose of manning a large navy in time of war. Peace, accordingly, is the season of their operation; because our seamen, not being then employed in the navy, must be employed in merchantmen; and because our mercantile flag, having then a free course, can stand competition with that of other countries. During war, the employment of our shipping, to an equal extent, is not practicable, because neutrals possess great advantages over us; neither is it necessary, because our seamen are employed in our navy. Accordingly, in peace, our Navigation-laws are enforced; and enact, that three fourths of the crew of every British ship must be British: in war they are relaxed, and more than three fourths of the crew are frequently permitted to be foreign. May they not be safely relaxed by a country, which has in active service above 150 sail of the line, and 120,000 seamen?

The shipping interest, or, to designate them more appropriately, the shipowning interest, argue, that the object of our Navigation-laws is to encourage our shipbuilding, as well as our seamen. In admitting this point, we must remark, that the provisions in favour of shipbuilding are of subsequent date to those in favour of seamen. It is therefore fair to infer, that the former was considered in subserviency to the latter by the framers of these acts. If this idea of subserviency existed in that remote period, when it was natural to suppose that naval power depended on the number of our vessels, how much more ought it to be so at present, when we are apprised that the building of ships may be increased, like any other branch of trade, almost at pleasure whenever it becomes expedient to increase the proportion of capital employed in it! As to materials, even when excluded from all the rest of the world, there are open to us our own forests, and the forests of our North American colonies.

It has been alleged, that unless our shipbuilding be encouraged, we may be deficient in a mercantile navy to receive our fumes at a peace. The answer to this is, that, at a peace, the whole of our transports become available to the merchant service; that a considerable interval (generally six months) elapses between the signature of the preliminaries and the ratification of the definitive treaty; and that, as our seamen are never paid off from the navy till the latter take place, the whole of this interval may be employed by the shipowners in preparing for the approaching demand. Finally, if there be any great and sudden call for shipping, it is always in the power of Government to permit the purchase

chase of foreign shippings, by suspending the tax on it for a limited period.

To those who resist any interference with our Navigation-laws, on the general plea, that they are the foundation of our naval preponderance, it is important to observe, that our naval preponderance rests on a very different basis. Our national energy and wealth originate in our freedom, and in that security of property which is its happy consequence. The number of our seamen in merchant shipping is owing to the spirit and capital of our traders, and to our great extent of coast. Their professional courage and skill arises from their habits of independence, and the stormy latitudes in which they are exercised. The magnitude of our navy is due, neither to navigation-acts, nor to colonial monopolies, but to the financial means of an industrious country, the labour of whose population supplies a fund which enables its Government to maintain a great establishment in arms:—such is the auspicious progression of freedom, security of property, industry, increase of private wealth, and, finally, of public revenue. Any country, however small, which enjoys liberty, will speedily find itself in the career of improvement. Liberty enabled the small republics of Holland and Switzerland to take the start of all their neighbours, and to maintain their independence for centuries. Their comparative weakness of population, however, made their ultimate downfall unavoidable. They fell, as soon as their powerful neighbour was awakened, by a temporary possession of liberty, to a knowledge of her strength. Our hope of continued independence fortunately rests on a very different foundation. Our insular situation is both an admirable barrier against invasion, and the origin of a force of the greatest efficacy in offensive warfare. Our population will be large, whenever a better policy shall enable us to count the five millions of Ireland amongst the well-affected citizens of the empire. Although greatly inferior to France in extent of territory and in population, we may be safe from her arms, and from the arms of all Europe combined, if we infuse into our political system all the vigour which a free and enlightened government can bestow.

How different are the ideas suggested by such observations, from the narrow theories of those who trace our naval superiority to the operation of a few acts of Parliament! They remind us of the technical philosophy of the judge, who gravely ascribed the lamentable prevalence of duelling, not to the violence of human passions, but to a ‘misapprehension of the law of the land.’ Besides, our naval greatness, as is well remarked by Dr Smith, was conspicuous before our navigation laws were framed. It existed then, as it had done before, and has done since, in a degree commensurate

mensurate with our commerce, and with the extent of our national prosperity. These circumstances, and not navigation laws, will be found the regulators of naval power in all countries. They determined its extent among the Dutch, to whom, even in the season of their greatest strength, navigation laws were entirely unknown. * It is important to remark, that the tendency of our navigation laws is not, as acknowledged by their advocates, * to increase national wealth. It is admitted to be in some degree the reverse; so that the question of their expediency depends on the consideration, whether we have employed more seamen with these laws than we should have done without them; and also, whether the additional number so employed is an equivalent to the accompanying loss of national wealth. If, for example, it can be made to appear that the greater wealth we should otherwise have possessed, would have supplied a revenue adequate to the maintenance of an equal number of seamen in the navy, it would follow that we are no gainers by these acts: and if it further appear, that this additional revenue would have been equal to the maintenance of twice or three times as many seamen, it would be clear that we are losers by them. To enter into these discussions at present, would much exceed our limits;—nor is it necessary for the purpose of obtaining a favourable hearing to the request of barter, which we have already shown would not, during war at least, have the effect of depriving a single British seaman of employment. In peace, the traffic would be transferred from the American shipping to our own.

In regard to the extent of benefit to be derived to our planters from the requested barter, there may be some difference of opinion. The prospect of advantage is certainly much greater since the reduction of Martinique. But we are less desirous to calculate its specific amount, than to satisfy our countrymen, that so long as we have 120,000 seamen in pay, it is impolitic in us to expose ourselves to heavy losses for the sake of an insignificant addition to the number. Instead, therefore, of forcing the employment of our shipping, to the great injury of ourselves and our West India colonists, in a particular branch of trade, where we could gain so much more by permitting the access of neutrals, let us lay open the intercourse, during war at least, and make for once an experiment of the effects of leaving things to their natural operation.

ART.

ART. IX. *Lettres et Pensées du Maréchal Prince de Ligne, publiées par Mde. la Baronne de Staël Holstein. Contenant des Anecdotes inédites sur Joseph II, Catherine II, Frederic-le-Grand, Rousseau, Voltaire, &c. &c. et des Remarques intéressantes sur les Turcs.* 12mo. 2 Vol. London. 1808.

THIS is a very amusing little book ; and very instructive, too, for those who care about instruction. The Prince De Ligne, it seems, was (or is, we suppose, for he is still alive) the man of the most brilliant conversation in all Europe,—allowed by the French themselves, though not a Frenchman born, to have more wit, grace and vivacity in society, than any other person,—a great personal favourite with half the Sovereigns of the world,—a great lover of war and of literature, and equally well acquainted with the distinguished generals and famous authors of his day. Such is the picture drawn of him, at least by Mad. De Staël,—an acute observer certainly of characters, and a penetrating judge of talents. To illustrate it, she has selected the contents of these volumes as specimens of his pleasantry and penetration. They consist of a few letters to the King of Poland, on the subject of the great Frederic of Prussia ; a greater number addressed to a French lady, containing an account of the Empress Catherine's famous progress to the Crimea, along with the Emperor Joseph, in 1787 ; another series addressed to the said Emperor and to M. Segur, during the siege of Oczakow in 1789 ; a few more on the death of the Emperor, to the Empress of Russia ; a collection of thoughts and maxims ; with some anecdotes of Rousseau and Voltaire, and one or two characters of less celebrated individuals, in an epigrammatic and antithetical manner.

After perusing the whole of these pieces, we agree with Mad. De Staël that the Prince de Ligne is very lively and entertaining ; and even that he assumes the language of philosophy and philanthropy with considerable grace and ingenuity : But his wit is often too strained, artificial and obtrusive, for our insular taste ; and, in the midst of all the political dogmatism and good-natured arrogance, which is natural, we suppose, to princes who are generals and ambassadors, we think we can descry a profound ignorance of the true constitution and progress of society, and an entire disregard of the rights and feelings of the inferior orders. The book, indeed, is chiefly curious, we think, for the peculiar *aristocracy* of its tone and tenor, and for the glimpses it affords us of the personal views and feelings—the real motives and principles of the rulers of nations. Some of the anecdotes are merely curious and amusing ; but there are others which throw a strong light on the generical character of sovereigns.

Monsieur

Monsieur le Prince de Ligne, we ought to premise, is rather given to admire princes; and, much as he lives with them, and talks about them, it is not from him that we should ever learn the secret of their vices or weaknesses. It never seems indeed to have entered into his imagination, that tyranny or ambition should be considered as faults in such august personages as Emperors and Kings; and, even of the smaller vices that come within his cognizance, he is more frequently the apologist than the reprov-
er. In so far as mere personal manner, taste, and talent for conversation are concerned, his sketches are very lively and characteristic; and many traits are unconsciously scattered about, which may be the foundation of more important conclusions.

The first series of letters relates to Frederic of Prussia; and, though written to the King of Poland in 1785, are chiefly occupied with an account of conversations which passed in 1770. In that year, the author attended the Emperor Joseph in that amicable visit which he paid to Frederic in his camp of Newstadt, and had daily opportunities of conversing with that remarkable person during the three weeks that the visit lasted. We hear nothing, in all this scene, of the arbitrary principles or the hard-heartedness of Frederic, but a great deal of his loquacity, of the grace with which he moved his lips, and of his 'conversation Encyclopédique!' Some traits are very lively; and give a very complete idea of that rapid, desultory, careless sort of conversation, in which men of quick parts and admitted superiority are commonly given to indulge. After talking of the want of discipline in the French armies, his Majesty is represented as having run on in this manner.

'C'est une braye et aimable nation que ces François; il est impossible de ne pas les aimer; mais, mon Dieu, qu'ont-ils fait de leurs gens de lettres? Et quelle différence de ton parmi eux? Voltaire en avoit un excellent, par exemple: d'Alembert, que j'estime à bien des égards, fait trop de bruit, et veut faire trop d'effet dans la société; étoit-ce les gens de lettres qui donnoient de la grâce à la cour de Louis XIV, ou la recevoient-ils de tant de gens aimables qui la composoient? C'étoit le patriarche des Rois, celui-là. On en a dit quelquefois un peu trop de bien pendant sa vie; mais beaucoup trop de mal après sa mort.' — 'Un roi de France, Sire, est toujours, le Patriarche des gens d'esprit.' — 'Voilà le plus mauvais lot; ils ne valent pas le diable à gouverner. Il vaut mieux être Patriarche des Grecs, comme ma sœur l'Impératrice de Russie. Cela lui rapporte, et rapportera davantage. Voilà une religion, celle-là, qui comprend tant de pays et de nations différentes. Pour nos pauvres Luthériens, il y en a si peu que cela ne vaut pas la peine d'être leur Patriarche.'

'Louis XIV ayant plus de jugement que d'esprit, cherchoit plutôt l'un que l'autre. C'étoit des hommes de génie qu'il vouloit et qu'il trouvoit.

trouvoit. On ne pouvoit pas dire que Cornaille, Bossuet, Racine et Condé fussent des hommes d'esprit.' I. 22—25.

The day after he appears to have been still more brief and variable.

'Mais quelle belle guerre d'apprentissage ! J'ai fait assez de fautes pour vous apprendre à vous tous, jeunes gens, à valoir bien mieux que moi. Mon Dieu, que j'aime vos grenadiers ! comme ils ont bien défilé en ma présence ! Si le dieu Mars vouloit lever une garde pour sa personne, je lui conseillerois de les prendre sans choisir.—Savez-vous que j'ai été bien content de l'Empereur, hier au soir à souper. Avez-vous entendu ce qu'il m'a dit de la liberté de la presse, et de la gêne des consciences ; il y aura bien de la différence entre lui et tous ses bons ancêtres.' I. 29.

There seems to have been a good deal of coarse raillery in his common talk to his generals, and some traits of a bad taste in the whole strain of his conversation. M. De Ligne has taken notice of his tendency to impiety, in this point of view ; and observed, with that peculiar fineness of expression which renders this book altogether untranslatable, ' qu'il mettoit un peu trop de prix à sa damnation, et s'en vantoit trop.' Upon the same principle, we suppose, he kept a doctor of the Sorbonne in his suite, with whom he disputed every day upon religion ; but told M. De Ligne, that he began to grow weary of him, ' comme il s'avisa d'être Janseniste.' He had likewise some whimsical fits of stateliness and formality ; and annoyed the Emperor not a little, by regularly taking his own horse by the bridle, when the Emperor put his foot in the stirrup,—putting his foot in the stirrup when the Emperor threw his leg over ; and thus going through all the stages of mounting, at the respectful distance of one movement behind his principal. M. De Ligne suspects there was some mockery at the bottom of all this, and that he went through these evolutions ' pour se montrer un Electeur discipliné.' The two Sovereigns appear to have been very cordial, and (moyennant le Prince De Ligne) often very gay together ; although there probably was, as our author observes, ' de part et d'autre un peu de personnalité—quelque méfiance—peut-être un commencement d'aigreur—ce qui arrive toujours (dit Philippe de Commines) aux entrevues des Souverains.' This account of Frederic is summed up with the following compliments, which, loyal as they are, would appear a little stiff and pedantic, we believe, in this country.

' Je ne crois plus aux tremblemens de terre et aux éclipses de la mort de César, puisqu'on n'en a pas éprouvé à la mort de Frédéric le Grand. Je ne sais si de grands phénomènes de la nature, Sire, annonneroient le jour où vous cesseriez de régner ; mais c'est un phénomène dans le monde qu'un Roi qui gouverne une République, en se faisant obéir et respecter pour lui-même, autant que par ses droits.' I. 66—67.

The next series of letters, being that addressed to Mad. Le Marquise de C. at Paris, during the famous Voyage de Crimée, in which M. De Ligne had the honour of attending the Empress Catherine in 1787, is, to our taste, the most pleasing of the whole. The playful and picturesque style of M. De Ligne has cast a pleasing light on the new objects which he has to represent, and has arranged them in interesting groups with the august personages in whose train they were surveyed. These letters remind us, in many places, of Lady Mary Wortley's charming correspondence from Turkey. The gaiety, to be sure, is more restless and impatient, and the compliments more high-flown and ambitious; but there is the same singular combination of the tone of the world, with the description of rude and romantic objects—reflections springing up in the midst of pomp and dissipation—and pleasantries interspersed with narrations of national importance. The description of the court of Catherine, with its profuse magnificence, and its mixture of Asiatic and European costume, is given in the true style of a Parisian.

‘ Ah ! bon Dieu ! quel train ! quel tapage ! que de diamans, d’or, de plaques et de cordons, sans compter le Saint-Esprit ! Que de chaînes, de rubans, de turbans et de bonnets rouges, fourrés ou pointus ! ceux-ci appartiennent à des petits magots qui remuent la tête comme ceux de votre cheminée, et qui ont le nez et les yeux de la Chine. Ils s’appellent des Lesghis, et sont venus en députation, ainsi que plusieurs autres sujets des frontières de la grande muraille de cet empire Chinois et de celui de Perse et de Byzance. C’est un peu plus imposant que quelques députés du Parlement ou des Etats d’une petite ville qui viennent de vingt lieues, par le coche, à Versailles, pour faire une sote représentation. Louis XIV auroit été jaloux de sa sœur Catherine II ; ou il l’auroit épousée, pour avoir tout au moins un beau lever. Les fils des Rois du Caucase, d’Heraclius, par exemple, qui sont ici, lui auroient fait plus de plaisir que cinq ou six vieux chevaliers de Saint-Louis. Vingt Archevêques, quoiqu’un peu malpropres, avec des barbes presque jusqu’aux genoux, sont plus pittoresques que le petit collet d’un aumônier du Roi. L’escorte d’ouhlans d’un grand seigneur Polonois qui va voir son voisin à une demilieu de chez lui, a meilleur air que les Hoquetons à cheval qui précèdent le triste carrosse et les six rosses d’un homme à rabat et à grande perruque, ’ &c. I. 69—71.

The embarkation of the Empress and her brilliant cortege at Kiou, on that proud navigation, where the King of Poland and the Emperor of Germany came to escort and admire her, is described with equal vivacity.

‘ La flotte de Cléopâtre est partie de Kiovie dès qu’une cannonade générale nous a appris la débacle du Boristhène. Si on nous avoit demandé, quand on nous a vu monter sur nos grands ou petits vais-

seaux, au nombre de 80, avec trois mille hommes d'équipage : *que diable alloient-ils faire dans ces galères ?* nous aurions pu répondre : nous amuser ; et *voguer dans les galères*. Car jamais il n'y a eu une navigation aussi brillante et aussi agréable. Nos chambres étoient meublées de taffetas chiné, avec des divans ; et lorsque chacun de ceux qui, comme moi, accompagnaient l'Impératrice, sortoit ou rentrait dans sa galère, douze musiciens, au moins, que nous avons sur chacune, célébroient notre sortie et notre rentrée ; il y avoit quelquefois un peu de danger pour y revenir le soir, en quittant, après souper, la galère de l'Impératrice, puisqu'il falloit remonter le Boristhène, et souvent contre le vent, dans une petite chaloupe. Même pour qu'il y eût de tout, nous avons essuyé une tempête, où deux ou trois galères ont échoué sur des bancs de sable. Notre Cléopâtre ne voyage pas pour séduire des Marc-Antoine, des Octave et des César. Notre Empereur est déjà séduit par l'admiration. Cléopâtre n'ave point des perles, mais en donne beaucoup, &c.—' J'ai oublié de vous dire que le Roi de Pologne nous a attendu à Kanievs sur le Boristhène ; il y a dépensé trois mois et trois millions pour voir l'Impératrice pendant trois heures. J'allai dans une petite pirogue Zaporavienne l'avertir de notre arrivée. Une heure après, les grands seigneurs de l'Empire vinrent le chercher dans une brillante chaloupe, et en y mettant le pied, il leur dit, avec le charme inexprimable de sa belle figure et de son joli son de voix :—Messieurs, le Roi de Pologne m'a chargé de vous recommander le comte Poniatowsky.—Le dîner fut très-gai ; on but à la santé du Roi, à une triple décharge de toute l'artillerie de notre flotte. En sortant de table, le Roi chercha son chapeau qu'il ne put pas trouver. L'Impératrice, plus adroite, vit où il étoit, et le lui donna.—Deux fois couvrir ma tête ! dit le Roi gaillardement, en faisant allusion à sa couronne. ' I. 78—82.

A little after, he writes—

' Je suis dans le Harem du dernier Kan de Crimée, qui a eu bien tort de lever son camp et d'abandonner, il y a quatre ans, aux Russes, le plus beau pays du monde. Le sort m'a destiné la chambre de la plus jolie de ses sultanes, et à Ségur celle du premier de ses eunuques noirs. Ma maudite imagination ne veut pas se rider ; elle est fraîche, rose et ronde comme les joues de madame la marquise. Il y a dans notre palais, qui tient du Maure, de l'Arabe, du Chinois, et du Turc, des fontaines, des petits jardins, des peintures, de la dorure et des inscriptions partout ; entre autres dans la très-drôle et très-superbe salle d'audience, on lit en lettres d'or, en Turc, autour de la corniche : *En dépit des jaloux, on apprend au monde entier qu'il n'y a rien à Ispahan, à Damas, à Stampoul d'aussi riche qu'ici*. Depuis Cherson, nous avons trouvé des campemens merveilleux, par leur magnificence Asiatique au milieu des déserts : je ne sais plus où je suis, ni dans quel siècle je suis. Je rêve encore, me dis-je, quand je rencontre de jeunes princes du Caucase, presque couverts d'argent, sur des chevaux d'une blancheur éblouissante. Quand je les vois
armés

armés d'arcs et de flèches, je me crois au temps du vieux ou de jeune Cyrus. Leur carquois est superbe : mais les traits du vôtre sont plus piquans et plus gais. Quand je rencontre des détachemens de Circassiens, beaux comme le jour, dont la taille, enfermée dans des corps, est plus serrée que celle de madame de L. ; quand je trouve ici des Mourzas mieux mis que la duchesse de Choiseul aux bals de la Reine, des officiers de Cosaques ayant plus de goût que Mademoiselle Bertin pour se draper, et des meubles et vêtemens, dont les couleurs sont aussi harmonieuses que celles de Madame Lebrun dans ses tableaux, je ne reviens pas de mon étonnement. De Stare Krim, dont on a fait un palais pour y coucher une seule nuit, je découvre ce qu'il y a de plus intéressant dans deux parties du monde, et presque jusqu'à la mer Caspienne : je crois que c'est une parodie de la tentation de Satan, qui ne montra jamais rien de si beau à Notre Seigneur.' I. 89—92.

The party seems, on the whole, to have been extremely pleasant ; and really leads us to hope, that the society of Emperors and Empresses may not always be quite so dull as we had imagined. Catherine, however, was unlike all other sovereigns ; and appears to have possessed very unusual powers of fascination in her manners and conversation. She seems to have been quite playful, and ' de plus bel humeur,' during this whole expedition. She insisted upon making verses herself, and upon tasking M. de Ligne to fill up *bouts-rimés*. She appears even to have encouraged certain practical jokes of her grand ecuyer, and to have gone through the whole progress in a spirit of gaiety and light-heartedness, which is in itself both amiable and edifying. She did not neglect, however, to display her usual splendid munificence through the whole journey. She distributed upwards of one hundred thousand roubles in presents in every town she visited, and gave away no fewer than forty-two superb services of plate—besides diamonds and gold boxes without number. In her carriage window was a large sack full of pieces of gold, with which it was the business of M. De Ligne and her other companions to pelt the heads of the peasants, who flocked from all parts of the country,—not to gaze on their Empress—that would have been too much presumption,—but to prostrate themselves with their faces on the earth by the side of the road along which she was to pass,—to hear the sound of her chariot-wheels, and to feel the descent of the golden shower which she scattered from her moving throne. M. De Ligne denies the truth of the story of the governors of the provinces having run up temporary villages by the side of her road, and driven the people into them for fifty miles round, to give her a favourable impression of the population of their districts ; but he admits, that there was a great *rassablement* of the people, and that the Empress was only allowed to see one or
two

two streets of the town, which she had ordered to be founded, and led to believe that the whole was constructed in the same style, when, in fact, all the remainder was a mere huddle of hovels.

The spectacles of these imperial personages on grammar and the belles-lettres, like the most other polite speculations, and do not require any particular notice; but their political dialogues possess a different sort of interest. The following passage, which seems to be faithfully recorded by M. De Ligne, in the unthinking gaiety of his heart, is calculated to awaken, in more sober minds, a thousand serious reflections.

‘ Je crois encore rêver quand, dans le fond d’une voiture à six places, qui est un vrai char de triomphe, orné de chiffres en pierres brillantes, je me trouve assis entre deux personnes, sur les épaules desquelles la chaleur m’assoupit souvent, et que j’entends dire en me réveillant, à l’un de mes camarades de voyage :—J’ai trente millions de sujets, à ce qu’on dit, en ne comptant que les mâles.—Et moi vingt-deux, répond l’autre, en comptant tout.—Il me faut, ajoute l’une, au moins une armée de six cents mille hommes, depuis Kam-schatka jusqu’à Riga.—Avec la moitié, répond l’autre, j’ai juste ce qu’il me faut.

‘ Nous passons en revue, en voiture, tous les états et les grands personnages. Dieu sait comme nous les accommodons.—Plutôt que de signer la séparation de treize provinces, comme mon frère George, dit Catherine II, avec douceur, je me serois tiré un coup de pistolet.—Et plutôt que de donner ma démission, comme mon frère et beau-frère, en convoquant et rassemblant la nation pour parler d’abus, je n’ai pas ce que j’aurois fait, dit Joseph II.’ I. 92—95.

This was said in 1787; and even then, it seems, the great Sovereigns of Europe considered their subjects as their property, and thought that the interference of the people, in wars supported by *their* blood and treasure, or in domestic regulations affecting *their* lives and properties, was an impertinent invasion of the privileges of royalty, which might and ought to have been repressed with firmness and disdain! It was George alone, and not the people of England, that were affected by the emancipation of America; and abuses were not to be spoken of in France, because the feelings and the dignity of Louis might be hurt by the discussion! The most foolish prince in Europe, we believe, will not speak or think *now*, as Catherine and Joseph spoke in 1787,—though courtiers may still be found, perhaps, to tell them that this is the language which becomes their condition. How M. de Ligne thought upon the matter, is pretty apparent from what he says of the Russian peasants,—those miserable wretches who were sold like the cattle on the lands they inhabited,—who were scourged at the discretion of every petty officer, civil and military, and obliged

to prostrate themselves on the earth, that they might not encounter the eyes of their munificent Sovereign. The state of these degraded beings, he assures us, admits of no improvement; and, if any such thing were attempted, they would beg not to be enlightened, or even permitted to pursue their game on the lands of their lords. They are only slaves, it seems, to the effect of keeping them from doing themselves mischief! These are nearly his very words, divested of their shallow flippancy.

‘Les sujets de cet empire, qu’on a la bonté de plaindre si souvent, ne se soucieraient pas de vos Etats Généraux; ils prieroient les philosophes de ne pas les éclairer, et les grands Seigneurs de ne pas leur permettre de chasser sur leurs terres. Malgré la chicane qu’ils font au Saint-Esprit, ils n’en sont pas maltraités, et sont plus fins qu’on ne pense: ils ont besoin de baiser la main de leurs Popes, et de se prosterner devant la Souveraine pour être soumis. Du reste, ils ne sont esclaves que pour ne pas se faire du mal, ni à eux, ni aux autres.’ I. 120, 121.

Yet M. de Ligne seems to have been really a goodnatured man, and even to have had a peculiar satisfaction in reflecting on the liberality and comprehensiveness of his own philanthropy! He knew more of the manners, however, than of the rights of nations; and makes very acute remarks on the general deportment and characteristic qualities of the Asiatic tribes.

‘Il n’y a de civil, me suis-je dit en les voyant, que les gens qui ne sont pas civilisés. On se fait ici une mine douce et plus ou moins respectueuse en s’abordant. La langue est noble comme le Grec ou l’Espagnol: elle n’a ni le sifflement, ni la grossièreté, ni le traînant, ni le chanté, ni l’ignoble des langues de l’Europe. Un Tartare seroit bien étonné, en arrivant dans la ville de l’urbanité et de la grâce par excellence, d’entendre sur le Boulevard un cocher parler à ses chevaux, ou, sur la place Maubert, une dame de la Halle causer avec sa voisine. Quelle comparaison aussi entre l’insolence, l’avarice et la saleté des nations de l’Europe, et la bonhomie et la propreté de celle-ci! rien ne s’y fait sans être précédé et suivi de libations.’ I. 123, 124.

The description of Moscow, too, is excellent: ‘It looks exactly,’ he says, ‘as if three or four hundred great old chateaus had come to live together, each bringing along with it its own little attendant village of thatched cottages.’

The next series of letters is from the camp of Prince Potemkin before Oczakow and Belgrade, in 1788; and contains various characteristic traits of that most extraordinary personage. His character, M. de Ligne observes, is like the country which produced him—mines of gold here and there in the midst of deserts. To us he has always appeared in the light of a complete savage; or rather as an instructive example of what human nature, even when richly

richly gifted, would run to, if pampered by the rank manure of perpetual indulgence. Such characters, we suppose, are common enough in the courts of the East; but Potemkin is the most remarkable *spoiled child* that has been allowed to play a part on the great theatre of Europe. There are few things more instructive or more humiliating, than the account which is given in some authentic book, the title of which we have forgotten, of the way in which this great warrior used to divert the attacks of ennui. When his spirits were depressed, he used to get a little table covered with black velvet, and spread out upon it all his diamonds, and the crosses and stars of his several orders, and play with them for several hours like a baby! M. de Ligne has drawn his character at full length, and in his most brilliant manner. It is infinitely partial, we suspect; and is too full of antithesis to be either correct or in good taste; but it is very lively, and we give the greater part of it.

‘ Je vois un commandant d’armées (le prince Potemkin) qui a l’air paresseux, et qui travaille sans cesse; qui n’a d’autre bureau que ses genoux, d’autre peigne que ses doigts; toujours couché, et ne dormant ni jour, ni nuit, parce que son zèle pour la souveraine, qu’il adore, l’agite toujours, et qu’un coup de canon qu’il n’essuie pas l’inquiète, par l’idée qu’il coûte la vie à quelques-uns de ses soldats. Peureux pour les autres, brave pour lui; s’arrêtant sous le plus grand feu d’une batterie pour y donner ses ordres, cependant plus *Ulysse* qu’*Achille*, inquiet avant tous les dangers, gai quand il y est; triste dans les plaisirs; Malheureux à force d’être heureux, blasé sur tout, se dégoûtant aisément, morose, inconstant, philosophe profond, ministre habile, politique sublime—ou enfant de dix ans; point vindicatif, demandant pardon d’un chagrin qu’il a causé, réparant vite une injustice; croyant aimer Dieu, craignant le diable qu’il s’imagine être encore plus grand et plus gros qu’un prince Potemkin; d’une main faisant des signes aux femmes qui lui plaisent, et de l’autre des signes de croix. Les bras en crucifix au pied d’une figure de la vierge, ou autour du cou d’albâtre de sa maîtresse; ne lisant jamais, mais sondant tous ceux à qui il parle, et les contredisant pour en savoir davantage; faisant la mine la plus sauvage ou la plus agréable; affectant les manières les plus repoussantes ou les plus attirantes; voulant tout avoir comme un enfant, sachant se passer de tout comme un grand homme; sobre, avec l’air gourmand; rongant ses ongles ou des pommes et des navets; toujours sans caleçon, en chemise, ou en uniforme brodé sur toutes les tailles; pieds nus ou en pantoufles à paillons brodés, sans bonnet, ni chapeau: c’est ainsi que je l’ai vu une fois aux coups de fusil, tantôt en mauvaise robe de chambre ou avec une tunique superbe, avec ses trois plaques, ses rubans, et des diamans gros comme le ponce autour du portrait de l’Imperatrice.’ II. 4—8.

There is an infinite number of anecdotes of this singular person;—his superstition and debauchery,—his singular gaiety and delight in danger,—and the incalculable caprices of his private and official conduct. At one time, he plunged his Mahometan prisoners into a great cold bath, and insisted that they were good Greek Christians after this baptism;—at another, he resolved to have a regiment of *Jewish* cavalry, to which he gave the name of *Israelowsky*. These worthy money-changers, however, M. de Ligne assures us, made very bad soldiers; and, with their long beards and their awkward gestures, looked more like monkeys than men. This series of letters is also full of curious anecdotes of the Turks, and a variety of remarks upon the best mode of meeting and discomfiting them in the field. From these details, we should be inclined to judge more favourably of their discipline and talents, than from any other modern report of them.

The next letters are addressed to the Empress Catherine, in 1790; and begin with an account of the death of Joseph, and a very elaborate character of him. The author has more apology for his partiality in this case, than in any other; and yet is perhaps less partial. He was so intimately acquainted with the distinguished person of whom he speaks, that it may be interesting to our readers to peruse the greater part of this delineation.

‘ Les circonstances ont refusé à Joseph II de brillantes occasions pour se faire connoître. Il ne put pas être un grand homme; mais il fut un grand Prince, et le premier parmi les premiers.—Il avoit peur de passer pour partial dans la distribution de ses grâces. Il les accordoit sans y joindre aucune manière aimable, et les refusoit de même. Il exigeoit plus de noblesse de la part de la noblesse, et la méprisoit plus qu’une autre classe quand elle n’en avoit pas; mais il est faux qu’il ait voulu lui faire du tort. Il vouloit la plus grande autorité, pour que d’autres n’eussent pas le droit de faire du mal.—Il savoit faire le Souverain, et tenoit bien sa cour quand il le falloit absolument: il donnoit alors à cette cour, qui avoit l’air d’un couvent ou d’une caserne toute l’année, la pompe et la dignité du palais de Marie-Thérèse. Son éducation avoit été comme celle de bien des Souverains, négligée à force d’être soignée; on leur apprend tout, excepté ce qu’ils doivent savoir.—Sa politesse étoit une sauve-garde contre la familiarité. Il entendoit bien les petites nuances: il n’avoit point cette affabilité dont tant d’autres Souverains font métier, et qui leur sert à marquer leur supériorité; il cachoit celle qu’il avoit dans plusieurs genres: il racontoit fort gaîment, et avoit beaucoup d’esprit naturel.

‘ Il ne savoit ni boire, ni manger, ni s’amuser, ni lire autre chose que des papiers d’affaires. Il gouvernoit trop et ne régnoit pas assez. Il se faisoit de la musique à lui-même tous les jours. Il se levoit à sept heures, et pendant qu’il s’habilloit il rioit quelquefois, et
sans

sans familiarité il faisoit rire son grand-chambellan, son chirurgien et ses gens, qui l'adoroient. Il se promenoit depuis huit heures jusqu'à midi dans ses chancelleries où il dictoit, écrivoit, corrigeoit tout lui-même ; puis il alloit le soir au spectacle.

En passant de son appartement à son cabinet, il rencontroit vingt, trente, jusqu'à cent mal vêtus, hommes ou femmes du peuple ; il prenoit leurs mémoires, causoit avec eux, les consolait, y répondoit par écrit, ou autrement, le lendemain à la même heure, et gardoit le secret sur les plaintes quand il ne les trouvoit pas justes. Il n'écrivoit mal que lorsqu'il vouloit trop bien écrire ; ses phrases étoient longues et diffuses : il savoit à merveille quatre langues, et encore deux autres passablement.

Sa mémoire, menagée dans sa jeunesse, en devint peut-être plus excellente ensuite ; car il n'oublioit ni un mot, ni une affaire, ni une figure : il se promenoit dans sa chambre avec celui à qui il donnoit audience, lui parloit presque avec effusion et d'un air riant, le prenoit par le coude, puis il paroissoit s'en repentir, et il reprenoit l'air sérieux. Il s'interrompoit souvent pour mettre une bûche dans sa cheminée, ou prendre les pincettes, ou aller un moment à la fenêtre. Il n'a jamais manqué de parole ; il se moquoit du mal qu'on disoit de lui.' II. 75--81.

The Prince's notions of politics (and the notions of a man who had seen so much are always matters of curiosity at the least) appear again in a subsequent letter to this Imperial correspondent, and in his own peculiar style of aristocracy.

À propos de cet hermitage, qui n'en est pas un, j'en fais bâtir un véritable sur la plus haute montagne, à une lieue de Vienne ; il s'appelle *mon refuge*, puisque je n'y suis pas plus exposé aux progrès de la philosophie qu'aux inondations. La liberté est une si belle chose ! celle des Pays-Bas me ruine tous les jours davantage : celle de la France me coûtera le quart de mes revenus. J'ai été assassiné et presque jeté à l'eau en Hollande, lapidé en Suisse, *boxé* en Angleterre, et au moment d'y être pris pour matelot par la liberté de la *presse*. J'ai été aimé à Venise par la mère du Doge. J'ai manqué d'être pris sur un vaisseau par les Ragusains, qui ont la liberté de piller partout. Je ne connois pas assez Lucques et Saint-Marin pour en parler. Je m'imagine que *Gênes* porte dignement son nom. C'est une très-belle chose que la liberté, mais la voilà en bonnes mains. Des manans qui se font ministres d'un Roi prisonnier ; des curés législateurs ; des avocats politiques, et des jeunes gens qui ne peuvent pas payer le mémoire de leurs tailleurs, veulent payer les dettes de l'état.' II. 89—91.

These sentiments, we have no doubt, were once very fashionable ; but it is not every one of the loyal persons who may be inclined to patronise them, who could guess to what cause the Prince de Ligne ascribes this revolutionary impulse. It is to neither more nor less than *the expulsion of the Jesuits*.

J'ajoute, il y a long-temps, que si l'on n'avait pas effrayé les jo-
santes, l'on ne verrait pas ce maudit esprit d'indépendance, de qui-
cane, de définition, de stérilité, se répandre comme un torrent, qui
renverse ou menace les trônes de toute l'Europe, excepté la Russie.
N. 109.

There is a vast deal of witty and finely-turned adulation in these
letters; though frequently rising to a height of extravagance, that,
in this cold country, would excite only derision. After a long
tirade, for instance, upon the talents, beauty, and greatness of
the Empress, the courteous and witty Prince recollects himself,
and exclaims—' But I have become *an eagle*, I find, unawares.
' I have looked steadily on the sun. Yes; and I have not been so
' much dazzled, but that I may be believed when I say, that there
' is not a spot upon it.' The Empress had said once, that she
could have done much more had she been a man; and, upon this,
M. le Prince de Ligne writes a long, laboured, courtierlike epistle,
to prove that she is much better as a woman. There is great ta-
lent, however, as well as great courtesy, in this diatribe. We may
give a little of it for the sake of the tone, as well as of the talent.

' Un Roi a souvent envie d'être un héros. Cela est bon pour nous
autres sujets, mais dangereux pour un Souverain: dès lors il s'ex-
pose à la jalousie de ses généraux, à l'esprit de parti dans sa propre
armée, à la ruine ou à l'usurpation. Le grand homme dispa-
roit imperceptiblement, et fait place à l'heureux conquérant, qui finit quel-
quefois par être conquis. Il rapporte dans sa cour la dureté des cam-
pagnes, l'humeur, la méfiance et la présomption.

' Mes camarades, les Mourza de la Tauride, n'auroient pas aussi
bien reçu un homme, et les Zaporogues, mes voisins, dans les terres
que V. M. m'a données, auroient dressé une embuscade au sublime
Empereur qui auroit voulu tout voir par lui-même. L'homme perd
en se montrant; la femme y gagne.

' Oserois-je écrire tout ceci à un homme, qui s'imagine toujours
qu'on veut le flatter, ou le tromper, ou lui montrer un talent qui
l'offusque? Les plats courtisans cherchent à rencontrer les yeux du
Souverain, qui ne sont souvent pas les plus beaux yeux du monde.
On cherche sans bassesse ceux de la Souveraine, non pour avoir un
grand gouvernement, mais un peu de succès dans la société. Le
grand homme à cheval fait trembler généraux, soldats, grands sei-
gneurs et paysans. Le grand homme en calèche avec cinq ou six jo-
lies femmes qui sont ses adjudans, est suivi des acclamations des gens
légers, et des bénédictions des gens qui pensent.

' Un Souverain dit toujours qu'il aime la vérité. Celle que la
Souveraine apprend lui inspire plus de confiance. Elle dit:—L'on
craint tant de m'ennuyer, de me déplaire, de ne pas être aussi bien
traité dans mon intimité. Il faut certainement que ce soit pour mon
bien qu'on ose me parler ainsi.—Ce qui n'est que fermeté de la part
d'une femme, est souvent entêtement de la part d'un homme. Ce
qui

qui n'est qu'une indulgence, pitié, ou facilité dans l'une, est foiblesse dans l'autre. Vingt-belle main d'acier depuis la sentinelle qui la baise, jusqu'aux Héraults et aux Gharnis. La main peut être sèche et décharnée d'un grand homme, mais ne feroit pas éprouver le même enthousiasme, et l'adulateur le plus prompt à la saisir s'y casserait le nez. Si un fils de Charles VI. avoit présenté son petit archiduc nouveau né aux Hongrois, auroit-il inspiré ce beau mouvement qui fit tirer le sabre pour une jeune, belle et infortunée Princesse de vingt-quatre ans, comme l'étoit notre grande Marie-Thérèse? II. 138-144.

Of the Maxims and reflections which follow these letters, it is scarcely necessary to say any thing. They show the same acute and fine observation of manners, and of the little doublings of character which affect manners, as the passages we have already cited; and the same want of large views and ignorance of first principles. We add one or two as specimens of the manner.

'Ce qui coûte le plus pour plaire, c'est de cacher que l'on s'ennuie. Ce n'est pas en amusant qu'on plaît. On n'amuse pas même si l'on s'amuse : c'est en faisant croire que l'on s'amuse.' II. 150.

'Il est malheureux pour la vertu que tant d'actions de gens obscurs soient inconnues, et qu'on ne puisse pas remonter aux auteurs cachés des grands résultats. On pourroit peut-être en déterrer quelquesuns : ce seroit une nouvelle manière d'écrire l'histoire. On raconteroit les grands effets et ceux qui passent pour les avoir produits : et à côté l'on feroit connoître les causes et les agens ignorés : ce seroit l'histoire souterraine, si l'on peut s'exprimer ainsi.' II. 162.

'Il me semble que ce que nous prenons le plus tôt et quittons le plus tard, c'est l'importance. Les enfans font les nécessaires. Les vieillards s'imaginent que de vieillir est déjà un mérite. Leur œuvre dernière, leur testament se fait même avec une sorte d'orgueil.' II. 185.

'Rien ne prouve plus la médiocrité, que les petits mystères à l'oreille, les conversations dans une embrasure de fenêtre, les nouvelles de gazettes qu'on donne pour des lettres qu'on a reçues, la discrétion sur les petites choses, la petite finesse et les cachoteries. Malheur à ceux qui n'ont pas ce qu'on appelle en peinture, la manière large !' II. 189, 190.

'L'imagination a plus de charmes en écrivant qu'en parlant. Les grandes ailes doivent se ployer pour entrer dans un salon. Si elle est trop vive, trop ardente, il faut l'arrêter, car en conversation trop de feu refroidit, trop de traits blesse, trop d'esprit humilie. Pour plaire, il faut savoir descendre et se mettre à la portée du plus grand nombre.' II. 193.

The author's account of his two interviews with Rousseau, is not very interesting; except that he also bears testimony to the singular fact of his being more original, copious and eloquent, in his *extempore* conversation, than even in the most splendid of his writings. The account of Voltaire is not very new either.

The memoirs of Marmontel, at least, had previously made us acquainted with the hysterical restlessness of spirit which agitated this great man—that perpetual and feverish activity, which wasted itself on all kinds of silly and absurd things, when more worthy ones were not at hand. Some parts of the conversation, however, are curious and characteristic.

‘ Nos gens d’esprit en ont tant, qu’ils en mettent jusques dans les titres de leurs ouvrages. Un livre de l’Esprit!—c’est de l’esprit follet que celui-là. L’Esprit des Loix!—c’est de l’esprit sur les loix. Je n’ai pas l’honneur de le comprendre. Mais j’entends bien les Lettres Persannes: bon ouvrage que celui-là.—Il y a quelques gens de lettres dont vous paraissez faire cas.—Vraiment, il le faut bien; d’Alembert, par exemple, qui faute d’imagination, se dit géomètre; Diderot, qui, pour faire croire qu’il en a, est enflé et déclamateur; et Marmontel, dont, entre nous, la poétique est inintelligible. Ces gens-là diroient que je suis jaloux. Qu’on s’arrange donc sur mon compte. On me croit frondeur, et flatteur à la cour; en ville, trop philosophe; à l’académie, ennemi des philosophes; l’anté-christ à Rome, pour quelques plaisanteries sur ses abus, et quelques gaietés sur le style oriental; précepteur de despotisme au parlement; mauvais François, pour avoir dit du bien des Anglois; voleur et bien-faiteur des libraires; libertin pour une Jeanne que mes ennemis ont rendue plus coupable; curieux et complimenteur des gens d’esprit, et intolérant, parce que je prêche la tolérance.

‘ Avez-vous jamais vu une épigramme ou une chanson de ma façon? C’est là le cachet des méchants. Ces Rousseau n’ont fait donner au diable. J’ai bien commencé avec tous les deux. Je buvois du vin de Champagne avec le premier chez votre père, et votre parent le duc d’Aremberg, ou il s’endormoit à souper. J’ai été en coquetterie avec le second; et pour avoir dit qu’il me donnoit envie de marcher à quatre pattes, me voici chassé de Genève, où il est détesté.’ II. 251—253.

‘There are several other scenes still more characteristic of that extreme vivacity and impatience which was continually hurrying him into little mistakes, short fits of anger, and transitions so rapid and capricious, as almost to be ridiculous. In this last particular, the Prince de Ligne seems to have copied the character of whom he was speaking. The following extract both describes and exemplifies this singular mutability:

‘ On auroit dit qu’il avoit quelquefois des tracasseries avec les morts, comme on en a avec les vivans. Sa mobilité les lui faisoit aimer, tantôt un peu plus, tantôt un peu moins. Par exemple alors, c’étoit Fénelon, La Fontaine et Moliere qui étoient dans la plus grande faveur.—Ma nièce, donnons-lui-en, du Moliere, dit-il à Madame Denys. Allons dans le salon, sans façon, les Femmes Savantes que nous venons de jouer.—Il fit Trissotin on ne peut pas plus mal, mais, s’amusa beaucoup de ce rôle. Malle. Dupuis, belle-sœur

sœur de la Corneille, qui jouait Marine, me plaisoit infiniment, et me donnoit quelquefois des distractions, lorsque ce grand homme parloit. Il n'aimoit pas qu'on en eût. Je me souviens qu'un jour que ses belles servantes suisses, avec jusqu'aux épaules à cause de la chaleur, passaient à côté de moi, ou m'apportoient de la crème, il s'interrompit, et prenant, en colère, leurs beaux couds à pleines mains, il s'écria : *gorge par-ci, gorge par-là allez au diable*. Il ne me prononça pas un mot contre le christianisme, ni contre Fréron. II. 255, 266.

It may give some readers pleasure to know, that M. de Ligne represents this great man as very benevolent and popular among the poor in his neighbourhood; and others may be gratified with learning, that he commonly wore iron grey stockings, with a waistcoat down to his knees, and a long wig; and that, on Sundays, he frequently put on an embroidered suit, with laced ruffles reaching to the ends of his fingers.

Such are the contents of M. de Ligne's volumes. They belong, as our readers will perceive, to the old *regime* of the Continent, and are certainly more graceful and entertaining on that account: But they are lamentably deficient in those sound views of policy which the author's constant intercourse with public characters might have led us to expect; and strongly confirm us in the opinion, that much of the misfortunes of Europe may be ascribed to the ignorance of those who lived in courts, of the progress which had been made by those who lived at a distance.

ART. X. *An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language: illustrating the Words in their different Significations, by Examples from Ancient and Modern Writers: showing their Affinity to those of other Languages, and especially the Northern: explaining many Terms, which, though now obsolete in England, were formerly common to both Countries: and elucidating National Rites, Customs, and Institutions, in their Analogy to those of other Nations: To which is prefixed, a Dissertation on the Origin of the Scottish Language.* By John Jamieson, D.D. &c. 2 Vol. 4to. Edinburgh, 1808.

THIS is a title-page of no slight pretension; but, after having gone through the book, we have no hesitation in saying, that the pretension is completely made good; and that Dr Jamieson has brought together a mass of curious and multifarious information, infinitely more valuable than any thing that has ever been presented to the public in this country under a similar form. A moderate knowledge of the Teutonic dialects has indeed been long

long claimed by our glossarists; but this has almost always been incredibly superficial; and many very curious and important affinities and illustrations still awaited him who should compare authors with authors, and not merely dictionaries with dictionaries. Of this ample store, Dr Jamieson has availed himself with singular industry and success; and has traced many striking instances of similitude between the Northern nations and the Scotch, in their manners and proverbial allusions; as well as detected the etymology, and explained the meaning, of many words which had foiled the ingenuity of his predecessors.

The preliminary dissertation on the origin of the Scottish language, has too much of a controversial character for the place which it occupies,—although it displays a great deal of learning and ingenuity, and more candour and temper than learned and ingenious men are commonly found to possess on such occasions. We cannot at present enter into the merits of this controversy, which we may probably find an early opportunity of examining. We shall only remark, in the mean time, that if Dr Jamieson's conception of the point in dispute be accurate, his whole Dictionary should be considered as an argument in support of his opinion, since it ought certainly to contain such abundant proofs of the true origin of the Scottish, as to render a formal essay on the subject unnecessary. In our humble apprehension, a clear narrative of the changes which the language has undergone from the earliest period to the present time,—with an account of the corresponding changes of customs and manners, at least so far as they may be traced or illustrated by the language,—and a view of the different dialects of the Scotch, as they are spoken in the north-eastern, western, and southern parts of the kingdom, would have formed a more appropriate introduction, and could not fail of being extremely interesting in the hands of such an author.

We should give our readers but a very imperfect idea of this work, if we were to allow them to imagine that it was interesting only to the mere philologist. It is a perpetual commentary on the ancient history and habitudes of our forefathers, and the tribes from which they were descended; and contains an infinite variety of particulars which should be known to those who are very indifferent about etymologies. To such as wish to investigate the customs, manners, superstitions, legal and political institutions of the Gothic nations of Europe, the following articles present much curious and valuable information, collected from sources not easily or generally accessible, and presented in a pleasing and satisfactory form.—Abbot of Vnressoun. Arch. Arles. Bayle-fire. Belly-blind. Beltane. Borch. Botwand. Brehon. Brent. Clap. Eytyn. Ger. Gild. Gossep, Hal-

Halloween. Hogmanay. Horn. Hows. Martins (St) Day. Mone. Monether. Pays Eggs. Roanree. Skul. Stang. Thane. Thumblicking. Udal. Warwolf. Widdersinnis.

. A very great number of passages in the old Scotch poets, which had been left in a corrupted or unexplained state by the most learned and ingenious of their editors, are restored, by means of Dr Jamieson's very extensive and minute acquaintance with the Gothic dialects, aided by a steady and sober judgment, and a correct taste, not often found among antiquarian philologists. Among these, we would particularly notice the passages that are quoted under the words—Auchr. To Beir. Brent. Brod-male. Burde. To dill. Epistel. Fernyear. Frest. To frist. Gair. Heydin. Herschip. Nittic. Schiltrum. Waith.—When the radical similarity between the language of the old English and the old Scotch poets, is considered, the value of Dr Jamieson's labours, in this respect, will be duly appreciated by those, who pursue this fashionable study on the other side of the Tweed, as well as by us, who may be supposed to feel some grateful partialities for the assistance he has afforded us in reading our favourite authors.

In a philological point of view, we consider the following articles deserving of much commendation.—*Als. Allthochte. An. Athil. Bene. Dey. Dysmal. Efter. Fe. Feu. To fickle. Gif. Gud. Gud-sonne. Harlot. Hit. Lawit. Ma. Me-think. Pauky. Quhille. Rak. Sen, prep. To tiel. Withoutyn.* Under the articles which we have printed in italics, the accuracy of Mr Horne Tooke's derivations is examined with a reference to the analogies in the different Gothic dialects. In many important points, Dr Jamieson has satisfactorily shown, that these analogies by no means support Mr Tooke's conjectures; and we are persuaded, that if the latter had been possessed of the extensive and accurate knowledge of the Gothic dialects displayed by our author, he would not have expressed himself in so decided and undoubting a manner, nor regarded the instances he has adduced, as supported by such complete and satisfactory evidence. We hope very soon, however, to have a better opportunity of appreciating the value of this ingenious writer's discoveries.

It is impossible, of course, to give any intelligible specimens of a dictionary in a review. We shall therefore transcribe but one or two articles, just to show in what manner Dr Jamieson sets about his business; and then lay before our readers the few corrections and additional illustrations which have occurred to us in perusing his work. It is scarcely possible to select extracts in a work, which is written throughout with equal ability. We take

take the article *Gossepe*, as being shorter than most others which include any dissertation.

* *GOSSEP*, *Gossor*, *Gossip*, one who stands as sponsor for a child.

For cowatice Menteth, apon fals wyss.

Betraysyt Wallace that was his *gossop* twyss.

Wallace, xi. 848. MS.

Schyr Ihon Menteth that tym was captane thar ;

Twyss befor he had his *gossop* boyn,

Bot na frendschip betwix thaim syn was seyn.

Ibid. viii. 1593. MS.

* J. Major, when giving an account of the treachery of Menteth, mentions this very circumstance as a peculiar aggravation. *Vetus est proverbium, nullus est capitalior hostis quam domesticus inimicus: in Joanne Mentetho, cujus binos liberos de fonte leuauerat plurimum confidebat.* De Gestis Scoti. Lib. iii. c. 15. Fol. 73, b. Edit. Ascensiau. 1521.

* Similar is the account given by R. Brunne, in his translation of Langtoft's Chronicle. It breathes all the violence of national hostility which characterised that disastrous period.

A Ihesu ! whan thou wille, how rightwis is thi mede !

That of the wrong has gilt, the endyng may thei drede.

William Waleis is nomen, that maister was of theues,

Tithing to the kyng is comen, that robberie mischeues.

Sir Jon of Menetest sewed William so nehi,

He tok him whan he wend lest, on nyght his leman bi.

That was thorght treson of Jak Schort his man.—

Selcouthly he endis the man that is fals,

If he trest on his frendes, thei begile him als, &c.

Chron. p. 329.

* A. S. *godsib*, Su. G. *gudsif*, are used in the very same sense, *lustricus*, sponsor ; from *God* and *sib*, *sif*—cognatus, (whence the Scotch *sib*), as denoting one related by a religious tie. It appears, however, that this term was more generally applied to the female sponsor, who, according to the forms still retained by the church of England, is called *God-mother*. It was then written *God-sibbe*. Hence *gossip*, in the modern acceptation, is more generally appropriated to the same sex. The male sponsor was more commonly denominated *God-faether*, Su. G. *Gud-fader* ; and the child, in relation to either male or female sponsor, A. S. *God-bearn*.

* These terms, originally appropriated to a relation of a religious kind, may at length have been used to denote another, which, although in itself merely civil, from the increase of superstition in the darker ages, came to be viewed so much in a religious light, as to give the name of a sacrament to that ceremony by which it was constituted. Hence, in consequence of the connubial tie, the father-in-law might be called *Gud father*, the mother-in-law *Gud-mother* ; i. e. according to the meaning of the Su. G. to which ours seem

more

more immediately allied, *father in God, mother in God*, or father and mother by a *spiritual relation*; as *Ihre* explains *gudfader*, quasi pater spiritualis. For in *Su.G.* *Gud* signifies *God*. Most of the terms, indeed, that are now vulgarly used in Scotland with respect to alliance by marriage, were antiently appropriated to the supposed baptismal relation. In this sense, not only were *Gudfader* and *Gudmoder* used in *Su.G.*, but the child, for whom one stood sponsor, was called his or her *gudson* or *guddoter*; the terms now appropriated by the common people to denote the relation of a son-in-law or daughter-in-law. V. *Ihre*, vo. *Gud*. This learned writer remarks, that, in consequence of the spiritual relation supposed to be constituted at baptism, the right of the sponsor was viewed as equal to that of the natural parent. This right was denominated *Gudsista-lag*, i. e. the law of the spiritual relation. V. *Gup*, as comp. with *father, mother, &c.*

It may not be reckoned superfluous, here to mention the reason why the Goths wrote the name of the Divine Being *Gud*. During the times of heathenism; they called their false deities *God*, pl. *godin*. After the introduction of Christianity, by a slight change, they, for the sake of distinction, gave the name of *Gud* to the Supreme Being; restricting that of *God*, sometimes written *gaud*, to the former objects of their idolatrous worship. Hence, *God, gode*, afterwards had the sense of deaster, idolum. *Ihre* thinks, that it is too plain to require any proof, that the name, as applied to the true God, was borrowed from *gud*, bonus, good. He scouts the idea of Gr. *Θεος*; being derived from *θεωω*, video, *θεω*, curro, or *θεω*, dispono; accounting it far more probable that the Greeks borrowed this term from the antient Scythians. from whom, he says, they derived almost all their theology; and that it in fact has the same meaning with *Gud*, bonus. For this quality, he adds, is expressed by two words in *MoesG.* *gods* and *thiuths* or *thiutheigs*. Thus, *Thiuthe gasothida gredagans*; He hath filled the hungry with good things, Luke i. 35.; whence *thiuthtaujan*, benefacere, *thiuthspillan*, evangelizare, *thiuthjan*, benedicere. From *thiuths*, therefore, he thinks, that the Greeks and Latins, according to the various changes of cognate letters, made *θεός*, *Δις*, *διος*, *Deus*, *Dius*, &c.'

The next relates to a word of more portentous sound.

• **WIDDERSINNIS, WIDDIR SHYNNYS, WIDDIRSSENS, WIDDERSHINS, WITHERSHINS, WODDERSHINS, adv.** The contrary way, S. Abasit I wox and *widdirsynnys* stert my hare.

Doug. Virgil, 64. 32.

With sic myscheif as aucht nocht named be,
Opynnand the gravis of scharpe iniquité,
And on the bak half writis *widdir schynnys*
Plenté of lesingis, and als perseruit synnys.

Doug. Virgil, 481. 42.

In hir unhappy hands sho held my heid,
And straikit bakward *wodershins* my hair,

Syne

Syne prophesied I sould aspyre and speid;
 Quhill double sentence wes birth suith and fair.

Montgomerie, MS. Chron. S. 1. in. 506.

"The word *Widdersins*, Scot. is used for *contrary to the course of the Sun*, as when we say, to go or turn *widdersins* about, i. e. to turn round from West to East: a Belg. *weder, weiders*; A. S. *with, wither*, contra, and *Sonne, Sunne*, Sol, Scot. *Bor. Sin.*" Rudd.

'According to this idea, Belg. *wederschyn*, Germ. *widerschein*, a reflected light, the reflection of brightness, might seem allied. But though the term is indeed used to denote what is contrary to the course of the sun—this being the most obvious emblem of any thing opposed to the course of nature,—I am convinced, that neither *sonne*, nor any word conveying the idea of light or *shining*, can properly be viewed as entering into the composition of this term. It is merely Teut. *weder-sins*, contrario modo, Kilian. This is the sense as used in both passages by the Bishop of Dunkeld. In the first, indeed, Rudd. too strictly adhering to the original, *Steteruntque comae*, renders it, *straight up, upright*. But Doug. means literally to say, that the hair of Aeneas stood the wrong way, or the way contrary to nature.

In Sw. *ractstyler* denotes that which follows the course of the sun. The term, expressing the reverse, is *andsyler*.

Our ancestors ascribed some preternatural virtue to that motion which was opposed to the course of the sun, or to what grew in this way. This was particularly attended to in magical ceremonies.—Hence *Nicnevin*, the *Hecate* of the Scots, and her damsels are thus described.

Some be force in effect the four winds fetches,
 And nine times *withershins* about the throne raid.

Montgomerie, Watson's Coll. iii. 17.

V. CATINE.

'This is gravely mentioned as the mode of salutation given by witches and warlocks to the devil.

"The women made first their courtesy to their master, and then the men. The men turning nine times *widder shines* about, and the women six times." *Satan's Invisible World*, p. 14.

'Ross, in his Additions to that old song, *The Rock and the Wee Pickle Tow*, makes the spinster not only attend to the wood of her rock, that it should be of the *ran-tree*, or mountain-ash, that powerful specific against the effects of witchcraft, but also to the very direction of its growth.

I'll gar my ain Tammy gae down to the hōw,
 And cut me a rock of a *widdershins* grow,
 Of good rantry-tree, for to carry my tow,
 And a spindle of the same for the twining o't.

Ross's Poems, p. 134.

'The inhabitants of Orkney ascribe some sort of fatality to motion opposed to that of the sun. "On going to sea, they would reckon

reckon themselves in the most imminent danger, were they by accident to turn their boat in opposition to the sun's course." P. Kirkwall, *Statist. Acc.* vii. 560.

' Among the Northern nations, a similar superstition prevailed. Helga, a Scandinavian sorceress, when wishing to give efficacy to some Runic characters, for doing injury to others, observed this mode. " Taking a knife in her hand, she cut the letters in the wood, and besmeared them with her blood. Then singing her incantations, *oc geck aufug rangsaelis un treit*, she went backwards, and contrary to the course of the sun, around the tree. Then she procured that it should be cast into the sea, praying that it might be driven by the waves to the island *Drangsa*, and there be the cause of all evils to Grotter." *Hist. Grotter.* ap. Bartholin. *Caus. Contempt. Mortis*, p. 661. 662.

' This is opposed to the *Deasil* of our Highlanders, which has been considered as a relic of Druidism.

" The *Deasil*, or turning from east to west, according to the course of the sun, is a custom of high antiquity in religious ceremonies. The Romans practised the motion in the manner now performed in Scotland. The Gaulish Druids made their circumvolution in a manner directly the reverse.

" On the first of May the herds of several farms gather dry wood, put fire on it, and dance three times southwards about the pile.—At marriages and baptisms they make a procession round the church, *Deasoil*, i. e. sunways, because the sun was the immediate object of the Druids' worship." *Id.* *Tour in 1769.* p. 309.

We may add one or two instances of Dr Jamieson's philological speculations.

' AN, AND, *conj.* If.

We ar to fer fra hame to fley.
Tharfor lat ilk man worthi be.
Yone ar gadryngis of this countré;
And thai sall fley, I trow, lychly,
And men assaile thaim manlyly.

Barbour, xiv. 282. MS.

Luf syn thy nychthouris, and wirk thame na vnricht,
Willing at thou and thay may haue the sicht
Of heuynnys blys, and tyist thame nocht threfra;
For and thou do, sic luf.dow nocht ane stra.

Doug. Virgil, 95, 54.

And thow my counsal wrocht had in al thing,
Ful welcum had thou bene ay to that King.

Priests of Peblis, p. 44.

It is frequently used by Chaucer in the sense of *if*.

Fayn wolde I do you mirthe, and I wiste how.

Canterbury T. v. 768.

For and I shulde rekene every vice,
Which that she hath, ywis I wer to nice.

Ibid. v. 10307.

And,

as far as I have seen, appears not to be the more modern orthography, but a corruption of the original.

"If, and" is a good charter. S. Foss. Kell. p. 209.

Dr Johnson has observed, that *if* is sometimes, in old authors, a contraction of *if* and *if*, signifying, as a proof, the following passage from Bede:

He ða secgað truth,

as they will; so; if not, he's plain.

But this conjecture has not the slightest foundation. *Su. G. æn* is used in the same sense with *an*. Particula conditionalis, says Ihsæ, Hieronymus, et sono referent Græcorum *an*, si. He adds, that it is now almost obsolete, although it occurs very frequently in the ancient laws of the Goths. *Ætæl flogher, si pecus transiliet; ætæl fe fle.* S. Leg. Westg.

Mr Tooke derives *an* from A. S. *an-an* dare; as synon. to *if*, *gif*, from *gi-fa*, id. Somner indeed renders *an* as equivalent to *do* vel *done*, I give or grant; quoting this instance from a testamentary deed in A. S.; although without mentioning the place, *Ærest that ic æn minum hlafordæ, &c.* Primum quod ipse donavi Domino meo. Ihsæ translates *an*, indulgeat, largiatur, Cadm. 41, 4. As *and* seems to be the old orthography of this word, Mr Tooke might probably view it as from the same origin with *and*, used in its common sense, *et*; which he derives from *An-an-ad*, dare congeriem. But as *Su. G. æn* has not only the signification of *si*, but also of *et*, in the old laws of the Goths; and as Isl. *end* has the same meaning; it does not appear probable that the A. Saxons would need to clap two words together, in order to form a conjunction that was every moment in their mouths.

'GIF, GYVE, GAUE, GEWE, conj. If.

Gif thay hanc sic desire to Italy,

Do lat þame beild thare ciete wallis square.

Doug. Virgil, 373. 26. V. GEWE.

Gyve thai coult, thaf suld declere

Of that gret dystans the matere.

Wyntown, viii. 5. 107.

"For *geue* it had plesit God to haue geuin me gretar knowlege, & *ingyue*, gretar fruct sulde thow haue had of the samyn." Kennedy of Chotraguell, Compend. Tractate, p. 3.

Or yet *gewe* Virgil stude wel before,—

Gif I have failleit, baldie repreif my ryme.

Doug. Virgil, Pref. 12. 4.

Skinner has deduced this from A. S. *gif-an*, to give, of which it has been viewed as the imperative. Although this example is more consonant, than several others, to the hypothesis, that the English conjunctions are merely the imperatives of verbs, it is attended with difficulty even here. The relation between the MoesG. and A. S. is so intimate, that if this system had been adopted in the one language, it

it can hardly be supposed that nothing analogous would appear in the other. But *gau* and *gabai* signify *if* in MoesG.; and neither of these seems to have an origin similar to that ascribed to *gif*. Not *gau*; for the imperat. pl. of *gib-an* is *gibith*, *date*. The latter has no better claim; for, according to the mode of Northern writers, the kind of *g* used in this word must be pronounced as *g* consonant or *i* before a vowel; being a letter of quite a different power from that used in *gib-an*, to give, which corresponds to Gr. Γ. Thus Ulfphilas writes the same letter, instead of the Gr. Γ in *ιωτας, ιωδαις, ιωδαιος*, &c. *Gau* itself is in different instances written in the same manner. Besides, *ibu, iof, ob, oba*, occur in Alem., and *if* in Isl. in the sense of *si*. A. S. *gu* also signifies *if*, which can have no connexion with the v. *gif-an*, but seems immediately formed from MoesG. *gau*. The learned Ihre views what he calls the dubitative particle *if, gif*, as well as the MoesG. conjunctions, as allied to Su. G. *jof*, *dubium*. It is also written *ef* and *if*; whence *an iwa*, without hesitation. This is the origin of the v. *jesu-a*, Isl. *if-a*, to doubt.

GIFFIS, GYFFIS, imper. v. *Gif*.

Quha list attend, *gyffis* audience and draw nere.

Doug. *Virgil*, 12. 18.

Mr Tooke has fallen into a singular blunder with respect to this word. Douglas, he says, uses *giffis* in the sense of *if*. In proof, he quotes this very passage; Divers. Purl. i. 151. 152. But, beyond a doubt, this is the imperat. 2d pl. used in its proper sense. There are innumerable instances of the same kind, as *heris*, hear ye, Virg. *iii. 27.*

We proceed now to the more useful and laborious part of our criticism, viz. to the detail of those corrections and additions by which we conceive that this valuable work may be rendered still more complete and unexceptionable.

'*Amyrale*, an Admiral.' This word, exactly in its present sense, and nearly in its present orthography, occurs first in the Byzantine historians: their term *Ἀμπεραλιος*, is used to express the commander of a fleet.* It is not formed, as Mr Ritson conjectures, from Ameer al Omrah, the prince of princes, but from the Arabic word Ameer, or Emir, a prince; and the Greek word *αλος*, the genitive of *αλος*, the sea. Du Cange, in asserting that the commander of a fleet among the Saracens was called *Amiral*, seems to have been misled by the Monkish historians, who confounded the Ameer of the Saracens, and the *Ἀμπεραλιος* of the Greek empire. The word and the office were introduced among

VOL. XIV. NO. 27.

I

the

* Codinus, curopalates, who wrote a Treatise on the Rank and Duties of the different Officers of the Byzantine Court, thus explains the term. Ο ἀμπεραλιος υπο τον μεγαν δυναν ευρισκεται, ηγυται δε τη στολυ παντος. Codinus de Officiis, c. 5.

the Western nations of Europe during the Crusades. Dr Jamieson is mistaken, when he says that *Admiralius* is mentioned by Matthew Paris as a Saracenic designation. This historian merely says, that the *Admiralius*, or governor of Joppa, was a Saracen; confounding, as has been already remarked, two distinct terms. †

‘*Assoilyic.*’ Our author remarks, that, to absolve from guilt one departed, is *sometimes* represented as the act of God, in consequence of the prayers of men. This is very common in the epitaphs before the Reformation. The usual phrase is, ‘Pray devoutly for the soul, whom God assoile,’ &c.

‘*Beik.*’ This word, it should have been observed, is mentioned by Suetonius, in his Life of Vitellius, as Gallic. *Beccus* significabat rostrum apud Gallos.

‘*Bubill.* A large writing.’ Dr Jamieson observes, ‘Tyrwhitt derives the word, as used by Chaucer, from the Fr.; and it is not improbable, that *Bible* might be employed in the French copy of the letter ascribed to Mary: but I have met with no direct proof that the term was thus used in that language.’

Bible was a name not unfrequently given to poems, especially to those of a satirical nature, in France, during the 13th century; and it probably was continued in the more extended sense, of a large writing, in the time of Mary. The oldest *Bible* was composed by Guiot, surnamed, de Provins, about the year 1203. It still exists in MS.; and, from the account and extracts that are given of it by Pasquier, Caylus, and Le Grand D’Aussy, it appears to be a most singular composition. The earlier part of Guiot’s life was spent in visiting the most splendid courts of Europe, at the close of the 12th century; but at the time he wrote his *Bible*, he had become a monk. The poem is religious and moral, as well as satirical; but the latter character greatly predominates, and is evidently most suitable to the talents, and agreeable to the disposition of the author. He is by no means sparing in his satirical reflections on the different orders of monks; and, what is still more extraordinary, considering the age in which he lived, and the character of the Pontiff who then wore the tiara, he attacks, in most pointed and strong language, the vices of the court of Rome, and actually proposes a crusade against it, on account of its immorality, and deviation from the simplicity and purity of the Gospel. When we recollect that Innocent III., who excommunicated the Emperor Barbarossa, and obliged him
to

† Hoc anno (1272) quidam Admiralius Joppensis natione Saracenus (quæ dignitas apud nos Consulatus vocatur.) Matt. Paris, 862. Edit. Watts.

to ask pardon on his knees, before he would take off the excommunication, then filled the papal chair, we may judge of his boldness and intrepidity of Guiot's satire. This *Bible* is not only interesting from the lively, but perhaps overcharged picture, which it gives of the manners and pursuits of the age; but it derives an uncommon degree of importance, from its containing the earliest authentic and explicit description of the mariner's compass. The fame accruing to Guiot from his poem, was so great, that other works of a similar nature, and under the same title, *Bible*, became common in France. Hugues de Bersil is supposed to have written his *Bible* a very few years after that of Guiot appeared. It is much inferior in point and vigour, as well as less interesting in the picture which it exhibits of contemporary manners. *

'*Billy*. A Companion. A Brother.' This word, in its latter sense, is very generally used among the people concerned in the coal-works in the neighbourhood of Newcastle; and in the former sense, it is applied there to the two watermen who push on the *keels* or barges;—they are called *keel-billies*. *Boolie* is an old English word, given by Phillips as signifying *beloved*.

'*Bazed*; confused, stupid. Sw. *besa*, is used to denote the state of animals so stung by insects, that they are driven hither and thither by the force of pain.' The Scotch phrase, not noticed by our author, is, that 'the beasts have ta'en the *burze*;' evidently the old English word *bry* or *brieze* (the gad-fly), with the common transposition of the letter *r*.

'*Bladarie*.' This word occurs in Bruce's Sermons, edit. 1591; and in the English version it is explained *filth*, *filthiness*. Dr Jamieson justly objects to this meaning, and considers it as denoting vain-glory, referring to the Teut. *blaeterige*, jactantia. The Islandic word *bladra*, which literally means the skin extended

I 2

ed

* Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibliotheque Nationale, et autres Bibliotheques, tom. V. pp. 279, 281. Memoires de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, tom. XXI. p. 191. Saint Palaye, in his Memoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie, I. 245, quotes the Bible of Guiot. Pasquier seems to have been the first author who noticed these *Bibles*; but he, as well as Fauchet, and Wharton who follows Fauchet, consider Guiot as the name of the work, and Hugues as the name of the author. Le Grand D'Aussy, in the Notices et Extraits, &c. has given the fullest and clearest information on these curious poems; but declares himself unable to assign the reason why they were called *Bibles*. Fauquet and Wharton suppose it was because they contained nothing but truth. The passage containing the description of the mariner's compass is too long for insertion here; but it is given at full length by Pasquier, Les Recherches de la France. Paris, 1611, p. 723. Le Grand D'Aussy.

ed with wind (whence our word *bladder*), seems a more probable derivation, if it be not the root of the Teut. word. The transition from the literal to the metaphorical meaning, is obvious and common. To *blead*, which occurs in the reply of the Laird of Cairnborrow to the Marquis of Huntly, the day before the battle of Glenlivet. 'Na, na, my Lord, I'll blead the whelps mysell; they'll bite the better;' is evidently the verb to *lead*, with the old prefix *be*.

'*Burlaw*, *Byelaw*.' The explanation of this word, quoted from Skene, exactly agrees with a passage on the same subject in the Chronicle of W. Thorne. In the reign of Edward I., a dispute had arisen between the Abbot of St Austin, in Canterbury, and the Archbishop. Among the articles proposed by the Abbot, for the settlement of their differences, one is, that the antient custom, called *Bi-lage*, (*Byelaw*) should be had recourse to, wherever and whenever there might be occasion for it. On the Archbishop's requesting to know what is meant by *Bi-lage*, it is explained by the Abbot, to be the custom of settling differences, by the appointment of trustworthy men, without the trouble and formality of a Court of Justice. *

'*Cane*; a duty paid by a tenant to his landlord. Cane cheese, cane oats, &c. Skene apprehends that this was originally a capitation tax.' This opinion seems confirmed by the orders that were issued in the time of Charles I. to the constables of different hundreds in the county of Rutland, whereby they were commanded, in his Majesty's name, to 'levy and gather up, good, large, and serviceable capons, chickens, &c. for his Majesty's most honourable household.' This tribute, or a compromise in money, was levied indiscriminately. †

'*Cat and Clay*. The materials of which a mud-wall is constructed in many parts of Scotland. The word *cat* may itself refer to the clay.' This is the meaning of the term in the neighbourhood of Newcastle, where the chimneys of the cottages are formed nearly in the same manner as the mud-walls of which our author speaks. Bricklayers were formerly styled there, *catters and daubers*. ‡

'*Charle-wayne*.' The Anglo-Saxons sometimes called this constellation simply *waegen* or *wain*; though the more common term was *carles-waen*. As this latter designation was unknown to the antient Germans, the common opinion that it was so called in honour of Charlemagne is justly given up by our author; though he

* Chronic. W. Thorne, apud Twysden. Hist. Anglic. Script. p. 2001; and Somneri Glossar. in Script. voc. *Bilage*.

† Archaeologia, XI. 204, &c.

‡ Brand's Hist. of Newcastle, II. 268, note.

he offers no explanation or etymology of *Charle*. It appears to us highly probable that it is the A. S. word *ceorl*, a husbandman.

'*Chevin*.' This word, which occurs in the Maitland poems, is left unexplained by Pinkerton. In confirmation of what Dr Jamieson has advanced respecting it, we may remark, that Philips gives to *cheve*, as an old English word signifying to thrive. *Chevir* Fr. to obtain, from which it is formed, is derived from *Chef*, caput; whence the literal sense seems to be, to 'gain the mastery.'

'*Culdees*.' Toland's derivation of this word from *Ceile-de*, separated to God, is strengthened by what he mentions, that a Chronicle written about A. D. 800, is said in the title-page to have been composed by Aonghus *Ceile-de*. *

'*Cordovan*, Spanish leather.' It would appear from the following passage in Matthew Paris, 'Vitæ xxiii abbatium St Albani,' that by *Cordowan* was originally meant, tanned, in opposition to untanned leather. 'Conventus calceamenta quæ de vili corio, quod vulgariter *Bazan* dicitur, in *alutam*, id est, *cordowon*, civiliter commutavit.'—Watts, in his Glossary to Matthew Paris, says, that *Bazan* is sheep's-skin dyed red.

'*Firth*. An Estuary.' Dr Jamieson derives this from M. G. *faran*, navigare, as it properly denotes water that is navigable; but this does not distinguish it. It seems rather to come from *fritthian* protegere, as signifying a sheltered place of the sea.

'*Fordyd*, Ruined. From a verb common in O. E. *fordo*.' This may be traced in the phrases, 'I will do for him;' 'I am done for.' The last answers exactly to the line in Chaucer, 'I see no more but that I am fordo.'

'*Gysarts*. Harlequins, Mummers.' Dr Jamieson supposes that the custom of sweeping the space in which the sports of the Gysarts are performed 'is connected with the vulgar tradition concerning the light dances of the fairies, one of whom is always represented as sweeping the spot appropriated to the festivity.' But it rather refers to a custom in the old Christmas plays, where the sward, or place on which they were to be exhibited, was always carefully swept. In an entry of an old account book of the Slaters' Company in Newcastle, among other charges for the Christmas plays which they used to act, there is a distinct one 'for ditten of the swearde.' †

'*Grune*.' This word, which occurs in Barbour, and evidently means some part of Spain, which must be left to the north by a ship sailing from Britain to Seville, in all probability is the name of Corunna, which place is generally called the Groyne by our sailors.

'*Hassock*.'—It may, however, be derived from Sw. *huar*, a rush,

* Toland's Nazarenus, part II. p. 52.

† Brand, II. 370.

rush, juncus, &c.' The original meaning of Hassock in English is a *rush*. In this sense it occurs in Harrison's description of England, prefixed to Hollinghed's Chronicles. Speaking of the destruction of the forests, he says, 'It is to be feared that brome, turfe, gal (Scotch-gale ?) heth, brakes, whinnes, ling, dies, *hassocks*, flaggs, straw, &c. will be good merchandize, even in the citie of London.' In another place he says, 'the townes on the coast have little other feuel except it be turfe and *hassocke*.' If this be regarded as the primary meaning, it will readily and satisfactorily explain the other significations mentioned by Dr Jamieson, as well as the usual acceptation of the word in modern English.

'*Husbond*.' A careful examination of the meaning of this word in the A. Saxon, and earlier periods of our history, convinces us of the justice of Dr Jamieson's opinion, that it does not strictly and etymologically include any idea of bondage. Somner, in his Glossary to Twyfsden, has satisfactorily shown that Heordfeste, Husfastene, Bonde, and Husbande, were synonymous terms; simply implying one who possessed a house, without any servitude attached to it. In the laws of Canute, as given by John of Brompton, Heordfeste are expressly distinguished from Folgarii, or those, who either did not possess a house, or possessed it under servitude.

'*Loaf*. A loaf.' Dr Jamieson notices Mr Tooke's origin of the terms, *bread*, *dough*, and *loaf*: but he very justly objects to the etymon of *bread*, in the past participle of the verb to *bray*, to pound. 'For (says he) as *bray* does not seem to be a Gothic verb, grain merely in a *brayed* state has never been reckoned bread.' We are disposed to seek the etymology of *bread* in the A. S. *braed-an*, to roast; *braedde*, roasted. The different terms mentioned by Mr Tooke will then stand thus: *dough*, past part. of A. S. *deawian*, to moisten; denoting the meal or flour moistened: *loaf* past part. of *klefian* to raise, denoting the dough raised by the leaven; and lastly, *bread*, from *braedde* past part. of *braed-an* to roast; denoting the loaf after it has been exposed to the fire.

'*Lagraelman*. From Sw. Goth. *Lag-law*, and *raett*, right.' It is worthy of remark, that *Lag* means not only *law*, but also a *song* or melody, like the Greek word *nomos*.

'*Layis*. Alloy.' The origin of this word is to be found in Fr. *lier* to bind; as the use of alloy is to bind the metal together, by rendering it harder. In Italian, *liga*, alloy, is evidently derived from *ligare* to bind. Somner is mistaken in deriving the English word from A. S. *alicc-an* to embase, since the original use of a mixture of inferior metal was not to embase.

'*Lent fire*. A slow fire.' It must have received this name, because, in the time of Popery, fire was less needed for culinary purposes during Lent than at any other season.' This explanation

tion is far-fetched, and by no means satisfactory : we are disposed to regard the word *lent* as derived from the Latin *lentus*, and *Lent-fire*, as exactly corresponding to the *Lentus ignis* of Pliny.

'*Lyft.* Firmament. Atmosphere.' It is used in this sense in the romance of Richard Cœur de Lion, as quoted by Wharton,

As ony fowle by the lyfte,
though he erroneously explains it 'a bird on wing.' 'To lyft, to carry off by theft.' This occurs in the expression *shop-lifting*, which renders it probable that it is derived from the M. G. *hlif-an* to steal. Dr Jamieson, however, considers the Scotch word merely as a *soft expression* used on the borders of the Highlands for stealing.

'*Lime.* Glue.' This meaning points out the reason of the application of the word in English, *Lime*, as a *cement*, and is still found in the compound term *Bird-Lime*.

'*Loge.* A lodge or booth,'—more properly a small cottage or hut. In an inquisition respecting the rights of the Corporation of Newcastle over the river Tyne, in the 25th year of Henry VI, mention is made of tria cottaigia vocata fisher-logges. It is by no means improbable that *loge*, *lodge*, *logges*, all signifying dwelling places, are derived from *log* (of wood) as denoting the materials and manner in which they were first built.

'*Losel.* Idle rascal.' It rather means a vagabond, a man without fixed abode. Spencer, speaking of the wild Irish, in his time, says, 'considering that many of them be such losels and scatterbrisks, as that they cannot easily by any sheriff, constable, bailiff, or any other officer be gotten,' &c. It may be traced to A. S. *losian*, aufugere ut non inveniatur.

'*Making.* Poetry.' It is used in the sense of *deed* by Wynthorn.

Thay sulde never be contraire

In makyn, helpe, nor in counsaile.

'*Menyie.*' In that part of the barony of Forth, in the county of Wexford, which is nearly enclosed by the small river Gill, the descendants of the first English colony still retain many of the words that were common in the time of Henry II. A spider is called *altercop*; a physician, a *leach*; a base-court, or quadrangle, a *barwen*; the household, *menyie*, &c.

'*Mensful.*' Dr Jamieson explains this word as signifying 1. Manly. 2. Noble. 3. Modest, moderate. 4. Mannerly. This word occurs twice in what Wharton considers as the earliest love-song in the English language, and which he places before or about the year 1200. In both passages, the sense of it appears to be different from any of the four meanings given it by our author. The poet, speaking of his mistress, says,

Ich ot a burde in boure bryht
 That fully semly is on syht,
Mensful maiden of myht,
 Feire and free to fonde.

Afterwards, describing her person,
 Middel hes hath *mensful* small.

In this passage, however, it probably means, *moderately* or *gracefully* small.

'*Pit and Gallows.*' It appears from a passage in the Chronicle of Gervase, that the Pit was used not only as a punishment, but also as an ordeal, for the purpose of compurgation.* The Pit and Gallows are said to have existed in the Highlands as late as the year 1730.†

'To *pounse*, to cut, to carve, to engrave.' In a curious ordinance for regulating the apparel of the apprentices in Newcastle, in the year 1554, this term is used: in it they are forbidden, 'to daunce, dyce, carde, or mum, or use any gyternes: to wear any cut hose, cut shoes, or *pounced* jerkins: they are to wear 'no strait hose, but playn, without cutts, *pounsyng*, or gardes.'‡ Philips (New World of Words) explains it "to jagge, to cut in and out:" and agrees with Ruddiman in deriving it from the Latin *pungere*, through the Spanish *ponçar*: this is preferable to the Teutonic root to which Dr Jamieson traces it, as it suits the application of the term to garments, as well as to wood or metal; whereas Teut. *ponss-en*, punctum effigiare; cælare, scalpere; cannot be applied, without much harshness, to garments.

'*Powin.* The Peacock.'

William his vow plight to the *powin*

For favour or for feid.

It does not appear that vows were ever made to any other birds but the pheasant and peacock; so that the circumstance of Edward the IIIrd swearing by the white swan, most probably arose solely from his bearing that bird as his *impreste*. It is impossible to trace or assign the reason why vows were made to pheasants and peacocks. It appears from Ælian and Pliny that both these birds were held in the highest estimation by the ancients; and that those persons who first served them up at entertainments were deemed guilty not only of great extravagance, but of something approaching to impiety. After they were introduced as food, at table, they were never used, even by the emperors, except on the most solemn occasions. We are told by St Jérôme (Epistola ad Oceanum) that the greatest care was taken in boiling the pheasant so as that

* Chronic. Gervas. apud, Twysden. Script. p. 1590.

† Letters from the North of Scotland, written between 1730 and 1740. II. p. 252.

‡ Brand, II. 228.

that the form of the bird might be completely preserved. *Domum suam bene regentem,—non ut Phasidos avis lentis vaporibus coquat, qui ad ossa perveniant, et superficiem carnis non dissolvant.* From many passages in the Monkish historians, it appears that the high estimation in which these birds, particularly the peacock, were held, passed from the Greeks and Romans, to their Gothic conquerors and their descendants. The most splendid present that Paul III. could send to Pepin, consisted of a mantle embroidered with peacocks' feathers: and the richest furniture in the apartments of the middle ages, was adorned and enriched by being painted or inlaid in such a manner as to present a striking resemblance to the tail of this bird fully spread out and studded with eyes. It was never introduced at table except on the most important and magnificent occasions: and as it is well known that solemn feasts were generally appointed for the celebration of vows, it is highly probable that the peacock or pheasant was chosen, from its forming the most grand and solemn part of the entertainment, as the particular object of the vow.

The flesh of the pheasant or peacock, is uniformly represented in the antient romances, as a food peculiarly suited and expressly set apart for bold and amorous knights: and he was regarded as honoured in no common degree, to whom was allotted the part of carving and distributing the bird at the grand entertainments. The feathers from the tail of the peacock were also formed by the ladies of quality into a crown, for the purpose of decorating their favourite Troubadour. The eyes were considered as representing the attention of the whole world as fixed upon them. As the peacock, when served up as the object of the chevaliers' vows, was always dressed in its plumage, it is not unlikely that the same whimsical resemblance between the eyes of the world, and the eyes of the plumage, may in some degree have given rise to the custom.*

The MS. of the Romance of Alexander, which is preserved in the National (or Imperial Library) at Paris, has four smaller poems inserted in the body of it, something in the manner of episodes. Two of these are entitled, *Le Vœu du Paon*, and *Le Restor du Paon*. The first is a poem of considerable length: the subject of it is a peacock, which, having been killed by accident, is brought in roasted and drest in its plumage, with great pomp, to a splendid feast. Before it is carved, all the guests,
male

* So constantly was the peacock, as the object of his solemn vow, kept in the recollection of the Knights of Chivalry, that, for this purpose, the image of the bird was hung up in the place where they exercised themselves in the management of their horses and weapons. Matt. Paris, quoted by St Palaye, I. 185.

male and female, take a solemn vow by it. The men vow bravery and chivalry; the women engage to love and be faithful. The second poem represents the lady to whom the peacock had belonged, as mourning its loss; and describes the image of it, formed of gold, set with precious stones, which she had ordered to be made, for the purpose of preserving the remembrance of her favourite bird. † Mr Douce remarks, that 'the vow to the peacock had even got into the mouths of such as had no pretensions to knighthood.' Thus, in the 'Merchant's Second Tale, or the History of Beryn,' the host is made to say,

'I make a vow to the peacocke, there shal wake a foul mist.' ‡

Under the letters QUH, Dr Jamieson has quoted from Mr Macpherson the relation in sound and meaning between *Quha* Scot. *quhas* MoesG. *hwa* S. & Sax. *huo* O. Sw. and the Latin *quis*. We are strongly inclined to suspect, that they are all derived from the Gothic verb *quithan*, *dicere*; and that as Mr Horne Tooke has satisfactorily traced the pronoun *it*, to *haitan*, *dicere*, what are called the relative pronouns, in the different dialects of the Gothic and in the Latin, may be traced to a verb of similar import; if indeed *quithan* and *haitan* be not the same verb. No more difficulty or obscurity will occur in explaining the relative pronouns, in the Gothic dialects and in Latin, by the words, *the said*, than Mr Tooke has found in explaining the personal pronoun *it*, in the same manner: for example, 'William, who conquered England, was buried at Rouen.' — 'William was buried at Rouen, the said, conquered England.' The Latin *quod*, is exactly the old word *quod* said, which occurs both in Chaucer, and in the Complaint of Scotland. As a confirmation of the conjecture, that the relative pronoun properly signifies *the said*, it may be remarked, that, in the Mœsogothic, *sacc*, qui, and the article *sa*, corresponding sometimes to the Greek *ὁ*, and sometimes to *ἐν*, bea: the strongest appearance of being part of a Gothic verb, corresponding to the A. S. *sægen*, *dicere*.

'To ride at the ring.' Dr Jamieson observes, that 'this ancient custom, which was reckoned an amusement worthy of the most celebrated knights, is now observed only by the fraternity of *chapmen*.' In Germany, it is still to be traced at the fairs. A common amusement there is what are called *tourne mens*, very similar to the roundabouts exhibited at all the fairs in England, except that those who ride in the *tourne mens* are provided with a javelin, which, as they are carried rapidly round, they either endeavour to throw into a lion's mouth, or against the eye of a bird;

† Notices des MSS. vi. 117, 118.

‡ Douce's Illustrations of Shakespeare, i. 473.

bird; or, keeping it in their hands, they attempt to carry off a ring hung up for that purpose.

Royster. A vagabond, a freebooter, a plunderer.' The earliest notice we find of these stipendiary troops in England, occurs in John of Brompton: he says, that Richard I. (A. D. 1194) employed foreign hired troops, called *Ruchee*. William of Newbury, also mentions them about the same period, as *Stipendiarias Bribantiorum copias, quas Rutas vocant*. The passage quoted by Dr Jamieson from the Chronicle of Melross, 'In reditu autem suo Rutarii, seu *Ministri Diaboli* Abbatiam de Coldingham expoliaverunt,' is illustrated by the passage he quotes from Kilian, under the word *Swartrytter*,—a description of forces similar to the Roysters. 'Their garments, as well as their spears, were black. They called themselves *devils*,' &c. Royster is undoubtedly derived from Ger. ruyter, a cavalry soldier; whence ruyten, or reuten, a provincial word, prædari, devastare; probably, because cavalry, being better fitted for rapid and sudden incursions, were more given to plunder than foot soldiers; in the same manner as, *to dragoon*, signifies to devastate, or plunder a country. *

Runt. An old Cow.' 'This word, if we may judge from the application of the Latin word, *runcinus*, formed from it, was originally used to denote horses, as well as cattle. In the lives of the Abbots of St Albans, by Matthew Paris, already quoted, the different kinds of horses then in use are thus enumerated: 'manni, *runcini*, summarii, veredarii, averii.' (p. 1049. Edit. Watts). 'The last are the Scotch *avers*, expressly stated by Roger Hoveden, (A. D. 1194, p. 424.), to be horses for the cart or plough.

Schawaldowis. Exp. wanderers in the woods, subsisting by hunting.' In the Glossary to Wyntoun, it is said, '*Shavaldres* occurs in Knyghton.—Promp. Par. expl. it *discussor*, vagabundus.' But this explanation given by Promptorium Parvulorum, will not suit the passage in Knyghton, in which the term occurs: his words are, '*Insultavit eos Dominus Gilbertus de Middleton, miles, cum aliis elegantibus Shavaldres*.' † John of Troketon, in his Annals, speaking of the same circumstance, says, '*Quidam fatui*

* John de Brompton, 1268, Gul. Neub. Rer. Ang. Lib. v. c. 13. and Lib. ii. c. 17.—Matthew Paris makes frequent mention of the *ruptuarii*, in such a manner as to confirm the opinion that they were from Brabant. They appear to have become formidable, and committed many outrages in different parts of the Continent, before they were known in England. In a Lateran Council held A. D. 1179, an edict was passed, '*de ruptuariis et Brabantii prædonibus, qui fideles affligunt*.' Matt. Par. p. 114. Edit. Watts.

† Knyghton apud Tuysden. Scrip. Ang. p. 2535.

fatui de Northumbria, qui dicebantur Shavaldres.' (p. 40.) In the 'Tinnmouth Chartulary given by Brand, mention is made of certain houses that were pulled down by order of the Prior, 'ne Shavaldres et alii latrones tempore guerre et Shavald' should find shelter in them. On a comparison of the different passages in which the term occurs, it will be found that the Shavaldres were confined principally, if not entirely, to the borders of England and Scotland. They were, no doubt, freebooters; but it is impossible to ascertain in what they were distinguished from other freebooters; and therefore, the origin of the name cannot certainly be traced. Dr Jamieson's derivation, adopted partly from the editor of Wyntoun, is certainly preferable to that of Somners. The Doctor derives the word from *shaw*, a wood or forest, and *wall-a*, to wander; whence Shavaldres would signify those who lived in the woods. Somner views the word as a corruption of *chevaliers*: the epithet *elegantes*, used by Knyghton, gives some colour to this conjecture; but it is by no means probable, that, at a period when the French language was so well known, such a corruption of it would have taken place. ‡

'*Sergeand*.' Dr Jamieson is certainly correct in regarding this as a corruption of the Latin *serviens*. Pasquiere observes, that in the old history of St Denis, in the life of Debonaire, the author calls the servants of God, Sergens de Dieu. He adds, that the reason why the inferior officers of a court of justice are called Sergeant, is, that formerly the higher officers employed their servants or *sergens*: this he proves to have been the custom in France. §

'*Sheal*.' A hut for fishermen.' From some old records given by Brand, in his History of Newcastle, it appears that the town of *Shields* originally consisted of some fishermen's huts; from this circumstance, and the word in these records being uniformly spelt *sheels*, there can be little doubt respecting the etymology of the name.

'*To slicht*.' To contrive.' This word is used as a substantive by Wyntoun.

'Be gyftis or be other things

As quhyntans, *slychts*, or other things.'

It is still found in *slight of hand*.

'*Sleuth-hund*.' A blood-hound.' Dr Jamieson refers to Mr Horne Tooke's ingenious derivation of the English corresponding word *slot* from A. S. *slitan* findere, quasi, the mark of a cloven foot. *Slot*, in the language of hunters, is the view or print of a stag's foot in the ground. That it strictly and originally means the division,

‡ Somneri Glossar. in Tuysden. Script. in Voc. *Shavaldres*.

§ Pasquiere, Recherches, p. 850.

division, or opening between the toes, and consequently must be traced to A. S. *slitan*, is evident, from the rules given to distinguish the age of a stag by the *slot* : ' a hart of the second head leaves a *wider slot* than a hind ; ' *i. e.* its claws open wider. •

' *To sazn.* To obtrude one's self on another for bed and board.' Spenser, in his *State of Ireland*, mentions *sorehin* as one of the customary services of the Irish landlords, but which, in his time, had been lately abrogated. The term *gilliewetfoot*, applied as a contemptuous designation for the retainers of a laird or chieftain, whom he took with him where he quattered, or *sorned* himself on his vassals, is derived partly from *gillie*, Gael. a boy or servant, and not, as Dr Jamieson conjectures, from Is. *gillia*, decipere. The author of the *Letters from the North of Scotland* (between 1730 and 1740), informs us, that when a chieftain went on a visit, he was attended, among others, by his *gillie-more*, who carried his broad sword : *gillie-casflue*, who carried him over the fords : *gillie-camstraire*, who led his horse : and *gillie-trusharnish*, his baggage man. As the employment of one of these servants was to carry the laird over the fords, is it not probable that the contemptuous appellation applied to them all, was derived from this office, which would appear to the lowlanders mean and degrading ; and that the word *gillie-wetfoot*, is simply a servant with wet feet ?

' *Stakwart.* Brave, courageous.' This word occurs in Robert of Gloucester, as quoted by Wharton, ' And the kyngtes the stalwordore,' where he explains it *more brave*. Respecting the meaning of the term, there can be little doubt ; but its etymology is not so obvious. Dr Jamieson seems disposed to trace it to A. S. *stal-wort*, captu dignus. In the passage from the *Saxon Chronicle*, which he quotes, where *stalwart* is applied to ships, it certainly has this meaning and derivation ; but it appears forced and harsh to suppose, that *brave* and *courageous* are secondary senses of a word signifying captu dignus. It may be derived, with more propriety, from *stale* or *stall*, a body of armed men, or the centre of an army. *Stakwart*, literally worthy of a place in the main body of an army ; thence, brave, courageous.

' *Sterling*, a term used to denote English money.' Somner objects, with considerable ingenuity and force, to the derivation of this word generally given, and adopted by Dr Jamieson. His objections are founded, both on the date of its first occurrence, and on the orthography which it then had. He traces it as far back as the year 1082, when it is written lib. *Sterilensium*. This form it preserved till the time of Henry II, when it appears to have been changed to *Sterlinium*. Soon afterwards, in John of Salisbury,

Salisbury, it is writtē *Sterlingi*; it was at last changed to *Esterlingi*; whence it has been supposed to be derived from *Esterling*, a name given to the people of the north east of Germany, who are said to have first brought the art of refining silver into England. In that case, however, the orthography would have changed from *Esterling* to *Sterling*, and not from *Sterling* to *Esterling*. Besides, the coming over of the *Esterbrigs* is known to have taken place in the reign of John, long after the use of the word. Somner derives it from A. S. *steore*, *lex*, canon, signifying money made according to a fixed rule, or lawful money. *

'*Summer*. A sumpter-horse.' This word may be traced through the old Flemish word *sommier*, which Dr Jamieson gives to the Greek *σύνμας*, *onus*. Sumpter-horses were called by the later Greeks *σύνμας*, whence the Latins derived their *sagmarii equi*. In the barbarous ages, the word was corrupted into *summarius*, and *saumarius*; evidently the immediate predecessor of the Scotch *sumer*, or *summer*, and the O. Fland. and Fr. *sommier*.

'*Tappie Tousse*.' Dr Jamieson has very satisfactorily and ingeniously traced this play, still common among children in Scotland, to the antient mode in which 'one received another as his bondsman.' In further illustration of this curious disquisition, we may observe, that the great honour attached to long hair, and the disgrace attending the cutting it off, are observable in the *Jus capillitii* of France. Gregory of Tours mentions, that when her sons were brought before Queen Crothilda by Arcadius, with a pair of scissars and a sword, offering her the choice either of having them shaven or put to death, she exclaimed, 'If they are not to reign, I would rather have them put to death, than deprived of their hair.' † Agathias relates, that it was not lawful for the Kings of France to cut their hair: it was suffered to grow very long, and great care was taken of it, as the mark and honour of royal blood. This custom continued till the time of Lewis the younger. The disgrace and infamy connected with being deprived of the hair, may be traced in the French proverb, '*Je veux qu'on me tonde*.'

St Palaye informs us, that, in the days of chivalry, the knights were particularly careful to keep their fore locks cut close. This may satisfactorily be accounted for, from the great indignity which they must have suffered, if, when in the power of their opponents, they had been dragged or seized by the hair. The idea of servitude and feeling of indignity associated with the laying hold

of,

* Somneri Glossar. in Twysden Script. in voc. *Sterlingus*.

† Gregor. Tour. Hist. lib. iii. c. 18.

of, or cutting the hair, was not confined to the Gothic nations. Holingshed says, that, in his time, the wild Irish were proud of their *glibs*, or long hair, and that to crop the front thereof they took for a notable piece of villainy ! (chap. 8.)

' *Unfute-sair*.' This compound word, occurring in ' *Priests Peblis*,' where Mr Pinkerton suspects the text to be corrupt, is properly explained by Dr Jamieson as signifying free from pain : he need not, however, have gone so far back as the A. S. *fota-sare*, since *foot-sore* is still very commonly used.

' *Iow*, interjection : expressive of admiration or surprise.' In this instance, also, we apprehend our author has looked too far for the origin, when he traces the word to Isl. *vo* metuendum quid ; repente ; since it is evidently the same as '*I vow* : ' at least, in the passage quoted from Ramsay's Poems, the Islandic derivation will by no means suit the sense in which it is employed, while the explanation we have suggested perfectly explains and agrees with it.

' Yonder he comes ; and *row* but he looks fain ;

Nae doubt he thinks that Peggy's now his ain.'

' *Forebet*.' This word is very common in Berwickshire, where it is applied to the caterpillar. It does not however imply, that the insect is hairy. The *hairy rowbet*, or *yeubit*, as the word is there pronounced, is the name given by boys to the caterpillar of the tiger-moth.

' *Wadds*.' This youthful amusement, in which the two opposing parties cross the boundary, and make incursions into the territories of each other, for the purpose of carrying off the *wads* or *pledges*, is called, on the Borders, by the very appropriate name of *Scotch and English*. In the south of England, it has the blunter appellation of *stral-clothes*.

' *Wald*. 'The plain, the ground. A. S. *wold*, planities.' This seems originally the same with *faeld*, *fild*, Alim. *weld*, Belg. *weld* Su. G. *felt*, id. The derivation of *field* given by Mr H. Tooke, is more probable, and better supported. He regards it as originally and properly meaning the ground where the timber has been felled. In confirmation of this ingenious conjecture, it may be remarked, that in all the old grants of privileges, *on wode et felde* constantly occur opposed to each other, evidently meaning the woody and cleared ground. *Wald* and *weald*, as respectively used, when we speak of the *wolds* of Yorkshire, and the *weald* of Kent, have been erroneously regarded as the same word ; though their application to two such opposite tracts of country might have pointed out a difference in their meaning. The A. S. *waeld* signifies a woody country ; *wold*, an open, plain, and generally a high country.

' *Wemeless*.'

' *Wemless*.' This word is erroneously explained by Pinkerton 'without appetite.' Dr Jamieson justly regards it as merely the A. S. *wem-less*, faultless. It occurs in a very old version of the Psalms, quoted by Selden, and supposed by him to have been made in Edward II.'s time.

' Louerd who in thi Teld, who sal wun
In thi heli hille, or who rest mun ?
He that incomes *wemless*,
And ever wirkes rightwisness. ' *

' *Wynd*. An alley, a lane.' Dr Jamieson is not inclined to accede to the opinion of Sir John Sinclair, that the narrow lanes in Edinburgh and Stirling are called *winds*, from their being generally *winding*; for 'these lanes,' he observes with perfect accuracy, 'are generally *straight*.' 'Perhaps rather from A. S. *wind-an*, to turn, as these are *turnings* from a principal street.' This conjecture is fully confirmed by the name which is given to the alleys or lanes in Newcastle: they are called *charcs*, from the A. S. *gyran* to turn; the root from which Mr H. Tooke has derived *chair*, a moveable seat, to *char*, to *turn* wood into coal; *a-jar* or *a-char*, applied to the window or door on the turn; and several other words. The application of the term *charcs* to the turnings from the principal streets in Newcastle, may be regarded as a further proof and illustration of the truth of Mr Tooke's etymology.

' *Yule*. The name given to Christmas.' To this very learned and ingenious disquisition, we have very little to add. Of the various derivations given of the word, Dr Jamieson is disposed to consider Mœs. G. *uul* the sun; *huel*, rota; and Su. G. *oel*, commissatio, as the most satisfactory. We are disposed to adopt the last: 1. Because the word *yule* is still applied to different feasts; as the Yule of August; and not merely to feasts at those seasons of the year, when the change in the length of the days would naturally lead the Northern nations to borrow the name, and institute the celebration of their feast from the sun. 2. The Su. G. *oel* literally signifies, as Dr Jamieson observes, *ale* or *beer*, the chief liquor among the Goths; and metonymically, a feast. Now, the fair or feast annually held on the Cotswold hills in Gloucestershire, is called *Whitsuntide-ale*.

We have noted down the following words, as being either entirely omitted, or not explained in all their meanings. *Capes*: this term is used in Lothian in the sense mentioned by Grose, viz. ears of corn broken off in thrashing.—*Change*, an alehouse.—*Coul*, a nightcap.—*Coom-cielcd*, arched or coved in the cieling.—*Corn*, oats:

to

* Selden's *Titles of Honour*, p. 60.

to corn the horses.—*Crochie*, a low stool.—*Crooner*, the grey gurnard.—*Custelins*, goiters.—*Drups*, shot.—*Factor*, land-steward.—*Flesher*.—*To fer*, to mark out the ridges with a plough.—*Hypo-thek*.—*To hock*, to tough.—*Hewid* is used by Wyntoun in its literal sense,

'Bathe hewid, feet and shanks bar.'

Huche. Kennet, in the Glossary to his Parochial Antiquities, in v. *Hoke*, says, 'The Latin *huchia*, in Picardy and Scotland *huche*, in England *hutch*, is a long wooden box.' It is still used in Newcastle to denote the common treasury of the town.—*Jigot*, a jigot (leg) of mutton.—*To labour*, to till.—*Lime-shells*.—*Livery-meal*, meal given in part of wages.—*Metal*; *to metal*; applied to mending the roads with stones.—*Ramrais*: 'This word is used by boys in a different sense from that in which it occurs in Douglas's Virgil: when they take a running leap, they say they take a *ram-raïs*.—*To row*, to wind up; as, to row up a clock.—*Timmer*, wooden; a timmer leg.—*Touchbell*, the ear-wig.—*Thorter* is used in its literal sense: to *thorter* land, is to harrow it across the direction of the ridges.—*Tutor*, guardian.—*Wa-gang crap*, the last crop before the tenant leaves the farm.—*To whillie-whallie*, to dally, to loiter.

Many of these things, perhaps, are scarcely worth recording; but it is the object of a compilation like the present, to preserve the memory of what is about to perish, and to gratify future inquirers, and spare the brains of future antiquaries, by collecting and recording all that is evidently falling into disuse, even although much of it should still be familiarly and clearly remembered. Dr Jamieson's work is perhaps as valuable for the luminous explanation it affords of existing customs and expressions, as for the learning and patient research with which he has rescued remoter usages from a more immediate oblivion.

ART. XI. *Cælebs in Search of a Wife; comprehending Observations on Domestic Habits and Manners, Religion and Morals.*
2 Vol. London, 1809.

THIS book is written, or supposed to be written, (for we would speak timidly of the mysteries of superior beings), by the celebrated Mrs Hannah Moore! We shall probably give great offence by such indiscretion; but still we must be excused for treating it as a book merely human,—an uninspired production,—the result of mortality left to itself, and depending on its own limited resources. In taking up the subject in this point of view, we solemnly disclaim the slightest intention of indulging in any indecorous levity, or of wounding the religious feelings of a large

class of very respectable persons. It is the only method in which we can possibly make this work a proper object of criticism. We have the strongest possible doubts of the attributes usually ascribed to this authoress; and we think it more simple and manly to say so at once, than to admit nominally superlunary claims, which, in the progress of our remarks, we should virtually deny.

Cœlebs wants a wife; and, after the death of his father, quits his estate in Northumberland to see the world, and to seek for one of its best productions, a woman, who may add materially to the happiness of his future life. His first journey is to London, where, in the midst of the gay society of the metropolis, of course, he does not find a wife; and his next journey is to the family of Mr Stanley, the head of the Methodists, a serious people, where, of course, he does find a wife. The exaltation, therefore, of what the authoress deems to be the religious, and the depreciation of what she considers to be the worldly character, and the influence of both upon matrimonial happiness, form the subject of this novel,—rather of this *dramatic sermon*.

The machinery upon which the discourse is suspended, is of the slightest and most inartificial texture, bearing every mark of haste, and possessing not the slightest claim to merit. Events there are none; and scarcely a character of any interest. The book is intended to convey religious advice; and no more labour appears to have been bestowed upon the story, than was merely sufficient to throw it out of the dry, didactic form. Lucilla is totally uninteresting; so is Mr Stanley; Dr Barlow still worse; and Cœlebs a mere clod or dolt. Sir John and Lady Belfield are rather more interesting—and for a very obvious reason, they have son e faults;—they put us in mind of men and women;—they seem to belong to one common nature with ourselves. As we read, we seem to think we might act as such people act, and therefore we attend; whereas imitation is hopeless in the more perfect characters which Mrs Moore has set before us; and therefore, they inspire us with very little interest.

There are books however of all kinds; and those may not be unwisely planned which set before us very pure models. They are less probable, and therefore less amusing than ordinary stories; but they are more amusing than plain, unfabled precept. Sir Charles Grandison is less agreeable than Tom Jones; but it is more agreeable than Sherlock and Tillotson; and teaches religion and morality to many who would not seek it in the productions of these professional writers.

But, making every allowance for the difficulty of the task which

which Mrs Moore has prescribed to herself, the book abounds with marks of negligence and want of skill; with representations of life and manners which are either false or trite.

Temples to friendship and virtue must be totally laid aside, for many years to come, in novels. Mr Lane, of the Minerva Press, has given them up long since; and we were quite surprised to find such a writer as Mrs Moore busied in moral brick and mortar. Such an idea, at first, was merely juvenile; the second time, a little nauseous; but the ten thousandth time, it is quite intolerable. Cælebs, upon his first arrival in London, dines out,—meets with a bad dinner,—supposes the cause of that bad dinner to be the erudition of the ladies of the house,—talks to them upon learned subjects, and finds them as dull and ignorant as if they had piqued themselves upon all the mysteries of housewifery. We humbly submit to Mrs Moore, that this is not humorous, but strained and unnatural. Philippics against frugivorous children after dinner, are too common. Lady Melbury has been introduced into every novel for these four years last past. Peace to her ashes!

The characters in this novel which evince the greatest skill, are unquestionably those of Mrs Ranby and her daughters. There are some scenes in this part of the book extremely well painted, and which evince that Mrs Moore could amuse, in no common degree, if amusement was her object.

‘At tea I found the young ladies took no more interest in the conversation, than they had done at dinner, but sat whispering and laughing, and netting white silk gloves, till they were summoned to the harpsichord. Despairing of getting on with them in company, I proposed a walk in the garden. I now found them as willing to talk, as destitute of any thing to say. Their conversation was vapid and frivolous. They laid great stress on small things. They seemed to have no shades in their understanding; but used the strongest terms for the commonest occasions; and admiration was excited by things hardly worthy to command attention. They were extremely glad and extremely sorry, on subjects not calculated to excite affections of any kind. They were animated about trifles, and indifferent on things of importance. They were, I must confess, frank and good natured; but it was evident, that as they were too open to have any thing to conceal, so they were too uninformed to have any thing to produce; and I was resolved not to risk my happiness with a woman who could not contribute her full share towards spending a wet winter cheerfully in the country.’ I. 54, 55.

This trait of character appears to us to be very good. The following passage is still better.

‘In the evening, Mrs Ranby was lamenting in general, in rather customary terms, her own exceeding sinfulness. Mr Ranby

said, " You accuse yourself rather too heavily, my dear ; you have sins to be sure. " " And pray what sins have I, Mr. Ranby ? " said she, turning upon him with so much quickness that the poor man started. " Nay, " said he meekly, " I did not mean to offend you ; so far from it, that hearing you condemn yourself so grievously, I intended to comfort you, and to say that, except a few faults— " " And pray what faults ? " interrupted she, continuing to speak, however, lest he should catch an interval to tell them. " I defy you, Mr Ranby, to produce one. " " My dear, " replied he, " as you charged yourself with all, I thought it would be letting you off cheaply by naming only two or three, such as— " Here, fearing matters would go too far, I interposed ; and, softening things as much as I could for the lady, said, " I conceived that Mr Ranby meant, that though she partook of the general corruption— " Here Ranby, interrupting me with more spirit than I thought he possessed, said, " General corruption, Sir, must be the source of particular corruption. I did not mean that my wife was worse than other women. "—" Worse, Mr Ranby, worse ? " cried she. Ranby, for the first time in his life, not minding her, went on, " As she is always insisting that the whole species is corrupt, she cannot help allowing that she herself has not quite escaped the infection. Now, to be a sinner in the gross, and a saint in the detail—that is, to have all sins, and no faults—is a thing I do not quite comprehend. "

' After he had left the room, which he did as the shortest way of allaying the storm, she, apologizing for him, said " he was a well-meaning man, and acted up to the little light he had ; " but added, " that he was unacquainted with religious feelings, and knew little of the nature of conversion. "

' Mrs Ranby, I found, seems to consider Christianity as a kind of free-masonry ; and therefore thinks it superfluous to speak on serious subjects to any but the initiated. If they do not *return the sign*, she gives them up as blind and dead. She thinks she can only make herself intelligible to those to whom certain peculiar phrases are familiar ; and though her friends may be correct, devout, and both doctrinally and practically pious ; yet if they cannot catch a certain mystic meaning,—if there is not a sympathy of intelligence between her and them,—if they do not fully conceive of impressions, and cannot respond to mysterious communications, she holds them unworthy of intercourse with her. She does not so much insist on high moral excellence as the criterion of their worth, as on their own account of their internal feelings. ' I. 60-63.

The great object kept in view throughout the whole of this introduction, is the enforcement of religious principle, and the condemnation of a life lavished in dissipation and fashionable amusement. In the pursuit of this object, it appears to us, that Mrs Moore is much too severe upon the ordinary amusements of mankind,

kind, many of which she does not object to in this, or that degree; but altogether. Cœlebs and Lucilla, her *optimus* and *optima*, never dance, and never go to the play. They not only stay away from the comedies of Congreve and Farquhar, for which they may easily enough be forgiven; but they never go to see Mrs Siddons in the *Gamester*, or in *Jane Shore*. The finest exhibition of talent, and the most beautiful moral lessons, are interdicted, at the theatre. There is something in the word *Playhouse*, which seems so closely connected, in the minds of these people, with sin, and Satan,—that it stands in their vocabulary for every species of abomination. And yet why? Where is every feeling more roused in favour of virtue, than at a good play? Where is goodness so feelingly, so enthusiastically learnt? What so solemn as to see the excellent passions of the human heart called forth by a great actor, animated by a great poet? To hear Siddons repeat what Shakespeare wrote! To behold the child, and his mother—the noble, and the poor artisan,—the monarch, and his subjects—all ages and all ranks convulsed with one common passion—wrung with one common anguish, and, with loud sobs and cries, doing involuntary homage to the God that made their hearts! What wretched insatiation to interdict such amusements as these! What a blessing that mankind can be allured from sensual gratification, and find relaxation and pleasure in such pursuits! But the excellent Mr Stanley is uniformly paltry and narrow,—always trembling at the idea of being entertained, and thinking no Christian safe who is not dull. As to the spectacles of impropriety which are sometimes witnessed in parts of the theatre; such reasons apply, in a much stronger degree, to not driving along the Strand, or any of the great public streets of London, after dark; and if the virtue of well educated young persons is made of such very frail materials, their best resource is a nunnery at once. It is a very bad rule, however, never to quit the house for fear of catching cold.

Mrs Moore practically extends the same doctrine to cards and assemblies. No cards—because cards are employed in gaming; no assemblies—because many dissipated persons pass their lives in assemblies. Carry this but a little further, and we must say,—no wine, because of drunkenness; no meat, because of gluttony; no use, that there may be no abuse! The fact is, that Mr Stanley wants not only to be religious, but to be at the head of the religious. These little abstinences are the cockades by which the party are known,—the rallying points for the evangelical faction. So natural is the love of power, that it sometimes becomes the influencing motive with the sincere advocates of that blessed religion, whose very characteristic excellence is the humility which it inculcates.

We observe that Mrs Moore, in one part of her work, falls into the common error about dress. She first blames ladies for exposing their persons in the present style of dress; and then says, if they knew their own interest,—if they were aware how much more alluring they were to men when their charms are less displayed, they would make the desired alteration from motives merely selfish.

‘Oh! if women in general knew what was their real interest! if they could guess with what a charm even the appearance of modesty invests its possessor, they would dress decorously from mere self-love, if not from principle. The designing would assume modesty as an artifice; the coquet would adopt it as an allurement; the pure as her appropriate attraction; and the voluptuous as the most infallible art of seduction.’ l. 189.

If there is any truth in this passage, nudity becomes a virtue; and no decent woman, for the future, can be seen in garments.

We have a few more of Mrs Moore’s opinions to notice.—It is not fair to attack the religion of the times, because, in large and indiscriminate parties, religion does not become the subject of conversation. Conversation must and ought to grow out of materials on which men can agree, not upon subjects which try the passions. But this good lady wants to see men chatting together upon the Pelagian heresy—to hear, in the afternoon, the theological rumours of the day—and to glean polemical tittle-tattle at a tea-table rout. All the disciples of this school uniformly fall into the same mistake. They are perpetually calling upon their votaries for religious thoughts and religious conversation in every thing; inviting them to ride, walk, row, wrestle, and dine out religiously;—forgetting that the being to whom this impossible purity is recommended, is a being compelled to scramble for his existence and support for ten hours out of the sixteen he is awake;—forgetting that he must dig, beg, read, think, move, pay, receive, praise, scold, command and obey;—forgetting, also, that if men conversed as often upon religious subjects as they do upon the ordinary occurrences of the world, that they would converse upon them with the same familiarity, and want of respect,—that religion would then produce feelings not more solemn or exalted than any other topics which constitute at present the common furniture of human understandings.

We are glad to find in this work, some strong compliments to the efficacy of works,—some distinct admissions that it is necessary to be honest and just, before we can be considered as religious. Such sort of concessions are very gratifying to us; but how will they be received by the children of the Tabernacle? It is quite clear, indeed, throughout the whole of the work, that an apologetical

apologetical explanation of certain religious opinions is intended; and there is a considerable abatement of that tone of insolence with which the improved Christians are apt to treat the bungling specimens of piety to be met with in the more antient churches.

So much for the extravagances of this lady.—With equal sincerity, and with greater pleasure, we bear testimony to her talents, her good sense, and her real piety. There occurs every now and then in her productions, very original, and very profound observations. Her advice is very often characterised by the most amiable good sense, and conveyed in the most brilliant and inviting style. If, instead of belonging to a trumpety gospel faction, she had only watched over those great points of religion in which the hearts of every sect of Christians are interested, she would have been one of the most useful and valuable writers of her day. As it is, every man would wish his wife and his children to read *Caleb's*;—watching himself its effects;—separating the piety from the puerility;—and showing that it is very possible to be a good Christian, without degrading the human understanding to the trash and folly of Methodism.

ART. XII. *A View of the Natural, Political and Commercial circumstances of Ireland.* By Thomas Newenham, Esq. 4to. pp. 355. London. 1808.

HAD we not been prepared, by Mr Newenham's former work, to expect some valuable matter in the present, we confess that we should have been a little alarmed by the style in which the preface is written, and particularly by the manner in which the qualifications of a statesman are discussed in the opening paragraph.

He begins by observing, that, 'Under a well-established government, exempt from popular controul, an accurate and comprehensive knowledge of the various circumstances of a country, on the part of those who exercise the principal functions of the state, does not appear to be indispensably necessary, when the obedience of the people is the sole or paramount object of concern. To ensure that obedience, a due proficiency in the art of government is the chief, or perhaps the only requisite. To promote the prosperity of a nation, a much more diversified knowledge than that of the mere statesman must unquestionably be attained.'

Now, we apprehend, that, in the best established governments, and those the most exempt from popular controul, a comprehen-

sive knowledge of the circumstances of the country to be governed, is indispensably necessary to enable the sovereign, or the minister who acts for him, to do his duty: nor can we attach any other idea to a due proficiency in the art of government, either in despotic or in free countries, than such a degree of knowledge as will not only insure the obedience of the subject, but tend to promote the wealth, power and happiness of the state. The great advantage of a free country does not consist in its requiring higher qualities in its governors, but in its being better secured against their bad qualities;—in being better fenced against the folly or wickedness of a sovereign,—and having better means of removing a foolish or wicked minister.

We do not perfectly understand what Mr Newenham means by the expression *mere statesman*. We know of no situation which presents a grander and more varied field for the exercise of talents, than that of a leading statesman; and none in which a more diversified knowledge is required to enable him to do his duty. The materials which he has to work upon are so various;—he is so continually assailed by partial and individual interests in all their different combinations, that nothing but an enlarged and comprehensive view of the true state of his own and other countries—and, above all, a thorough acquaintance with the general principles by which the relative value of contrasted good and evil may be determined—can qualify him so to influence the legislative provisions of his time, and so to direct their equal execution, as to give full play to the industry of all the parts of a great empire, and allow it to develop all its energies. All this, indeed, seems so obvious, that we cannot help suspecting that Mr Newenham has here said what he did not intend,—or that the Irish idea of a statesman is different from the common one. Upon this supposition, we venture to suggest a correction, which, as it appears to us, will make the observation accord much more nearly with the author's general sentiments, and at the same time give us an opportunity of agreeing with him most cordially. We have, indeed, sometimes felt, and we think he has felt too, that 'to promote the prosperity of a nation, a much more diversified knowledge than is possessed by those who at present have the chief influence in state affairs, must unquestionably be attained.' We beg the reader's pardon for detaining him so long at the threshold; and proceed without further delay to the body of the work. It is not by its style, or even its reasonings and opinions, that a publication of this kind should be judged. What we want with regard to Ireland, is a collection of well authenticated facts; and the author who professes to give us this, will always have a strong claim on our attention. We confess, however, that even
in

in this respect, the expectations which we have formed from Mr Newenham's former publication, have been a little disappointed in going over the present. Not that it is without valuable information, which it is at all times desirable to bring before the public; but the information, on this occasion, is neither so full nor so new as we had been inclined to expect; and is, besides, clogged with a good deal of very indifferent reasoning. In justice, however, to Mr Newenham, we should state, that a part of our disappointment has almost necessarily arisen from the nature of his former subject, compared with the present. He was, we believe, the first who brought together all the facts relating to the population of Ireland, during the course of the last century. But, in treating of its natural, political and commercial circumstances, he has had, in some parts of his subject, most able precursors, particularly Arthur Young, and the two Mr Parnells.

Mr Newenham has divided his work into four parts; the first, treating "of the natural advantages which qualify Ireland for the acquisition of commercial wealth:" the second, "of the causes which frustrate the natural advantages of Ireland:" the third, "of the remote cause which eventually frustrated the natural advantages of Ireland:" and the fourth, "of the circumstances which have tended to prevent a complete fruition of the natural advantages of Ireland, since the removal of the principal causes which operated in rendering them comparatively abortive,—and of the effects resulting from these circumstances."

These divisions, the reader will see, are not very luminous and distinct; and imply at once too much of history, and too little detail of the actual circumstances of Ireland, and of the condition of the lower classes of the people, to satisfy the particular wants of the British public. In fact, the greatest share of the information of this latter kind, to be found in the work, is scattered about in the form of notes, or thrown together in the tables of the appendix, which renders these parts of the book the most valuable of the whole.

The very great advantages for commercial intercourse, particularly with the Western world, which Ireland possesses from her geographical position, are evident, from the inspection of the map; and her numerous and commodious harbours, which are represented by Mr Newenham, and we believe justly, as much superior to those of England, would enable her, under favourable auspices, to reap the full benefit of her fortunate situation. Her deeply indented coast, her extensive lakes, and the number, size, and direction of her rivers will inevitably secure to her a most excellent system of inland navigation, as soon as the capitals of individuals are sufficiently large, the profits of employing them in other ways sufficiently

sufficiently reduced, and, above all, the quantity of goods to be carried sufficiently considerable, to encourage private subscriptions, and secure their effective application. But that this great object cannot be completed until this period arrives, is nearly certain; and how far, under all the circumstances of the case, a very beneficial stimulus can be given to it by the Government, advances recommended by Mr Newenham, may reasonably be questioned, when we hear so much of the inveterate propensity to jobbing, which prevails in Ireland, in the expenditure of the public money. It was no longer ago than the end of last March, that Sir John Newport stated in Parliament, that of the 500,000*l.* granted at the Union for the inland navigation of Ireland, only about 27,000*l.* had been drawn for, in the course of the eight years that had since elapsed, of which 6000*l.* had gone in salaries; so that the superintendence of the expenditure of 21,000*l.* for public purposes, had already cost 6000*l.*

The land carriage of Ireland, which is the subject to which Mr Newenham next proceeds, has been in a very good state for some time; partly owing to the excellent materials for making roads, which are almost every where at hand,—partly to their being made and repaired from funds raised by the grand juries, instead of the old plan of compulsory labour,—and partly to the use of one-horse cars, instead of heavy waggons. When any system seems to have answered the end proposed, we are naturally prejudiced in its favour. But even good roads may be purchased too dear; and we have reason to believe, that very just and well-founded complaints prevail respecting the powers of taxation possessed by these grand juries,—the partiality with which the money raised by them is expended,—and the weight and inequality of its pressure on the farmers. In answer to the first part of this complaint, which is slightly adverted to, Mr Newenham, to our utter astonishment, gravely enters into a discussion of the comparative merits of grand jurors and members of Parliament, and seems to determine that the former are as well qualified for imposing taxes as the latter. It is not necessary to refute so very strange an opinion; but being in search of facts and information, we have to complain of what we consider as a more serious offence. He has nowhere explained to us the manner in which the sums to be raised by the grand juries are levied. We are hardly qualified to supply this omission; but we have understood, that in some counties the assessment is made by the plough lands, and in others by the acre. These plough lands, though extremely various in their extent and quality, are all rated alike. It is scarcely credible, but we have been told from good authority, that there is one plough land in the county of Cork, containing 1360 acres; and another

in the same county containing only 100 acres; and that these two properties pay the same sum in rates. The extreme injustice and partiality of such a system of taxation need not be insisted on. But even the assessment by the acre, which prevails, we believe, in the greater number of the counties, is in the highest degree objectionable. When a man takes land, as he always must do, according to its *quality*, it must be productive of a most unequal kind of pressure, to tax him afterwards according to its *quantity*. We are surprised that Mr Newenham should speak in so favourable a manner of these assessments. To have good roads, it cannot surely be necessary to commit acts of injustice; and the subject evidently requires legislative interference.

To the great natural richness of the soil of Ireland all writers bear strong testimony. Mr Young, who paid great attention to the subject, and will be allowed to be a competent judge of such matters, says, that, taking acre for acre over the two kingdoms, the comparison will be decidedly in favour of Ireland; and Mr Newenham produces such statements of its fertility, that it must be allowed to vie with the richest in Europe, and surpass any of which England can boast. Nor is it only that the cultivated land of Ireland is superior in its natural quality to that of England; but the parts which have hitherto been neglected are more capable of being brought into a good state, at a much less expense. Of the whole area of Ireland, consisting, according to Dr Beaufort, of 19,489,960 English acres, 13,454,375 acres are considered as cultivated and fertile land; only 1,185,585 acres as inapplicable to the sustenance of man, being the sites of lakes, rivers, roads, towns, &c.; and 4,800,000 acres, as unreclaimed, and at present comparatively unproductive land. Of this latter division, a very large portion, from its nature, situation, and the abundance of natural manures with which it is almost every where surrounded, might be easily reclaimed. It is to these tracts of desert mountains and bogs that Mr Young refers, when he says, 'Upon these lands is to be practised the most profitable husbandry in the King's dominions;' and, according to Mr Newenham, the authors of the Seventeen Statistical Surveys, lately published, speak of the condition and circumstances of these waste lands in similar terms.

Of the cultivated soil of Ireland, by far the greater portion has hitherto had to contend against the united disadvantages of want of capital, and want of skill. It is at once a proof of uncommon fertility of soil, and of excessively bad management, that ten or twelve crops of oats are not unfrequently taken, in uninterrupted succession, from the same fields; and it appears, that only two or three years are necessary to recover the large portion of arable land, of average quality, which is successively reduced

to sterility by a long and ruinous continuance of grain crops without dressing, owing to the mismanagement and poverty of the small tenantry. There is reason to believe, that such treatment would render a vast proportion of the land of England altogether useless for at least double the time.

On the whole, if we compare the present produce of the land of Ireland with what it seems easily capable of producing it will appear to present prodigious resources for agricultural improvements; and to be destined to contribute, much more than in proportion to its size, to the funds of subsistence, and the raw materials of manufactures, raised for the use of the empire.

On the subject, however, of the causes which tend to produce a surplus quantity of food, and regulate the increase of population, Mr Newenham's ideas in this section, are not very distinct. He begins by observing justly, that men, like other animals, will multiply in proportion to their means of subsistence; yet a little further on he says, 'It is generally admitted, that the increase of food, though in some rich countries it actually falls short of, may yet be made to surpass, the greatest probable increase of people;' and afterwards he intimates, that if only one eighth part of the waste lands of Ireland had been cultivated, the whole supply required by England, in 1799 and 1800, might have been furnished without foreign assistance. Now, the second of these remarks seems evidently in contradiction to the first; and if the first be true, the last will be more than doubtful; as it will by no means follow, that an additional cultivation to a certain extent will occasion a proportionate excess of produce above consumption. But though we cannot admit the justice of these two last remarks, as here stated, it is still true, that a country, under certain circumstances, may continue to possess an exportable surplus of corn. In an early period of civilization and improvement, the growth of corn is carried on by farmers rather as a profitable manufacture, than as the means of subsistence. It is the nature of this manufacture to produce more food than is consumed by the persons employed in it; and the surplus will of course be sold at the best market, wherever that may be. If the country be surrounded by rich nations in want of corn, and if its other manufactures be not in a flourishing state, it will generally answer better to the farmer to sell his corn abroad than at home. In this case, the effective demand for a common manufacturing population will be comparatively inconsiderable; and the wages of labour will be such as to regulate the increase of labourers, not according to the increase of agriculture, but to the increase of agricultural employment. The means of subsistence to the population within the country will consist, not of what the country may grow,

grow, but of what this population can purchase; and, of course, the continuance of a redundant growth will in no respect invalidate the general principle, that men, like all other animals, will multiply in proportion to their means of subsistence.

Mr Newenham finishes this first part of his work with the following recapitulation, which may be produced as a useful sketch of the various subjects to which he has adverted, and a favourable specimen of his style.

‘ With a situation, then, so eminently favourable to foreign commerce; with a coast so free from danger, and every where presenting safer and more capacious harbours and bays than are to be found in any other country of equal extent in the world; with so many noble rivers flowing through the land in all directions,—through the richest parts of it,—through as fertile districts as any in Europe, and terminating in harbours, calculated not only by locality, but by every other requisite, for the prosecution of the most extensive traffick with every other nation under the canopy of heaven; with such vast advantages in respect of artificial navigations; with such unequalled means of bringing all the parts of the country, as it were, into contact one with another, and affording to each the varied markets of all the rest; with a climate so far removed from the extremes of heat and cold, as to permit the unhoused labourer to pursue his occupation, without danger or obstruction, throughout the year, and to insure an almost perpetual verdure to the pastures; with such an abundant supply of those minerals and fossils which are most necessary to the wellbeing of man, and on which human labour and ingenuity may be exerted with the fullest effect; with such productive fisheries, both off the coasts, and in the rivers and lakes; with a soil so luxurious and inexhaustible in many places, so fertile in most, and so capable, in all others, of being rendered, at a trifling expense, highly and permanently profitable; with a singular assemblage of all the various requisites for becoming the great emporium of the commercial world, the theatre of industry and arts, the granary of the West of Europe, and the successful rival of all other countries, antient or modern, in commercial opulence and national strength:—How has it happened, that Ireland was not long since, what the sagacious Sir William Temple affirmed she might become, “one of the richest countries in Europe?” How has it happened, that she did not long since make, what he affirmed she was capable of making, “a mighty increase of strength and revenue to the Crown of England? How did it happen, that this fair island, so profusely gifted with all the more valuable boons of nature, continued, until near the close of the last century, in a state of comparative obscurity and national poverty? How did it happen, that a spirit of industry, and a spirit of commercial enterprize, became completely extinguished among the active, quicksighted, and adventurous people of Ireland?” The solution of these questions is far from being either difficult or uninteresting. It will constitute the following part.’

Mr Newenham then proceeds to the causes which have hitherto frustrated the natural advantages of Ireland. It is of course impossible, in this place, to go through the disgusting detail of the various commercial regulations, which, aided by the penal laws, have produced this melancholy effect. They were dictated by English traders, and were among the worst that ever came from such suspicious advisers. The natural advantages of Ireland seem very early to have excited an alarm in this jealous body; and even the liberality of Sir William Temple, and the knowledge of Dr Davenant yielded, after a short struggle, to the prevailing sentiment.

Among the many acts dictated by this narrow spirit, and submitted to by the servile parliament of Ireland, we cannot help alluding to the introduction of one, on account of its being accompanied with a circumstance which puts the commercial intolerance of the times in a very striking point of view. We wish we could say that such times were now entirely over.

The progress of the Irish woollen manufactures, notwithstanding many restrictions, having still continued to give increasing inquietude to the monopolizers of England, the Parliament, under the influence of the English manufacturers, resolved to take decisive measures to preclude all competition with them on the part of Ireland in foreign markets. The English Lords accordingly presented an address to William III., stating, 'that the growing manufacture of cloth in Ireland, both by the cheapness of all sorts of the necessities of life, and the goodness of materials for making all manner of cloth, doth invite his subjects of England, with their families and servants, to leave their habitation to settle there, to the increase of the woollen manufacture in Ireland, which makes his loyal subjects in this kingdom very apprehensive that the further growth of it may greatly prejudice the said manufacture here; and praying that his Majesty would be pleased, in the most public and effectual way that may be, to declare to all his subjects of Ireland, that the growth and increase of the woollen manufacture there hath long, and will ever, be looked upon with great jealousy by all his subjects of this kingdom.' A similar address was presented by the Commons; and his Majesty was pleased to say in answer, '*Gentlemen, I will do all that in me lies to discourage the woollen manufacture of Ireland.*'

This, it will be observed, was the answer of the most liberal and enlightened prince of his age; and was spoken, not of an enemy's country, as from the language one might naturally suppose, nor even of a distant colony likely to be separated from the parent state,—but of a part of the dominions of the crown of England, so situated, that its loss would at all times endanger the safe-

ty of the whole, and every accession to the wealth, strength and happiness of which, should therefore always be considered as an accession to the wealth, strength and security of Great Britain. It was in this manner that, even without the plea of religious animosity, the interests of the British and Irish consumers, involving the whole population of the two countries, was sacrificed to a few English traders; and the woollen manufacture, for which Ireland possessed great facilities, was thus, *by particular desire*, completely crushed. The same system was uniformly pursued; and the monopolizers of England alone listened to, not only with regard to many other manufactures peculiarly suited to Ireland, but even with regard to the raw produce of its land, and its trade in provisions. The poor resource of a poor country in the neighbourhood of a rich one, was denied to it; and by the 18th of Charles II., which was not repealed till the reign of George III., the importation into England of great cattle, sheep and swine, beef, pork, and bacon, and, shortly after, of mutton, lamb, butter and cheese, was declared a common nuisance, and forbidden on pain of forfeiture.

Hateful as religious animosities are, their connexion with the greater passions renders them perhaps less uniformly disgusting, than that mean and pitiful jealousy of trade which is thus allowed to crush the industry, and repress the wealth, of those who ought to be considered as friends and brothers; and there is nothing that the great interests of society more imperiously call for, than the appointment of governors, who have knowledge to detect, and vigour to resist, those mercantile clamours, the uniform object of which is to sacrifice the whole to a part.

In the third division of his work, Mr Newenham traces those acts which have benumbed the industry, and almost rendered abortive the natural advantages of Ireland, to religious animosities;—of the rise and progress of which he gives an account. We have indeed seen that some of these acts appear to have had another origin. But it may safely be asserted, that such a system of oppression as that described by Mr Newenham, could never have been submitted to by a Protestant parliament, and the Protestant part of the population of Ireland,—if their numerical feebleness, compared with the Catholics, and the dread of offending the British government, which was to assist them in oppressing and keeping down so large a proportion of their countrymen, had not paralyzed all resistance. But,

— even handed justice

Returned the ingredients of their poisoned chalice

To their own lips.

The fetters which they had been forging for others, necessarily shackled their own advances. The estates of the rich Protestants felt

felt the want of a free vent for their produce, as well as the farms of the poor Catholics. Time brought to their conviction, that, by a dastardly, servile and useless compromise, they had sacrificed their own wealth and honour by sacrificing their country: and this conviction, joined to the very critical situation of Great Britain, which at once made her unable to assist the dominant party in Ireland, or to punish their disobedience, gave rise to a spirit of conciliation between the Protestants and Catholics, which opened (in 1780), a new era in the history of Ireland. A few acts had indeed been previously passed by the Irish legislature, purporting to encourage the industry of the country, but absolutely inefficient in their operation; and a few others had been reluctantly conceded by Great Britain on account of her pressing wants and necessities, under a change in the course of the corn and provision trade; but it was not till this period that a regular system of concession was begun, which, however the event may be delayed by accidental circumstances, must terminate either in *complete emancipation*, or *complete separation*.

It is unnecessary to refer more particularly to the well known acts passed in favour of Ireland about this time; but it is justly observed by Mr Newenham, that ‘for the liberation of their trade, and the establishment of legislative independence, Irishmen, who advert to the spirit and unanimity of the volunteers in 1779 and 1782, can scarcely fail to experience a considerable diminution of their gratitude for these boons to Britain.’—‘The truth is,’ (he goes on to say), ‘that had it not been for want in the former case, and fear in the latter, on the part of Britain, we should, in 1800, have been in no respect better than fifty years before; and to want and fear, it is certain that many Irishmen look for such further improvements of their condition as may be necessary, rather than to liberality or sound policy, the effects whereof they have certainly not been in the habit of experiencing.’

Of all the beneficial acts which were passed by the newly independent Legislature of Ireland, there are none which seem to make so great an impression on Mr Newenham, as the corn laws. He devotes, in consequence, two sections to a digression concerning the bounties on the exportation of corn granted in the session of 1783-4, and their effects. We really believe, that, in the circumstances in which Ireland was placed, a beneficial stimulus was given to its agriculture by these regulations. Though we do not assent to the doctrine, that corn measures the value of silver; yet, in those countries in which corn is the principal food of the lower classes of society, it must be allowed to influence the value of silver. But in Ireland, where the principal food is potatoes,

potatoes, this influence cannot be felt in the same degree; and a more effective stimulus on the production of corn would of course be given by a bounty upon its exportation. We cannot however by any means agree with Mr Newenham, in attributing, as he seems to do, the greatest part of the prosperity of Ireland, since 1784, to this cause. The history which he has himself given of the commercial injustice of Great Britain, amply accounts for the low state of Irish agriculture during the greatest part of the century; and the happy period, which produced a change of measures, and abrogated the penal laws against the Catholics relating to land, accompanied, as it happened to be, by the increasing wants of Great Britain for corn, could not fail of turning a considerable quantity of fresh capital to the cultivation of the soil.

Without determining, however, how much is to be attributed to bounties, and how much to other causes, the fact seems to be certain, that the tillage of Ireland has been increasing at a very rapid rate, while the exports of its pasture products have remained undiminished, and the internal consumption of them has been daily augmented. The natural effect of a great increase of produce, is a great increase of rents. And this effect, in the case of Ireland, has been rendered more remarkable by the cooperation of other causes,—the natural fertility of the soil,—the small capitals required to work it,—the use of potatoes as the principal food of the common people,—and the absence of poor laws. Mr Young, in 1778, computed the rental of Ireland at six millions; Mr Newenham, partly from some surveys, the results of which he has given in tables in his appendix, partly from information which he says he received from various quarters, and partly, as we conceive, from conjecture, states the present rental at fifteen millions, exclusive of the ground rents of the houses in the different towns. This is, to be sure, a prodigious increase, though we think it highly probable that it is not overrated. It is nearly certain, that if the lands of Ireland were relet at the present moment, a larger share of the whole produce would, from the causes above mentioned, fairly belong to the landlord, than would fall to his lot in any other country of Europe. This share of the whole produce is indeed probably as large now, as it ever will be.

In the progress of improvement, the increasing capitals of the tenantry will require a larger remuneration; and though, from these increasing capitals, produce will continue to increase, and rents to rise, yet the future proportion of rent to produce may not be so great as at present.

Among the most beneficial consequences of the extension of agriculture, which Mr Newenham strangely perseveres in refer-

ring almost exclusively to Mr Foster's acts, he dwells particularly on its effects upon the Catholic population. It has contributed so much, he thinks, to increase their numbers, wealth and influence, and has connected their prosperity so closely with the general prosperity of agriculture, and the interests of the Protestant landlords, the Protestant clergy, and the Protestant manufacturers, that as they can never again be kept down as they were formerly, their daily increasing strength must ultimately obtain for them that justice which has been so long refused.

In a note to a previous section (p. 185), Mr Newenham produces some facts relating to the proportion of the Roman Catholic to the Protestant population. From some of these it appears, that not only the *proportion*, but the *actual number* of the Protestants, has diminished since the middle of the last century. This we should not have expected; and the facts stated are hardly sufficient to convince us of its truth. But there are the most obvious reasons, as we stated in a former article, why the Catholic part of the population should have been increasing much more rapidly than the Protestant part.

The endeavours which were used in former times to banish the Roman Catholics from the towns, had the effect of rendering the rural population chiefly Catholic; and it is upon this part of the people, consisting of the poorest in Ireland, that the peculiar facility of increase, occasioned by the use of potatoes, has naturally operated with the greatest force. Wherever the Protestants are situated, whether in the towns, where they are principally to be found, or in the country, they uniformly seem to consider themselves as persons belonging to a class in the community superior to that of the lower orders of the Catholics. Even the linen weavers of the North, who are probably among the poorest of the Protestants, earn, according to Mr Young, about double the wages of the labourers in husbandry, and feel so much of the pride belonging to a superior condition, that they have generally preferred emigration,* to being reduced much below their usual rank in society, although there might be little chance of their wanting the means of subsistence for their families. But the humiliated Catholic, with no rank in society to support, has sought only these means of subsistence; and finding, without much difficulty, potatoes, milk, and a hovel, he has vegetated in the country of his ancestors, and overspread the land with his descendants. If to this consideration we add a circumstance, in which all writers seem to agree, that of the great encouragement given

* According to Arthur Young, the emigrations to America, which were at one time so considerable, consisted almost exclusively of the Protestants of the North of Ireland.

given to the marriages of the Catholic poor by the parish priest, on account of his deriving a very considerable part of his revenue from them, we shall see no reason to be surprised at the increasing proportion of the Catholics to the Protestants. And there can be no doubt, that while the same causes continue to operate, this proportion will continue yearly to increase.

With respect to the general amount of the population of Ireland, Mr Newenham seems inclined to adhere to his former computations, which, he says, subsequent researches have strongly conduced to substantiate. No new statements are given on the subject in the body of the work; but, in the Appendix, some interesting statistical tables are added, which, as far as they go, and as far as they can be depended on, certainly tend to confirm his computations, and mark, in particular, a very rapid increase of population.

In the town and diocese of Cork, the proportion of Catholic births to the Catholic population, is nearly as high as 1 to 23; and of marriages to births as 1 to above 5;—both indications of early marriages, large families, and full houses. In the diocese of Ross, the survey of which, Mr Newenham says, may entirely be depended on, the number of persons to a house appeared, by enumeration, to be 6 and a small fraction; and the proportion of births to the population was as 1 to 24 and a fraction; the proportion of Catholics to Protestants as 31 to 1. Of the accuracy of the other surveys, Mr Newenham cannot speak, from his own knowledge, with so much certainty; but sees no reason to doubt them. In one of them, which relates to the diocese of Limerick, the proportion of births to deaths is stated as above $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 1; though the proportion of baptisms to the population is not so great as in the diocese of Cork, which makes the account rather doubtful. These surveys, which are unfortunately too confined as to their extent, to warrant very general inferences, were made by the Catholic clergy of the different parishes, at the request of Mr Newenham; and, besides the particulars above alluded to, contain other interesting information,—such as, the wages of labour,—the rent of land,—the number of acres cultivated, uncultivated, and barren, &c. &c. Before the enumerations relating to parochial registers were proceeded on, Mr Newenham observed to one of the superiors of the Roman Catholic clergy, by whose influence the business was pursued, that the detection of an exaggeration in any one instance, would obviously have the effect of bringing discredit on all the returns, and, consequently, that of weakening whatever reasoning might be employed in behalf of the Roman Catholics, founded upon their numerical importance. To this it was replied, that, generally speaking, the pa-

rochial Roman Catholic clergy concerned themselves but very little in political speculations; and that there existed rather more reason to apprehend, that they would underrate, than overrate, the numbers of their parishioners; as, in the latter event, they would impress their Bishop with the expediency of appointing coadjutors, who would participate in their scanty incomes, as well as in their labours.

On the whole, there seems to be no doubt of the very rapid increase of population in the Southern and Western parts of Ireland; and if Mr Newenham's former computations are in any respect exaggerated, which we have sometimes heard suggested, particularly with regard to the number of persons which he allows to a house, we think it must have arisen from his applying the proportions which he has found in the Southern and Western countries too generally to the other parts of the kingdom.

On the subject of the general condition of the Catholic labourers, we have to complain that Mr Newenham has nowhere given us sufficient information. We wished much to have the means of judging, whether the increase of tillage, and the increase of rents occasioned by it, has essentially counteracted the abundance of the Irish cottier; or whether the increase of his wages, which is generally acknowledged, has as yet fully counteracted the increased price which he pays for his land. But though Mr Newenham states very distinctly, that the wages of labour in husbandry have risen, since the time of Mr Young's tour, from 6^d. to 10^d. a day, yet he has not given us, as Mr Young did, a list of prices with which to compare these earnings. We have understood, that the growing price and the market price of potatoes have hardly risen in proportion to the rise of wages; but that milk, which is almost a necessary addition to a potatoe diet, has become so scarce in the tillage districts, as to occasion a great diminution of comfort and health; and it seems to be generally agreed, that all other articles, except potatoes, have advanced in price faster than the advance of wages. It is indeed one of the radical evils of the use of potatoes, as the principal food of the lower classes, that the abundance in which they are supplied, and their consequent cheapness, by no means occasions a proportional cheapness of other commodities. On the contrary, this very abundance contributes to the high rent of land, which, of course, must tend to raise the price of the cattle, wood, or materials of manufactures which are raised upon it;—a proof, by the by, among many others, that the price of the common food of the labouring classes cannot be considered as regulating the prices of other commodities.

It is not improbable, that the scarcity of milk above alluded to, combined

combined with the increasing quantity of corn grown, from the extension of tillage, may gradually induce the Irish labourer to mix a greater quantity of oats or other corn with his potatoe diet, than has hitherto been usual; and we are convinced that such a change would, on the whole, be favourable to his general condition; but, whether any approaches to it are taking place at present, we are not informed.

We have heard from some quarters, that a decided improvement, of late years, may be observed in the dress of the peasantry, and the furniture of their cabins. From other sources we have been informed, that their general condition has been unquestionably deteriorated, by an advance of rents and prices greater than the advance in their wages. On these points, authentic information extending to the whole kingdom is much wanted; and it is a great fault in Mr Newenham's work, that he has not endeavoured more fully to supply it. We should rejoice to hear, that the check to the present rapid increase of population, which must necessarily soon take place, had begun to operate from an increasing taste for comforts and conveniences, before it was forced from the absolute want of food; but we own we have not much hope of any marked and striking change of this kind, till the Protestant and Catholic are in every respect put on a level.

On the important subject of the education of the Catholic poor, Mr Newenham has produced some information which has at once surprised and gratified us. He has asserted that, in point of literary attainments, they are far above the level of the same classes in England; and this assertion seems to be confirmed by some of the tables in his Appendix. In one of these tables, it appears that, in the dioceses of Cloyne and Ross alone, there are no less than 316 parochial schools kept by Catholics; and that they are attended, during the summer, by 21,892 scholars. It is pleasing to have this information accompanied by such other statements respecting the county of Cork, as to lead us to believe that its criminal calendar is, in proportion to its population, unusually free from great crimes. The Protestant schools in Ireland, with all the aid which they have received from government, seem to be by no means in a flourishing state; and the scholars which attend them do not equal, by 6000, the number that attend the Catholic schools in the diocese of Cloyne and Ross alone.

This increased attention to education among the lower classes of the Irish, Mr Newenham attributes to the care and industry of the Catholic clergy, of whose general conduct, politeness, erudition, and pastoral exertions as a body, he speaks in the highest terms. How far he may be unduly biassed by the civilities which he appears to have received from them, we will not pretend to say;

but if we might in any respect judge of them, by a letter which he has produced in the Appendix, we should think that his picture was by no means overcharged. This letter, which gives an account of the present state of the Catholic church, and Catholic clergy, in Ireland, which is very little known in England, we particularly recommend to the reader's attention; and we should insert the whole of it, if it were not too long for our limits. We earnestly wish that Mr Perceval would attend to those parts of this letter which relate to the causes which have affected, and may be expected to affect, the influence of the Catholic clergy in Ireland over their flocks.

The last division of Mr Newenham's work, consisting of eight sections, contains the Rebellion, the Union, and a great deal of miscellaneous matter which we have not room to comment upon. In his proposals for the improvement of Ireland, which occupy the three last sections, he is much too fond of public grants and bounties; and seems entirely to mistake the duty of government, which is to stand by and see fair play, and not to be actively assisting—first one party, and then another, as its caprice may direct. In the true mercantile spirit, and with a view, we imagine, to conciliate a nation of merchants, he proposes to the Legislature to give additional encouragements to the tillage of Ireland, as the occupation least likely to interfere with the manufacturers of Great Britain; and most preposterously recommends that the present high prices of corn should be maintained by fresh bounties, even after the surplus of Ireland should exceed the supply required by Great Britain, in order that the Irish farmers should gain fifteen millions for further improvements! It is unnecessary, we hope, to comment upon such proposals. To act under the dread of interfering with Great Britain, is directly contrary to the spirit of the Union; and to propose encouragements to the exportation of corn, with high prices and profits for their ultimate object, instead of plenty, is a gross abuse even of the system of bounties.

We are friends to the agriculture of Ireland; but should propose to encourage it with other views, and in other ways. Among the grievances which are felt by the small tenantry, none press so hard, nor give occasion to such constant irritation, as the unexpected demands so frequently occasioned by new county rates, and new valuations of tithe. The insurrections of the *Oak Boys* and *Steel Boys*, according to Arthur Young, were owing, in a considerable degree, to oppressive county cesses; and it is well known, that the long-protracted commotions of the *White Boys*, originated in the grievance of tithes. It may be asserted as a general truth, that the taxes which fall on the tenantry of a country,

country, are, of all others, the most prejudicial to the individual, and the most disadvantageous to the public; because the tenant of land has rarely the power, like other traders, of raising the price of the produce in which he deals, in proportion to the tax,—or of resorting to the alternative of withdrawing his capital; and if he had this power, the public would most materially suffer from it. But this truth, which is not sufficiently attended to in general, applies with peculiar force to the state of Ireland, on account of the extreme poverty of a large portion of the tenants. The competition for land, and the improvidence of the competitors, seem to be such, that they are willing to take farms, if they have but a tolerable prospect of getting on, under the existing outgoings at the time of taking the lease; and in such circumstances, a new demand must often find them absolutely unable to answer it. The very great proportion of the whole produce possessed by the Irish landlord, contrasted with the very scanty proportion possessed by his tenants, presents, we conceive, the natural remedy to this evil. And if he were obliged to take the burden of all permanent taxes on the land, upon their first imposition, we are convinced that he would be amply remunerated, not only by the happiness of his tenants, but by the superior state of his farms when they came to be relet, and the consequent greater advance of his rents.

The sacrifice, it is evident, would only be temporary,—as it is universally acknowledged, that all taxes upon tenants fall upon the landlord at the renewal of a lease; but the misfortune is, that a pressure during a few years, which would scarcely be felt by a man of property, is sometimes sufficient, in Ireland, to ruin both the farmer and the farm, and to spread dissatisfaction and irritation far and wide over the country.

We are no advocates for the territorial tax of the Economists; but we certainly think, that the peculiar state of Ireland calls upon the Legislature, by every principle of justice and policy, to remove the burden of the partial and oppressive county rates, and the still heavier and more oppressive burden of tithes, from the poor tenantry, to the rich landlords. Such a measure would be an effective and permanent encouragement to agriculture; and would go further in allaying the discontents of Ireland, than any thing short of complete emancipation,—which, at all events, it ought to accompany.

The tables in the Appendix, relating to the corn trade of Ireland, exhibit a very promising picture of its increasing exports, and explain in great measure the cause of the decreasing wants of the empire for foreign corn. According to *Chalmers's estimate*, the annual importation of all sorts of corn, for the five years previous

to the scarcity of 1800, was 1,191,131 quarters. In the committee on distilleries, the foreign corn imported during five years ending with the 5th of January 1808, was calculated at only 700,000 quarters annually. This beneficial change has undoubtedly arisen, in part, from the stimulus given to British agriculture by the late high prices; but by far the greater part will be found to be attributable to the increasing supplies of corn from Ireland, and the circumstance of Irish corn being included in the foreign imports before the Union. During the last year, Ireland exported 875,096 barrels of corn, (about 540,000 quarters), nearly the whole of which came to Britain. If this quantity be added to the 700,000 quarters of foreign corn at present imported, the amount will exceed the average importations of the five years before the scarcity, and show clearly in what manner the change in question has arisen. There can be little doubt, from the progressive state of the Irish exports of corn, that if things remain quiet some years, the empire will be entirely independent of foreign supplies, except in times of scarcity; and for this independence it will be indebted to Ireland.

In our review of Mr Newenham's former work, we observed, that if England were to choose a territory calculated to afford her the most effectual assistance, she could not have fixed upon a portion of land of the same extent, so peculiarly suited to her wants as Ireland. We were then alluding principally to the defence of the empire; but the same thought forces itself upon us when we advert to its resources; and it is impossible to contemplate the immense supplies of the very first importance, which we receive from this fruitful island, and their prodigious capability of increase, without feeling the conviction that it should ever be prized and cherished by us as our richest mine of wealth, as well as our strongest pillar of defence.

And yet this is the country the loss of which is daily risked by the inhuman cry of no popery,—by the bigotry and littleness of one part of an administration, and by the tergiversation and inconsistency of the other. It is really sickening to think, that at a period when every heart and hand is wanted to rally round the last remains of liberty in Europe, a set of men should be found at the head of affairs, who are either absolutely incapable, from narrowness of intellect, of profiting by the great lessons of experience that are daily unfolding themselves; or, whatever their opinions may be, are willing to sacrifice them and their country at the shrine of present place and emolument!

We have all justly reprobated the impolicy of the Supreme Junta of Spain, in not anticipating the offers of Bonaparte; and in leaving it a matter of rational doubt to the people, whether it might
not

not be for their happiness to accept them. But in spite of the glaring bad effects of such conduct on the fateful struggle in Spain, are we not acting with infinitely greater folly and feebleness towards a part of our own empire? Are we not even, by repeated insults and disappointments, taking the most effectual means to alienate, disgust, and irritate a people who will soon have the same offers made to them from the same quarter? The blaze of hope and of joy which lately illumined the horizon of Spain, is now sunk into a few feeble gleams; the impending effort of Austria seems to be but the prelude to her final extinction; and what shall then prevent the ruthless victor from turning his conquering arms towards the west? We own that we should see with dread even a very small French army in Ireland, after the councils of the empire had been for some time guided by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer,—by a man, who thinks he can save Ireland by irritating its clergy, and being sparing in his grants to the College of Maynooth.

There is one, and one only way, of rendering all the offers and efforts of Bonaparte powerless. The time is short; but it may yet be sufficient. Before the conquering legions of France return from the Danube, let us, by a great and generous act, prepare the hearts of the Irish for their reception. Let the reign of George III. be distinguished by the glorious completion of those concessions which it commenced. Let the Irish Catholics have all that they have demanded; for they have asked nothing but what strict justice and good policy should concede to them. Let them not only enjoy all the civil advantages of the British constitution, but give them a church establishment, like Scotland; and we venture to predict, that the increasing proportion of the Catholics will soon be less perceptible. Let the spirit of the Union, or what ought to have been its spirit, be carried into execution without fear or jealousy, till Ireland is in no respect to be distinguished from any other part of the empire, but by its situation, and superior fertility.

Such a train of measures, begun by the Government with earnestness and good faith, and while yet the power of the sword is in its hand, would soon work a change in the feelings of men who are known to be highly susceptible of gratitude and affection, and who could receive no such offers from other quarters; and though we will not affirm that all the discontented would be immediately conciliated, yet we are confident that they would be reduced to so few as to be perfectly insignificant, and that the country would then be completely secure against foreign invasion or domestic treason. Notwithstanding the known capriciousness and perverseness of man, we believe that not a single instance can be produced in history, of an established government being unable to suppress discontents, when justice was clearly and entirely on its side.

In the present wreck of empires, and under the extinction of all international law, no *small* state can hope to maintain its independence. Great Britain and Ireland, from their situation, their language, and their mutual necessities, seem naturally destined to support each other's strength, and supply each other's wants; and we are quite convinced, that nothing but extreme misgovernment can separate them. Heavy indeed, then, will be the responsibility of those men, under whose administration, or by whose previous unconciliatory measures such a separation is effected—whether the immediate cause of it be foreign conquest, or internal commotion.

ART. XIII. *Travelling Sketches in Russia and Sweden during the Years 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808.* By Robert Ker Porter. 2 vol. 4to. pp. 611. Phillips. London.

WHEN a person of moderate abilities and limited information is betrayed, in an unlucky hour, into an act of ordinary authorship, we do not conceive ourselves bound to take any notice of it. The book most probably contains nothing which calls for public censure; and it is still less likely to reward us with matter fit for extract or abridgement. But it is otherwise, when a person of this description travels, and tells his story:—he can scarcely avoid setting down something worthy of our attention; and we have accordingly made it a rule, to examine, with some pains, almost every work of this class,—noting the defects, and separating and preserving the useful parts, even though they should be as two grains of wheat in a bushel of chaff. In pursuance of this plan, we are now to make our readers acquainted with Mr Ker Porter. He has been long known, we presume, to most of them, as a very ingenious artist: in this book, he does not increase, nor indeed sustain, that reputation; nor does he add to it any considerable portion of literary fame, although he entitles himself to the much higher praise of amiable feelings.

The preface to a book generally contains the author's opinion of its defects; and this is pretty sure to be one of the most erroneous of all his positions. Mr Ker Porter points out 'continual egotism, an appearance of ostentation, and perhaps a too unreserved disclosure of his own situation and feelings,' as his most 'prominent imperfections.' We certainly cannot altogether acquit him of these faults: but, that they bear any proportion to the whole defects of his work, or that, in a book of travels, they deserve to be seriously considered, unless where other and greater failings are not discoverable, we must take the liberty of denying.

We

We wish Mr Ker Porter had looked somewhat sharper after such failings: if he had corrected them, his book would have been improved; but if he had only noticed them in his preface, a good deal of trouble might have been spared to us.

Our author sailed from England in August 1805, and had a favourable passage to the Sound. As he approached Elsinour, he was occupied with the most wild and interesting meditations upon 'a city immortalized by the pen of our matchless Shakspeare.' He had been following Hamlet every where; he had proceeded to 'measure the deep shadows on the platform;' he had then 'encountered the grey ghost of the royal Dane;' and 'killed Polonius in the Queen's closet;' besides 'drowning poor Ophelia in the willowed stream.' Upon landing, however, he gets angry at Elsinour for falling so far short of his imaginations; and abuses that respectable town, at great length, and with considerable variety and force of invective. Notwithstanding the existing hostilities, we scarcely think it would be fair to extract the whole of this highly wrought passage. We may just, by way of specimen, mention, that it seems 'Wapping possesses the splendour of ancient Rome, when compared with the modern aspect of Elsinour;' and if Hercules, or, as our author calls him, 'the immortal scavenger of Elis, had began (*begun*) there, he would be at his labour now.' Disgusted with Elsinour, and, as it should seem, with life itself, he rushes out of the town about a mile, and finds a place called 'Hamlet's garden.' He straightway expects 'venerable and magnificent ruins; and, being disappointed, severely reprimands this villa. During his rebuke, he happens to see Elsinour again, at some distance, whereupon a little more abuse is bestowed upon it; nor can he by any means be appeased, until he perceives the Castle of Cronberg, that 'fine and bold feature,' and four hundred sail of merchant ships lying at anchor. Thus disappointed in all his hopes of finding royal cities and ruins, and seeing indeed no remains of Hamlet whatever, he is forced to console himself with Saxo-Grammaticus, from whom he translates some passages, to which Shakspeare seems to have been indebted. They are curious, though not very delicate: but one does not quite see why that author, as well as Shakspeare, could not have been perused in England. Mr Ker Porter saw also some Danish soldiers, of whom he expresses an unfavourable opinion; being moved thereto, it rather seems, by 'their coarse and ill-made clothing;' and somewhat prejudiced, no doubt, by his general indignation at Elsinour. As soon as he leaves that ill-fated spot, his good humour returns; and during the rest of his tour, we find him a perfectly civil and well-natured companion.

He only saw Copenhagen through a glass from the sea; but he could

could plainly distinguish its ramparts and batteries; which leads him to relate an anecdote of Lord Nelson. This, we have reason to believe, is well founded, and therefore we shall extract it, although not very well told; for it is exceedingly delightful to dwell on any memorial of so illustrious a man, now that we have unhappily lost him; and it is not ungrateful to look back upon the lawful triumphs of our arms in these times, when the rulers of England only fought honourably with avowed enemies.

‘The circumstance took place during the battle of the Sound. It at least proves that no situation, however dangerous, can disconcert the truly brave man, or render him inattentive to those minutiae, which being watched by the enemy, betray our weakness, or proclaim our power. You must well remember, from the gazettes of that period, and private accounts, how tremendous was the engagement, and how dreadful the slaughter. In the midst of these horrors, surrounded by the dying and the dead, the British admiral ordered an officer, bearing a flag of truce, to go on shore with a note to the Crown Prince. It contained a proposal to his Royal Highness to acquiesce, without further delay, in the propositions of the British Government; not only to put a stop to the present effusion of blood on both sides, but to save from total destruction Copenhagen and its arsenals, which he would otherwise level with the water. Whilst his Lordship was writing with all the calmness of a man in his study, he desired Colonel Stewart to send some one below for a light, that he might seal his dispatch. Colonel Stewart obeyed; but none appearing with a candle; when Lord Nelson had nearly completed his letter, he inquired the reason of such neglect, and found that the boy who had been sent for it was killed in his way by a cannon shot. The order was repeated: upon which Colonel Stewart observed, “Why should your Lordship be so particular to use wax? why not a wafer? The hurry of battle will be a sufficient apology for the violation of etiquette.” “It is to prove, my friend,” replied Lord Nelson, “that we are in no hurry; that this request is not dictated by fear, or a wish on our part to stop the carnage, from the least apprehension of the fate of this day to us; that I am thus particular. Were I to seal my letter with a wafer, it would still be wet when it reached the shore; it would speak of haste. Wax is not the act of an instant; and it impresses the receiver accordingly.” The reasoning of the admiral was duly honoured by the result. The Danes acceded to his proposal; and a cessation of hostilities was the consequence.’ l. 13, 14.

From Zealand our author proceeded in his voyage to Cronstadt. On landing there, he ‘was amazingly struck by the extraordinary appearance of almost every individual he met.’ The beards, brown skins, caps, uniforms, pelisses, all bursting upon his sight at the moment that he heard a language quite new to him, ‘made so strange an impression on his mind as is not to be described.’

described.' Indeed he says, 'every sense was called forth to wonder and exercise.' The town and arsenal of Cronstadt are described as very beautiful and magnificent at first glance; but a nearer view, it seems, discovers 'many a wart and wrinkle on this fair face.' With St Peterburgh he is more delighted: there, every house seems a palace, and every palace a city.' The description of the new metropolitan church is interesting, both on account of the work itself, and the example which it affords of the waste of labour in a country where the lower classes are in a state of slavery or villenage.

'This edifice, as I before said, is dedicated to the *Mother of God of Kazan*. Though far from being completed, sufficient is elevated of its plan to give a tolerably accurate idea of the sublime feature it will make in the face of this city. The architect, who is a Russian, seems to have had the image of St Peter in his mind when he laid the foundations of this building; and if it be finished as it is begun, I have no doubt of its being a very powerful rival to the two great cathedrals of Rome and London. The pillars intended for the inside of the church, are to be each of one entire stone; the shaft, in length fifty-two feet, polished to the utmost perfection, and surmounted with a capital of the Corinthian order richly gilt and burnished. Every other ornament will be in corresponding taste. Niches are formed on the exterior, for the reception of bronze statues of Saints, fifteen feet high: and at some distance, in front of the building, is to be erected a single column of granite of two hundred feet in length; a piece of that size, sufficient to form it; having lately been discovered. Its magnitude will be so immense as to exceed the height of Pompey's pillar by many feet. It is expected that in the course of four or five years the whole work will be completed. At that period the old church is to be pulled down; and thus an area will be left that must considerably improve the situation of the new.

'The architect of this great design was formerly a slave of Count Strogonoff. But that nobleman, out of respect to his talents, gave him his liberty.

'Many of the labourers employed on these buildings, come some thousand versts from the interior: and when the frost sets in, they retire thither again, to await the more genial season which will allow them to recommence their toil. The multitudes now engaged in forming the various parts of these large works, are interesting and curious. All difficulties connected with their business, are overcome by human exertions alone. What in England would easily be performed by one horse, with a little mechanical aid, is here achieved by the united strength of numbers of men. Hence there is much useless labour to regret. Frequently we see a hundred men, with ropes and handspikes, busied in accomplishing no more than one quarter of that number, with a few of our assisting inventions, would easily finish in half the time.' I. 20, 21.

In giving this extract, we have left out a little rant about sacrifice and genius, which occurs about the middle of it. We cannot, however, omit an exquisite passage touching avarice, which catches the eye a few pages further on; and forms, we conceive, as pure a specimen of the nonsensical in composition as has even of late years been produced. After inveighing against the Russian shopkeepers for demanding from strangers more than the value of their goods although willing to take a fair price from those who know their ways, Mr Porter breaks out as follows:

'But alas! I fear the passion for a hasty accumulation of riches is not peculiar to our northern neighbours. In an ignorant people, just emerging to civilization, we see covetousness without a veil. Eager to share in the good things which are opened to them on every side, they consider not, because they do not yet understand, the superior advantages of character. But are the people who have long enjoyed the privileges of education and polished society, are they exempt from this degrading vice? I am afraid not. With them it is only more modest: aware of its own infamy, it slinks from sight under various masks, while the objects of its contractingships, and the tenantry of the land, are groaning under neglect and oppression. Selfishness is the vice of human nature; and very difficult it is to hold it in the medium between savage avidity and luxurious desires.' I. 25.

There is not a line of this which may be passed over; but the last sentence is particularly remarkable, because it consists of so many words put together without one single idea.

The description of St Petersburg is, upon the whole, good. Mr Porter's talents as an artist appear in it. Indeed, he who can delineate a city on canvass, is pretty sure to give a picturesque account of it, if he will only be plain and natural; and the grandeur of the scene seems to have forced our author to set down many of the things that struck him, as they really did strike him, in spite of his tendency to ranting. Thus, notwithstanding the 'castellated rocks'—'dank marshes'—'tangled forest'—'gay parterre'—'Arcadian scenes'—'encolumned walls'—'Adriatic Miles of Venice'—(as if he had said, 'the English parishes of Yorkshire'), which are crowded into the space of a quarter of a page, we really think a person who has never been at St Petersburg, will rise, from Mr Porter's description, with a much more lively idea of the exterior of that magnificent capital, than if he perused all the other accounts of it put together.

On visiting the church at the fortress, our author's attention was powerfully excited by the collection of standards taken in battle, and of the keys of all the cities which have yielded to the Russian arms. These are hung up in order, and named and dated with great accuracy. Here are the keys of Ishmael, Okzakow, Derbent,

bent, and innumerable other cities or towns of lesser note in distant parts of the world. The standards of Pultowa, we may presume, blacken the air. *Noir, Alessandria, furnish trophies to swell the heap. But there is an accursed thing in this temple, which pollutes it, and casts the triumphs here recorded into a deadly shade. There are the keys of Warsaw, and the bread and salt rendered up with them, as a token of the destruction of Poland. There is something awful, at the present moment, in this part of the picture. It teaches us why Ishmael was in vain deluged with blood—why Derbent was thrice conquered to no purpose—why the arms of Russia have swept over the East and the South, without increasing her security—why, after strangling Sweden in her cradle, she has no strength in her riper years—why her victories over France are forgotten, and the country of Suwaroff receives the law from Paris. Those symbols are, indeed, memorials of a triumph;—they record a triumph over public virtue—over the faith of treaties—over the rights of nations;—a triumph which was never equalled, not even in Switzerland, or at Copenhagen—until the invasion of Spain, surpassing all former crimes, made us almost forget the partition of Poland.

We shall pass over a great mass of description, mixed up with trifling anecdotes, somewhat in the manner of Sir John Carr, to whose '*elegant works*,' indeed, Mr Porter refers. We say nothing of the account of the Greek church, too—a subject very little adapted to such superficial writers as this author; and we quickly turn over two pages of rant, or rather downright raving, upon Lord Nelson's death, sensible how painful it must be to the feelings of our readers, even to notice this trash for the purpose of reproofing it. But we must follow Mr Porter to court; for, among other boasts, we remember to have seen, in the newspaper advertisements, mention made of '*his accredited reception at the respective courts.*' This is obviously intended as a hint, that he was entrusted with some mission, though he is much too prudent to let the secret out in his book. We wonder what could be the nature of this embassy? Was he perchance sent to rouse the continental powers at the beginning of the third coalition? The dates correspond very well with this idea; for he went abroad just before the war broke out. His talents, too, seem of the cast not unusually employed by our cabinet on such services. His knowledge of languages, of French particularly, points him out as very likely to have been pitched upon. (See Vol. I. p. 130.—'*Les chambérains actuels.*') He further resembles some of our most profound statesmen in an eloquent and happy coinage of words, *e. g.* to *offusc*, for to *stink*. When all these qualifications are taken into the account, we shall probably feel disposed to believe the insinuation of
the

the advertisement, although Mr Porter is sufficiently diplomatic to keep his own secret; except, indeed, where he finds it quite impossible, as any equally happy man must have done, to suppress the information, that, 'to the fair hand of the Dowager Empress, he is indebted for a diamond, which, in devotion to her virtues, he shall ever wear next his heart.' I. 149.

It is needless to add, that this Empress is among his chief favourites. 'The Dowager Empress,' says he, 'who is of a Pallas form and mien, is a most admirable woman.' Again, 'She is exquisitely accomplished; and possesses a courtesy of address that is *undescribable*.' The reigning Empress comes in for some share of his admiration; and the Emperor Alexander is portrayed at length. We shall extract the passage; because it brings back the remembrance of past times. The people of this country have probably forgotten, now, that they used all to venerate the Russian Emperor. Indeed, two years have not elapsed since such language as the following would have been deemed cold, and utterly inadequate to express the feelings which every one was required to entertain towards the saviour of Europe.

'I know your eagerness to become acquainted with the great of all countries: I mean the truly great; the illustrious in talents, and the illustrious in virtue: they alone have ever been the great to you; and to them, while resembling them as a brother, have you not always bowed with the humility of a son! But to return to the Emperor.

'He is mild in his demeanour, gentle in his motions, and particularly graceful in his address. The goodness of his heart shines forth in his eyes; and the sweetness of his temper ever embellishes his lip with a smile. So great is his benevolence, that not a day passes without bringing forward some instance of his attention to the welfare and comfort of his people; and his lenity in punishing criminals is so forbearing, that in all cases the most tender mercy waits upon his justice. His figure is handsome and elegant, his air affable and engaging; and his countenance ever expresses the benignity of his mind. His height is about five feet eleven inches. He is fair, with blue eyes; and his complexion, though not florid, is beaming with health, and most interestingly tinged with the hue of a military life.

'On our first presentation, according to the etiquette of this court, the Emperor passed forward, only bowing to the strangers. But after that formal ceremony was once over, at every other levee he converses with all the dignified freedom which suits so gracefully upon persons of his rank; and more particularly captivates in him, from the intelligence and amiable interest of his manners.' I. 148.

Our readers may perhaps think, that Mr Porter is somewhat romantic in his descriptions of royal personages; but we can assure them, he is a much greater enthusiast respecting tables and chairs.

chairs. The furniture of the *Hermitage* admitted him in a wonderful manner, and throws him also into a violent passion at the furniture of St. Cloud. The imperial inhabitants of those two palaces have not often called forth more impassioned language, than is bestowed upon their respective stools, in the following passage.

‘ That boasted mansion, for the perfection of which every atom of French talent has been exerted, every touch of French taste laboured and repeated, proved at last—but a large *Magazin des Meubles*! Confused and *viciely* disposed, the *infamous* fashion of never admitting two chairs alike into one room, has rendered it the most *disgustingly* expensive, and vulgarly ostentatious display of fine furniture that ever yet pretended to the name of magnificence. St. Cloud is an upholsterer’s shop, whence palaces may be fitted: the *Hermitage* is a palace ready fitted for the reception of kings.’
I. 151, 152.

Just before leaving St. Petersburg, Mr. Porter receives a letter from his friend, expressing wonder that ‘ he has not yet taken notice of the one subject in which he had always shown so particular an interest.’ His friend asks, ‘ What has become of your attachment to the army, that you have not given me any idea of the state of its establishment in Russia?’ Our author makes answer, ‘ It is just where it was, the first-born passion in my breast,’ &c. This passion is frequently breaking out in the course of these volumes, and always leads to some *nothing* or other. In the present case, it is expended chiefly on the uniforms of the Russian troops, which are described with much tenderness and pathos. Our feelings on this topic being considerably less acute, we must be excused for not following the author very far in his effusions. We prefer the passage with which he concludes this letter; because it is upon a perfectly different subject; and written too by another hand.

‘ I have not been very profuse in my remarks on national character, because, I think I might as well decide on the general effect of a statue, by seeing only its leg or arm, as write confidently of the Russian manners, when I have penetrated no further than this city. Indeed, I know of no study so uncertain as that of individuals; and it is by a number of individuals that we judge of a people: and where we find it so difficult to gain a true knowledge of our own characters, we ought not to consider the task so easy to comprehend that of others. Some persons have a happy facility in seizing the characteristic points of a nation: and none was more eminently gifted with this power than Peter the First. I will transcribe a specimen; and instead of receiving the poor pittance of my opinion on one country, you shall be enriched with the judgment of so great an Emperor on several. It was his estimation of the foreigners whom he encouraged to come to his new capital.

"You may give to a Frenchman (says he) liberal pay: he never amasses money, and loves pleasure. The case nearly answers to the German; only he spends what he labours for in good living, not on the gay vanities of the Frenchman. To an Englishman more must be given: he will enjoy himself at any rate; should he even call in to his aid his own credit. A Dutchman rarely eats enough to pacify nature: his sole object is economy; less, consequently, will serve him. An Italian is by nature inoculated with parsimony: a trifle, therefore, will do for him: almost out of nothing he will contrive to save; making no mystery of it, but acknowledging that he serves from home with no other view than to amass money to enable him to return with affluence to the heaven of Europe, his own dear Italy." I. p. 173, 174.

From St Petersburg, Mr Porter set out in the depth of winter for Moscow. This journey presents us with one or two passages worthy of notice. The first is a good description of the dreariness of a Russian landscape at that season.

Nothing interesting presenting itself, we travelled onwards, through towns and villages, and over a dreary country, rendered ten thousand times more so by the season. All around was a vast wintry flat: and frequently not a vestige of man or of cultivation was seen, not even a solitary tree, to break the boundless expanse of snow. Indeed no idea can be formed of the immense plains we traversed, unless you imagine yourself at sea, far, far from the sight of land. The Arabian deserts cannot be more awful to the eye, than the appearance of this scene. Such is the general aspect of the country during the rigours of winter; with now and then an exception of a large forest skirting the horizon for a considerable length of way. At intervals, as you shoot along, you see openings amongst its lofty trees, from which emerge picturesque groups of natives and their one-horse sledges, whereon are placed the different articles of commerce, going to various parts of this empire. They travel in vast numbers, and from all quarters, seldom fewer than one hundred and fifty in a string, having a driver to every seventh horse. The effect of this cavalcade at a distance is very curious; and in a morning, as they advance towards you, the scene is as beautiful as striking. The sun then rising, throws his rays across the snow, transforming it to the sight into a surface of diamonds. From the cold of the night, every man and horse is encrusted with these frosty particles; and, the beams falling on them too, seem to cover their rude faces and rugged habits with a tissue of the most dazzling brilliants. The manes of the horses, and the long beards of the men, from the quantity of congealed breath, have a particularly glittering effect.' I. 179.

The next is a specimen of Russian truck and barter; which we recommend to the attention of all those profound reasoners, who undervalue the blessings of liberty, and are unwilling to allow that it makes any considerable difference in the human character. We

submit

submit this anecdote also as affording a presumption of how little can be reasonably expected from the resources of the Russian empire in any immediate contest with more civilized monarchies.

Twer is a place of considerable commerce, owing to its situation on the conflux of two such advantageous rivers. And perhaps on this account we found a very good inn, which was no trifling comfort; though we were detained, and imposed on too, by the clumsiness and roguery of the host. Our unlucky barouche, after a variety of disasters in its journey, here broke fairly down; and thus proved the folly of making use, in these regions, of any carriage that is not adapted to the roads and horses of the country. After much bumbling we at length got the vehicle mounted on its skates; and I inquired of the landlord his demand for the share he had in the repairs; he coolly asked *thirty rubles*! So exorbitant a charge occasioned me to remonstrate: at this moment my servant came up (an honest Russ, who some time before had been made free); he inquired what was the matter. I told him the extortion of the man, and that I wanted to beat him down. "I'll beat him down!" cried he, catching the poor wretch by the beard; and laying upon his shoulders, with all his might, an immense bludgeon large enough to be called a club. As the terrified host swung round at the arm's length of my doughty champion, the blows fell like hail upon his back, while he kept bawling out: "twenty, fifteen, ten, &c." till he reduced his demand to the more reasonable sum of two rubles. On this cry, like the last bidding at an auction, the appraiser was satisfied, and the hammer fell. The poor battered wretch was released; and bowing with a grateful air to his chastiser, turned to me. Almost killed with laughing at so extraordinary a sight, I paid him his rubles. I was no less amused at the stupid indifference with which the standers-by regarded the whole transaction; and got into the *kabitka* to pursue our journey, debating with myself whether the frequent drubbings these slaves endure, really reduces their flesh to the consistence of stock-fish; or whether the friendly sheeps-skins on their backs do not blunt the force of blows, which otherwise threaten not only bruises but broken bones. The bow he made to my triumphant valet entertained me as much as any thing; and as we drove off, he repeated his *obeisances* with as much respect as if we had given him a hundred ducats, instead of a few rubles and a drubbing into the bargain. I. 183, 184.

Mr Porter's residence at Moscow gives him an opportunity of describing the manners and habits of the genuine Russian nobility. At St Petersburg, they are somewhat civilized—at least they partake of foreign fashions, and conform externally to the usages of polished life. In their own capital of Moscow, we have them living in the barbarous pomp which belongs to their wealth, and to that stage of society. Our author, however, is not of this opinion: he expresses some indignation at those who reckon ex-

cessive hospitality among the symptoms of barbarism; protesting, that 'he never saw, in any part of the world, such general polish of manners as in this city.' We shall only justify the charge, by quoting from Mr Porter himself, a very lively and curious account of certain '*frisks of nature*,' as he is pleased to call them, which the highly polished nobles of Moscow exhibit in their houses;—these are dwarfs and fools. In the account of the former, we omit a ranting eulogium upon Nature for having made so few female dwarfs.

'They are here the pages and the playthings of the great; and, at almost all entertainments, stand for hours by their lord's chair, holding his snuff-box, or awaiting his commands. There is scarcely a nobleman in this country who is not possessed of one or more of these frisks of nature; but, in their selection, I cannot say that the *noblesse* display their gallantry, as they choose none but males.

'These little beings are generally the gayest drest persons in the service of their lord, and are attired in a uniform or livery of very costly materials. In the presence of their owner, their usual station is at his elbow, in the character of a page; and, during his absence, they are then responsible for the cleanliness and combed locks of their companions of the canine species.

'Besides these lilliputians, many of the nobility keep a fool or two, like the *motleys* of our court in the days of Elizabeth; but like in name alone; for their wit, if they ever had any, is swallowed up by indolence. Savoury sauce and rich repasts swell their bodies to the most disgusting size; and, lying about in the corners of some splendid saloon, they sleep profoundly, till awakened by the command of their lord to amuse the company. Shaking their enormous bulk, they rise from their trance; and, supporting their unwieldy trunks against the wall, drawl out their heavy nonsense, with as much grace as the motions of a sloth in the hands of a reptile-fancier. One glance was sufficient for me of these imbruted creatures; and, with something like pleasure, I turned from them to the less humiliating view of human nature in the dwarf.

'The race of these unfortunates is very diminutive in Russia, and very numerous. They are generally well shaped, and their hands and feet particularly graceful. Indeed, in the proportion of their figures, we should nowhere discover them to be flaws in the economy of nature, were it not for a peculiarity of feature, and the size of the head, which is commonly exceedingly enlarged. Take them on the whole, they are such compact, and even pretty little beings, that no idea can be formed of them from the clumsy deformed dwarfs which are exhibited at our fairs in England. I cannot say that we need envy Russia this part of her offspring. It is very curious to observe how nearly they resemble each other: their features are all so alike, that you might easily imagine that one pair had spread their progeny over the whole country.' I. 190.—195.

The author then gives some anecdotes of dwarfs of his acquaintance:

quaintance; as the governor of Moscow's dwarf, 'whose features and expression have an appearance to the eye as if he washed his face with alum-water.' Mr Porter candidly admits, that it may be difficult to divine this sort of expression; but adds, that it is 'a sort of wizened, sharp look, inconceivable unless you saw it.'

Mr Porter's description of Moscow is very good, and deserves nearly the same commendations which we offered to his account of St Petersburg. His rhapsodies (especially a long one about kissing) occasionally interrupt it; and, to accuracy of style, he has no sort of pretension: but we should be glad to see other cities described in as lively and distinct a manner, by one evidently accustomed to represent objects with his pencil. His return to St Petersburg is agreeably diversified with anecdotes of the scrapes into which he was led by an Italian adventurer who fastened upon him, and a description of the magnificent monastery at Voskreschensky, and of Nichon's hermitage. A trait of barbarism is mentioned in the course of this journey, which we are willing to hope may have been exaggerated to our author. It is stated as the ordinary, and indeed constant practice among the Russian peasantry, for the young men to marry at an early age, and immediately to leave their wives under the care of their fathers, who cohabit with their daughters-in-law, while the husband is seeking his fortune in Moscow or St Petersburg. Mr Porter assures us, that the husband, on returning with his gains, and finding a family ready made for him, only bethinks him of marrying his sons, and sending them off, as he himself had been sent, that he may 'enjoy himself, like a Turk in his seraglio, amongst their wives.' Whatever foundation there may be for this statement, we should require very strong evidence to make us believe, in its whole extent, any thing so contrary to the ordinary course of nature. It cannot, indeed, be denied, that much may be explained by the debased state of the lower orders in Russia, and their entire dependence upon their masters, whose interests, as Mr Porter has justly remarked, lead them to encourage both the temporary emigration of the master, from which great gain is derived to the estate, and the continuance or increase of their numbers. We must only suggest, that the expedient in question seems one of the least natural and obvious, as well as the most revolting, which could have been devised for accomplishing those purposes.

We shall not follow our author back to Moscow, whither he again went. He seems to have remained in Russia as long as the intercourse between that country and his own permitted; and, on the unhappy commencement of hostilities, he retired into Swe-

den. The journey through Finland, and across the Gulph, to Stockholm, presents us with nothing worthy of notice. On arriving there, our author, of course, describes the city well; and it is equally a matter of course, that he should fall in love with the court, especially the dresses, the King and the Queen. We shall give his portraits of these illustrious and unfortunate persons.

‘ As soon as the King was seated, a piece of music with, I suppose, appropriate words (for it was in Swedish), burst from the orchestra. His Majesty seemed very attentive to what was sung; while the Queen, with a less impressed countenance, sometimes listened, and at others looked round on the assembly with a delightful complacency. I confess that my observation was most particularly directed to Gustavus. He bears a striking resemblance to the best portraits of Charles the Twelfth, and seems not to neglect the addition of similar habiliments; for really, at the first glance, you might almost imagine the picture of his renowned ancestor had walked from its canvass. He is thin, though well made; about the middle stature, pale, and with eyes whose eagle beams strike with the force of lightning: look at them, and while he is in thought they appear remarkably calm and sweet; but when he looks at you and speaks, the vivacity of his manner and the brilliancy of his countenance are beyond description. His mouth is well shaped, with small mustaccios on his upper lip; and his hair, which is cropped and without powder, is combed up from his forehead.

‘ Her Majesty is most interestingly beautiful; very much resembling her sister the Empress of Russia. She is fair, with expressive blue eyes. Her features are fine; but the affability of her countenance, her smile, and engaging air, independently of other charms, would be sufficient to fascinate every heart almost to forget she was a Queen, in her loveliness as a woman. She was dressed with exquisite taste. Her hair, in light but luxuriant tresses over her brow and head, was looped up with a double diadem of jewels. Her robe was splendidly embroidered; and on her breast she wore the badges of the order of St Catherine. And certainly it must be acknowledged, that the star, whether of distinction or of beauty, never shone brighter than on the bosom of the fair *Helen of the North*; for thus this beautiful Queen is generally distinguished; though, were I to give her a title, it should rather be that of *Andromache*, whose beauties, lovely as they were, were yet transcended by the more endearing graces of the chaste wife and tender mother.

‘ During the whole of the evening, after the musical salutation, their Majesties mingled with the company, conversing with every person with the kindest condescension. Every citizen was spoken to; and their eyes sparkled with joy, while their tongues faltered out a reply to the address of their Sovereign. His conversation with the subjects of his brother in arms, our revered Monarch, was of the
most

most gratifying complexion; no coldness, no form; all was frank, great, and consistent with himself. In short, it would have been impossible for any potentate to have shown more graceful, knight-like courtesy to all present; or for a sovereign to be received with deeper homage from a brave and loyal people. In many courts I have seen the body of loyalty; here its spirit was felt.' II. 132-134.

Mr Porter then proceeds to express his astonishment and indignation, that any persons should be found, especially in Sweden, who are not as much enamoured as himself of the King and his mode of governing. 'Who,' says he, 'that was present at such a scene would believe, that some of his ungracious subjects affect to lament the destiny of the state? But so it is. As in most countries parties exist, who contend for they know not what, even in Sweden there are a set of grumblers, troubling the government with discontents, which, lying in themselves rather than in the constitution, neither king nor senate can rectify. These turbulent natures are the torment of every state. We may consider them as inherent diseases amongst all people; a sort of acrimonious humour boiling from the body politic, which, as the evil is in human nature, must discharge itself somewhere; and what is more, there is no hope of the disorder being cured, till the final exit of the world with all its imperfections' (II. 131.) We are not eloquent like Mr Ker Porter, so we cannot talk of diseases, and humours, and the exit of the world; but we may give a very plain solution of his difficulties, in the matter of fact. The King of Sweden, notwithstanding his high spirit, (which, by the way, was chiefly shown in imitations of Charles XII.'s dress, and in parodies upon the French bulletins), was disliked by his subjects; because, for the gratification of personal feelings, he involved his country in a war, which was necessarily expensive beyond its utmost means, and could scarcely fail to terminate in the dismemberment or subjugation of the kingdom. If Sweden had enjoyed the benefits of a free constitution, even of such a form of government as Gustavus III. abolished, but, much more, if she had possessed the inestimable treasure of such a constitution as ours, the catastrophe which has, since Mr Porter's return from the Baltic, befallen her unhappy misguided Sovereign, never could have happened. A course of misrule, supported by popular delusion, might no doubt have brought the country into difficulties: it is even possible that the caprices of the court should, for a short time, have made them persist in measures contrary both to the interest and to the wishes of the people; but this could only have lasted for a season; and, in no long time after the eyes of the people had been opened, their voice must be heard, and a change of councils, or, at the utmost, a change of counsellors, would

have prevented the necessity of any attempts upon the sacred person of the Monarch.

It may easily be conceived, that our author's enthusiasm about Charles XII. leads him to every spot where any memorial of that gallant and most pernicious ruler can be found. He tells the whole story of his assassination as minutely as if he had read the details in an extraordinary gazette, and with as little hesitation as if this were, not one of the *questiones verata* of modern history, but a passage free from all obscurity. We shall probably expose ourselves to the charge of jacobinism (though the wish is somewhat old-fashioned, and, indeed, so little in consonance with the prevailing taste, that it can scarcely be accused of triteness), if we express a desire to hear Kings called by their proper names, and to have Charles XII. once more held up to the world as a personage, whose want of all the good principles most requisite in a Sovereign, is a great deal more evident than his madness. For a contrast to this prince, we cheerfully take Gustavus Vasa, of whom we rejoice to find, that our author has collected some anecdotes. He visited the spot in Dalecarlia, where that truly great Monarch took refuge from the Danish usurper, and concealed himself, while he matured his plan for the deliverance of his country. The following passage is exceedingly interesting, and relates the anecdotes with no small dramatic effect.

' On the little hill just mentioned, stood a very ancient habitation ; of so simple an architecture, that you would have taken it for a hind's cottage, instead of a place that, in times of old, had been the abode of nobility. It consisted of a long barn-like structure, formed of fir, covered in a strange fashion with scales, and odd ornamental twistings in the carved wood. But the spot was hallowed by the virtues of its heroic mistress, who saved, by her presence of mind, the life of the future deliverer of her country. The following are the circumstances alluded to ; and most of them were communicated to me under the very roof.

' Gustavus, having, by an evil accident, been discovered in the mines, and after being *narrowly betrayed* by a Swedish nobleman, bent his course towards this house, then inhabited by a gentleman of the name of Pearson (or Peterson), whom he had known in the armies of the late administrator. Here, he hoped, from the obligations he had formerly laid on the officer, that he should at least find a safe retreat. Pearson received him with every mark of friendship ; nay, treated him with that respect and submission which noble minds are proud to pay to the truly great, when robbed of their external honours. He seemed more afflicted by the misfortunes of Gustavus, than that prince was *for* himself ; and exclaimed with such vehemence against the Danes, that, instead of awaiting a proposal to take up arms, he offered, unasked, to try the spirit of the mountainers ; and declared

declared that himself and his vassals would be the first to set an example, and turn out under the command of his beloved general.

Gustavus was rejoiced to find that he had at last found a man who was not afraid to draw his sword in the defence of his country; and endeavoured by the most impressive arguments, and the prospect of a suitable recompense for the personal risks he ran, to confirm him in so generous a resolution. Pearson answered with repeated assurances of fidelity: he named the gentlemen and the leading persons among the peasants whom he hoped to engage in the enterprise. Gustavus relied on his word, and promising not to name himself to any while he was absent, some days afterwards saw him leave the house to put his design in execution.

It was indeed a design, and a black one. Under the specious cloak of a zealous affection for Gustavus, the traitor was contriving his ruin. The hope of making his court to the Danish tyrant, and the expectation of a large reward, made this son of Judas resolve to sacrifice his honour to his ambition, and, for the sake of a few ducats, violate the most sacred laws of hospitality, by betraying his guest. In pursuance of that base resolution, he went straight to one of Christiern's officers commanding in the province, and informed him that Gustavus was his prisoner. Having committed this treachery, he had not courage to face his victim; and telling the Dane how to surprise the prince, who, he said, believed himself to be under the protection of a friend, (shame to manhood, to dare to confess that he could betray such a confidence!) he proposed taking a wider circuit home, while they, apparently unknown to him, rifled it of its treasure. "It will be an easy matter," said he; "for not even my wife knows that it is Gustavus."

Accordingly the officer, at the head of a party of well-armed soldiers, marched directly to the lake. The men invested the house, while the leader, abruptly entering, found Pearson's wife, according to the fashion of those days, employed in culinary preparations. At some distance from her sat a young man in a rustic garb, lopping off the knots from the broken branch of a tree. The officer went up to her, and told her he came in King Christiern's name to demand the rebel Gustavus, who he knew was concealed under her roof. The dauntless woman never changed colour; she immediately guessed the man whom her husband had introduced as a miner's son, to be the Swedish hero. The door was blocked up by soldiers. In an instant she replied, without once glancing at Gustavus, who sat motionless with surprise, "If you mean the melancholy gentleman my husband has had here these few days, he has just walked out into the wood on the other side of the hill. Some of those soldiers may readily seize him, as he has no arms with him."

The officer did not suspect the easy simplicity of her manner; and ordered part of the men to go in quest of him. At that moment, suddenly turning her eyes on Gustavus, she flew up to him, and catching the stick out of his hand, exclaimed, in an angry voice:

"Uumanneh!

"Unmannerly wretch! What, sit before your batter? Don't you see the king's officers in the room? Get out of my sight, or some of them shall give you a drubbing!" As she spoke, she struck him a blow on the back with all her strength; and opening a side door, "there, get into the scullery," cried she, "it is the fittest place for such company!" and giving him another knock, she flung the stick after him, and shut the door. "Sure," added she, in a great heat, "never woman was plagued with such a lout of a slave!"

"The officer begged she would not disturb herself on his account: but she, affecting great reverence for the king, and respect for his representative, prayed him to enter her parlour while she brought some refreshment. The Dane civilly complied; perhaps, glad enough to get from the side of a shrew; and she immediately hastened to Gustavus, whom she had bolted in, and, by means of a back passage, conducted him in a moment to a *certain little apartment*, which projecting from the side of the house close to the bank of the lake where the fishers' boats lay, she lowered him down the convenient aperture in the seat, and giving him a direction to an honest curate across the lake, committed him to Providence." II. 198-202.

The present proprietor of the house is a descendant of this extraordinary woman; and if Mr Porter has given us accurately the tradition current in the house and neighbourhood, it amounts to no mean species of evidence for such a passage.

Our author's military ardour, to which we have already alluded, carried him to Gottenburgh, where he resolved to enter on immediate service with the English army, then, for God knows what purpose, assembled in that port. He made his arrangements for joining this force, and expected shortly to be fighting as hard as possible, either in Norway or Zealand. But the decrees of the fates, or those of our cabinet, (which, if not quite so unalterable, are to the full as mysterious), willed it otherwise,—and Mr Porter saw the transports, after waiting two months for nothing, all of a sudden set sail.—"His northern campaign being cropt in the bud, he 'hoped for a more propitious commencement on the shores of 'Spain,' and was some time on board a transport;—but being informed that they were going direct to the Spanish coast, he disembarked, in order to take England in his way, and rejoin the army when it should arrive at its destination. While he is waiting for a packet he receives the most flattering invitation from the Swedish commander in chief on the frontiers of Norway, to join his army, —with the assurance that his 'military passion shall be fully gratified.'—But 'his duty calls him to the Spanish shores,' so he 'declines the honour with gratitude,'—and sails for England.

We wish Mr Porter would employ another engraver.—His drawing used to be excellent; but the *scraping*, by means of which it is rendered to the public in these volumes, destroys its whole effect.

Nothing can be less satisfactory or distinct than these plates.—As for any other corrections, we fear it would be in vain to suggest them.

Were we, for instance, only to require a little attention to grammar, or a somewhat less frequent use of French words in describing things at Moscow and Stockholm, where French has nothing to do; or, if French must be used, were we to suggest the propriety of some regard to the idiom of that language,—that he should not, for example, turn the burghers or citizens of Stockholm, into *bourgeois*; (II. 120.); or were we to cry out against such words as *bathos-ical* and *alexandrinally*, and a thousand others equally unknown in all languages, Mr Porter would forthwith tell us, ‘these are letters to a friend, and you can’t expect cold correctness in epistolary effusions.’ This would have been an excellent defence, if his friend had criticised his style; it may also be a good reason for not publishing his letters: but they are now a printed book, and must come under the ordinary jurisdiction of criticism, whatever shape they may formerly have assumed, or with whatever intentions they were composed.

ART. XIV. *The Works of Plato, viz. his Fifty-five Dialogues, and Twelve Epistles, translated from the Greek: Nine of the Dialogues by the late Floyer Sydenham, and the Remainder by Thomas Taylor: with occasional Annotations on the Nine Dialogues translated by Sydenham, and copious Notes by the latter Translator; in which is given the Substance of nearly all the existing Greek MS. Commentaries on the Philosophy of Plato, and a considerable Portion of such as are already published.* 5 vol. 4to. London. 1804.

De mortuis nil nisi bonum, is a maxim, we know, in repute; and we cannot help allowing that the metaphorical personage, in the shape of five huge quartos, on whom we are about to sit in judgment, is entitled to the full benefit of it; for we have suspended, in his case, the exercise of our judicial functions, till he is not only dead and buried, but till, we fear, the hand of oblivion has passed over him.

Instigated, however, by that propensity, with which we are so hostilely charged, of questioning the pretensions of things established, we have committed the crime of *lese-antiquité* in challenging the authority of this hitherto unchallenged precept. We have been daring enough, for our own use at least, to embrace the principle of reform. Instead of the maxim, *De mortuis*

nil nisi bonum; *the wisdom of ancestors*, we have substituted the new maxim, 'Benefactions to the living, rather than superstition toward the dead.'

In the spirit of this rule we have been guided to the subject before us; for the state of classical learning, at present, in this country, is by no means such as to please us; and much good, we think, might be derived from an improvement in the plan of our Greek and Roman studies. In this northern part of the island, our system of education is arraigned by our neighbours, as defective in regard to classical instruction; and, in regard to the Greek language, though not the Latin, the charge is just. By our institutions, provision is not made for teaching even the elements of the Greek to any but a very small proportion of the best disposed of the youths. In the other part of the island, however, and that the principal part, classical learning occupies an immense proportion of the field of education. In fact, it almost covers it, leaving a very scanty corner, and that cultivated by a very antiquated sort of husbandry, for any other crop. Yet it is remarkable that England has contributed very little useful service toward the promotion of classical learning. None of the lettered nations of Europe, the French, the Germans, the Italians, are so badly supplied with translations, in their own language, of the prose classics. None of them have done so little even towards the purifying of the text of the antient authors; to none of them is the lover of antient learning so little indebted for those helps which render his acquisitious easy, and his readings delightful.

This is remarkable; and well deserves the serious attention of those who deem education a business of paramount importance. In every other department,—in mathematics, in physics, in ethics, in politics, in history,—England stands perhaps the very first in the list of nations who have accelerated the progress of knowledge. In the classical department, to which the business of English education is almost wholly restricted, England appears to stand lower than any of her neighbours.

One particularity (restricted as we are by the present design from entering further into the investigation of causes) we cannot forbear drawing into view, as contributive in no small degree to this unhappy effect, and indeed to many other effects still more seriously to be deplored. What we mean, is the preposterous share of time, and labour, and esteem—a share totally disproportionate to every idea of utility—bestowed upon the comparatively unimportant business of prosody. This is the cardinal point in English education. To this every thing seems to be subservient, every thing directed. An eminent English scholar is a man profoundly skilled in Greek prosody. This is learning, *par excellence*.

cellence. The admiration bestowed upon this, surpasses all other admiration.

We are persuaded that the effect of this, upon the minds of the youth, is baneful in no ordinary degree. They must acquire a habit of looking to frivolous things. The great principle of utility is vilified and disgraced throughout the whole course of this plan of instruction. That principle, which it would be the great object of a perfect system of education to render the managing, the presiding, the governing sentiment in the breast of every member of the society, is made to disappear—that some foppery, or something little better than a foppery, may occupy its place, and be lifted up on high, as an idol for worship. Surely, of all the good things which may be learned from the Greek and Roman authors—and many are the good, the superlatively good things which may be learned from them—a knowledge of the mere technical part of their art of making verses ought to rank among the lowest. Still we deny it not a place among the good things. So far as an acquaintance with the technical structure of their verse can heighten the pleasure of reading the classical poets, so far that acquaintance is desirable; but we know no other useful purpose which it serves; nor can we regard that as a very eminent one. A familiar example may help any one to take its estimate. Of English readers, and English readers of learning and taste, how few are there who think it necessary to render themselves acquainted with the technical part of English prosody, to heighten their pleasure in reading the verses of Milton! The sentiments, the imagery, the characters, the invention, the style, the harmony, all produce their full effect on the mind, without this assistance; and when all these are fully enjoyed, the pleasure that remains behind is of little account.

To this cause we are persuaded it is, that, even among the most celebrated scholars in England, it is so rare to meet with a man who has any thing like a familiar acquaintance with the orators, the philosophers, and historians of Greece. They can repeat to you, without book, innumerable passages from the poets, and here and there have dipped into other authors. But it is scarcely once in an age that a man appears, who has deeply explored the writings of the philosophers, orators, and historians,—who is acquainted, practically, with their spirit and genius,—who, in fact, has much beyond a schoolboy knowledge of the most important part of Grecian literature. The *Socraticæ chartæ*, those precious remains so strenuously recommended by Horace and Cicero, as the fountain of genius, to both the orator and the poet, are abandoned for the Chorus of Euripides.

Mr Taylor, by stepping aside from the vulgar path, and undertaking

dertaking to elucidate for his countrymen the Grecian philosophers, merits at least the praise of having set a good example; and he would have performed excellent service, had his views been as sane as they were directly the contrary, and his qualifications as perfect as they were grossly defective. Of the numerous, and important requisites which must unite in the man who shall give to us Plato, attired, as he ought to be, in English, and attended with those ministering servants, that, by their critical and philosophical lights, may present him to us in his own lineaments, without distortion, and without obscurity, not one, excepting singly a knowledge of the vocables and the grammatical construction of the Greek language, has fallen to the lot of Mr Taylor.

The evil, therefore, which he has done, or which, at least, is in danger of springing from what he has done, is the cause that has provoked us to rake up the ashes in his tomb, in hopes to find in it an antidote to the mischief which we dread; for had Mr Taylor, by exquisitely translating and elucidating Plato, opened fairly to his countrymen so fine a channel of instruction and delight; as he would have gone far towards enticing them into a more profitable track of classical pursuit, so, by exhibiting Plato as the mortal foe both of reason, and of taste, he cannot do less than confirm them still more in their predilection to the Chorus and the difficult verse. He has not translated Plato; he has travestied him; in the most cruel and abominable manner. He has not elucidated, but covered him over with impenetrable darkness.

It is, in truth, a curious combination of qualities that must have gone to the production of the performance in question. We have had before in England, persons fully as much enamoured as was wise, of the dogmas of antient philosophy; such as, Mr Harris and Lord Monboddo. But Mr Harris and Lord Monboddo, were at least more than moderately acquainted with modern science. They were men of considerable intelligence, and considerable knowledge. In an age when all men, even down to those who cannot spell, aspire to be authors, it would no doubt be hyperbolic to say that Mr Taylor is the most ignorant author we were ever condemned to peruse. But we intend no hyperbole, when we say that he ought to be reckoned in the very lowest class of ignorant writers. He has not so much as a tincture of modern science. He makes it his boast, that he knows not a word of any modern language, excepting his mother tongue; and if it will add to his glory to be reckoned ignorant of that too, he shall have our testimony that his knowledge of it is abundantly scanty. By that exercise of his bare memory, by which he has become acquainted with the meaning of Greek words, and Greek idioms, he fancies that

that he has gained the very summit of human perfection; and thence he displays a self-sufficiency more enormous, an arrogance more disgusting, than any author whom at the moment at least we find it possible to name. As to his reasoning and judging faculties, nothing we suspect, that the power of language would enable us to say, would suffice to convey an adequate idea of them. The reader must wait for the positive testimonies which the further examination of the performance may elude.

In the task of the man who would give to us Plato, as it would be desirable to receive him, three grand particulars are included. 1. He ought to afford us such explanations and instructions, in the way of commentary as would suggest to us, accurately, the state of knowledge when Plato wrote,—discover to us the nature, spirit, and tendency of his writings,—enable us to follow, as easily as possible in every instance, the chain of his reasoning,—and comprehend exactly the point, whether of refutation, or of confirmation, which is pursued in the discourse. 2. He ought to give us the text of Plato, in as perfect a state, as it can now be brought to; Plato, though one of the Greek writers that has come down to us in the least mutilated condition, is one of those, to which the hand of modern criticism has done the least service; and a multitude of errors, the production of careless transcribers, many of which might be easily rectified, still interrupt the student, and impair both his pleasure and instruction. If we may speak from our own experience, we should imagine that every reader of Plato corrects his own copy for himself; and that it is only after he has thus brought his author to speak his own language, that his conversations with him attain their *maximum* of profit and delight. 3. He ought to convert the beautiful Greek of Plato, into beautiful English,—into language, bearing the same character, the same distinctive features in English style, that the language of Plato bore in Greek.

If we must declare our opinion of the manner in which Mr Taylor has executed the several parts of this important task, it is incumbent on us to say, that he has executed them all so ill, that we do not believe it was possible, in the case even of one of them, to execute it worse. Mr Taylor ought to excuse us in being thus plain with him; because, as will be seen by and by, he himself takes little trouble in selecting smooth expressions, when he has disapprobation to bestow; and he may be assured, that he never bestowed it with a more perfect conviction of its being merited, than we do on the present occasion.

1. In the character of commentator, Mr Taylor has scarcely done any thing, or indeed professed to do any thing, but to fasten upon Plato the reveries of Proclus, and of the other philosophers
of

of the Alexandrian school. He has never given himself the trouble to follow out for himself the reasoning of his author, and note down, for the benefit of his reader, such remarks as would enable him to follow the same reasoning with more ease and delight. We own, that such an attempt, in the hands of Mr Taylor, would have been absolutely barren. To follow the reasonings of Plato, and seize their pure, unadulterated sense, which requires some subtlety, and some discrimination, was by no means a task for a man having his intellectual faculties in the state of Mr Taylor's. What Mr Taylor has done is, here and there, to clap on a patch, from Proclus, in the shape of a note, or of an introduction; and then to cry beautiful explanation! exquisite doctrine! sublime 'disciplines!' And thus the office of commentator is completed.

The extent of the injury thus committed requires some explanation. It has been the fate of Plato, in modern times, to be seen through a most unfavourable medium. The visionaries of the Alexandrian school, by calling themselves Platonists, and clothing themselves, as much as possible, with the reputation of that admired philosopher, have made him be confounded in a great measure with themselves. The anticipated disgust which has withheld almost every body from perusing the one, has accordingly withheld most people from becoming acquainted with the other. That author, who was in the most peculiar manner the favourite of Cicero, and recommended by that accomplished judge as the finest teacher, both of eloquence and of ratiocination; whose writings were always the principal part of those admired *Socratica chartæ*, the principal source, according to Horace, of that wisdom which is the spring and origin of every thing exquisite in literature,—has been less read in modern times, than any other of the classical authors of Greece or Rome.

Instead of doing, what it would have been so desirable to have had done; instead of rescuing Plato from this injurious misapprehension, and inviting the youth of his country to that instruction which Cicero and Horace so highly prized, Mr Taylor has done, what in him lay, to confirm the misapprehension; and, by heaping absurdity more thick upon his author than before, to chase every body from a task so nauseous as the study of him is thus made to appear.

Mr Taylor has accomplished, what it did require very strong evidence to prove was in the present age capable of being accomplished; he has succeeded in getting up the belief, whole and entire, of all the unmeaning, wild and ridiculous reveries of the latter Platonists; nay, more than this, he has added to the belief, an admiration, which words sink under him in expressing;—no man ever regarded a revelation from heaven with more extatic adoration,

doration, than Mr Taylor does the sublime discoveries of Proclus!

On the principle of not disputing tastes, and from having some better service to perform, we should probably not have thought of disturbing the belief or admiration of Mr Taylor, had he only confined himself to Proclus and his brethren; but when he thinks of fastening the whole fraternity upon the back of Plato, for whom we have some regard, we cannot bear to see the unmerciful load, or help calling out to the passengers to take notice that it ought not to be there.

It is not easy to find an example that will suit the occasion;—for, if we were to say that the ravings of Jacob Behmen are not a more abominable misrepresentation of the New Testament than the commentaries of Proclus and Company are of the writings of Plato, we should not come up to the magnitude of the case. The writings of the German (cobler, we think it was) are even a pattern of rationality, compared with those of the Alexandrian sages. Those men were in fact the *charlatans* of antient philosophy; and we have nothing in modern times to compare either with the phrensy of their writings, or the infamy of their lives. A gross mixture of the allegorical genius of Oriental theology, with the quibbling genius of the worst kind of Grecian metaphysics, and an audacious spirit of mystical, irrational and unintelligible fancy-hunting, respecting the invisible powers of nature, and the economy of the universe, constitutes the essence or the animating principle of that absurd and disgusting jargon which they exhibit to us under the profaned name of philosophy. Add to this, that they were, almost without exception, impostors and mountebanks, *THAUMATURGI par metier*, that is, lying professors of miracle-working, of conversing with the gods, of revelations from heaven, and other cheats by which they could purloin the admiration of an ignorant and absurd multitude.

Now for Mr Taylor's answer to these charges. All ignorance, says he; profound ignorance. But let us have it in his own words, as they are remarkable both for the gentleness of the spirit, and the urbanity of the style. 'But who are the men by whom these latter interpreters of Plato are reviled? When and whence did this defamation originate? Was it when the *firm champions for the trinity* [a pretty fair hit this, at Christianity, from a believer in Jupiter] fled from Galileo, and invoked, but in vain, the assistance of philosophy? Was it because that mitred sophist Warburton thought fit to talk of the polluted streams of the Alexandrian school, without knowing any thing of the source whence those streams are derived? Or was it because some heavy German critic, who knew nothing beyond a verb in μ , presumed to *grunt* at these venerable herpses?' What

What we hinted a little ago, that Mr Taylor had not much claim to ceremonious treatment, on the score of his indulgence to those who had the misfortune to differ from himself, we trust will now be conceded to us.

Let us hear him, however, finish his triumphant reply. 'What—ever was its source,' he continues, 'and whenever it originated—for I have not been able to discover either—this, however, is certain, that it owes its being to the most profound Ignorance, or the most artful sophistry, and that its origin is no less contemptible than obscure.'

There is one of these German critics, who, though not endowed with the spirit of philosophy to that eminent degree which, for his arduous and important task, was to have been wished, has yet, by his industry, by his erudition, and the general soundness of his judgment, performed a service of the highest value to philosophy,—we mean Brucker, the author of the celebrated and most useful *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*; some of whose *strinish* notes respecting these Alexandrian worthies, it may not be improper for Mr Taylor to hear.

The following is part of the character of Proclus, the prime favourite of Mr Taylor, whom he denominates (such are his very words) 'the consummation of philosophic excellence;' and scraps from the writings of whom, he wishes to impose upon us, as exquisite commentary upon Plato. "Talis vero cum fuerit Proclus, cumque hæc virtutum ejus summa fuerit, quis vel judicium tribuet acre homini, anili superstitione se polluenti, vel inter philosophos primæ classis reponet philosophiæ professorem, cum ancillulis et quovis ex plebe inanissima religione certantem? Quis virum bonum esse Proclum judicabit, qui ne pudore quidem, multò minus conscientiæ monitu, deterritus, turpissimis fabulis et discipulos decepit, et omnium gentium religionem et sacra commiscere ausus fuit, et allegoriæ beneficio, vel machinis potius, rotunda miscere quadratis, omnemque eruditionem miseranda confusione replere, non erubuit? Quod qui negat, eum Præcli scripta nunquam legisse oportet, vel ad eam theologiam attendis, quam Proclus Zoroastream, Hermeticam, Orphicam esse, magna ostentatione crepuit." *Bruckeri Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. ii. p. 333. This is one *grunt*, and rather an untunable one to the ears of Mr Taylor. Let him listen to a few more.

Grunt the Second. "Ex scriptis Procli, quæ nobis servavit fortuna, patet; et ex omnibus paginis luculenter constare potest, hujusmodi concepisse hominem, eruditum quidem, sed fanaticum et furore philosophiæ suæ corruptum, in animo suo, doctrinarum male cohærentium chaos, in quod bona et mala, apta et inepta, sana et insana omnia, Chaldaicæ, Orphicæ, Homericæ, Hermeticæ,

Hermeticæ, Pythagoricæ, Platonicæ, Aristotelicæ philosophiæ nomine, fuere recepta, quodque et allegoriarum machinis, et nefando opinionum syncretismo, et mira luxuriantis ingenii intemperie,' &c. tom. ii. p. 325.

Grunt the third. "Quamvis vero Platonem, quemque, tanquam ejus preceptorem, venerabantur, Pythagoram, pro duce eligerent, non infimo tamen loco habendus erat Aristoteles. . . . Is itaque ut cum Platone in concordiam redigeretur, rescanda multa, &c.* . . . Relinquendus porro Aristoteli honos quod dialecticam elegantius instruxisset, ast vindicanda Platoni philosophia naturalis et supernaturalis; quo in capite, cum in primariis dogmatibus valde inter se dissentirent Plato et Aristoteles, *mira excogitanda erant nugæ, et suphæmæ*, quibus licet valde distorqueretur utriusque philosophi opinio, attamen coire in unum, et conspirare, cogebatur. . . . In physiologia autem eum cum Platone mira sententiarum et doctrinarum catastrophe conciliarunt, *monstris hypothesisum excogitatis*, quibus tanquam machinis discordiam inter utrumque everterent." tom. ii. p. 362.

But it is not merely against the doctrines, or the indescribable stuff in the name of doctrines, afforded by these Grecian sages, that the German hog makes the disagreeable noise which it is natural to beasts of his species to make, when annoyed by things offensive. He squeaks, which is louder than grunting, against their lives; telling us that the doctors of Mr Taylor's school were, almost to a man, little better, if the truth may be spoken, than common rogues; much more worthy of a pillory than of the admiration of a deluded multitude. We recollect, when we first read the Pseudomantis of Lucian, in which he describes a philosopher of this sect, and recounts all the base and disgusting arts of deception which he employed—arts so numerous and degrading, that those of the vilest quackdoctors of modern times, even of German mountebanks, exhibiting on a stage with a merry-andrew, are respectable and honourable in the comparison,—we imagined, being then a good deal younger than we are now, that the case was entirely fictitious; that no such beings, under the name of philosophers, ever did, or could exist.—All a mistake.—When we became acquainted with Brucker, we soon found that the Platonic philosophers had so nearly come up to ideal perfection, that the satyrist had little more to do than to copy from the life.

Brucker, for example, tells us of Apollonius; "Præterita eum et futura tanquam præsentia inspexisse et prædixisse; novisse in quæ corpora prius animæ migrantes fuerint ingressæ, quidque in iis peregerint: potuisse educere membra corporisque suum vinculis prout placuerit; averruncasse malos spiritus, pestilentes morbos et

alia mala hominibus inducentes; confectisque talis manibus et amuletis, magica arte constructis, clavina plurima a totis regionibus et civitatibus depulisse: visum cum fuisse, paucarum horarum tempore Romæ et Puteolis:—Vidisse Ephesi cædem Domitiani;—potuisse porro manes ex inferis sedibus provocare, et precibus, ab Indis acceptis, Achillem ex sepulchro produxisse eique varia præcepisse; excitavisse puellam viri proconsularis e mortuis et sponso reddidisse; imperasse mari, ventoque, et fluctibus, ut placido Neptuno semper uteretur; aperuisse fores templorum, et clausisse;—apparuisse etiam eum post mortem, invocatum et de animarum immortalitate fœdisse oracula." t. ii. p. 136.—*Cedrenus*, ib. citat. instructus us further, "Effecisse suis magicis artibus, ne serpentes et scorpia percuterent, neve culices adessent, ne equi ferocirent: Lycum quoque amnem compescuisse, ne suis exundationibus Byzantis noceret."

Of this sect, Platonic, Alexandrian, Eclectic, (it was known by all these names,) Brucker asserts in general, "Inter eos recte reputatur [Apollonius], . . . quos Eclecticorum nomine in sequentibus contemplabimur, demonstrabimusque, non licitum tantum, sed pium quoque et laudabile duxisse, in rebus sacris fraudibus uti et mendaciis." In the same page, "Platonicorum morem mendacis rem suam juvandi, scimus." And again, "Ex hac schola egressi sunt homines audaces et impudentissimi, et in his omnium maxime Hierocles." This gentleman is characterized by Mr Taylor, (See Gen. Introd. p. lxxvii.) as the "*Magnificent Hierocles*;" and is enumerated among the great princes of the school. Of Porphyry, another of these sublime doctors, he says, "Mendacii et fraudis postulari posse, attenta vitæ Plotini, ab eo conscriptæ, lectio nos mox convincet, et in aprico ponet astutiam hominis, præceptorem suum non ex veritate, sed sectæ suæ emolumento describentis. Qua in re hujus scholæ mores secutus est Porphyrius, quam fraudibus quoque et mendaciis, vanaque jactantia res suas juvare licitum existimasse, supra monuimus. Eo minus vero fides sine exarvine adhibenda est Porphyrio, quo magis in vitæ quam nobis dedit Pythagoræ historia, fraudes ejus et mendacia deteximus; planumque fecimus, eo potissimum scopo atque fine conscriptisse subdolum hominum genus vitas philosophorum sectæ suæ, ut eos divinos fuisse homines, majora quam a nudo homine expectari queant edentes opera, ostenderent." t. ii. p. 218.

The following passage, relating to Plotinus, is very strong: "Incantatorem vero magicis cum superasse artibus, et provocasse spiritum tutelarem, cum Ægyptiaco sacerdote de hac arte certantem, quid aliud probat, quam vel veneficum magumque, vel impostorem et præstigiatores fuisse Plotinum maximum? qui si Luciani vixisset temporibus dignus fuisset qui Apollonio et Alexandro

andro jungeretur. Ast hic tandem communis quasi. Asiæ, Africæ et Europæ præceptor fuit, qui novum et pestilentissimum philosophiæ genus, quod totum superstitionem, enthusiasmum, præstigiâs et innumeras decipiendi homines artes complectebatur, per discipulos ubique disseminavit " t. ii. p. 231.

We are now desirous to put an end to these quotations; but we must not entirely omit Proclus; because he is the grand performer in the hands of Mr Taylor, and because it is his precious ore with which we are here treated for the gold of Plato. 'Arthritidis doloribus,' says Brucker, 'in pede ustulatus, ex præscripto cujusdam emplastrum imposuerat, quod, dum in lecto jacet, avis inopia advolans abstulit: quod etsi salutare ei erat, timore tamen morbi augebatur; supplicavit itaque Deo, rogans, ut evidentius se certiolem faceret. Quo facto, cum obdormivisset, vidit Epidaurium ad se accedentem, accuratiusque contemplantem ipsius crura, nec præ humanissimo amore dedignantem genua osculo contingere. Quo viso Proclus bono fuit animo, nec unquam in vita eo porro dolore affectus est.' * * * * * 'Jynge quadam, sive spærula Ilectica opportune mœtita, imbres deduxit, et Atticam infausto æstu liberavit; terræ quocque motum positâs fascinis inhibuit; morbos hymnis et præcatiunculis depulit; et quæ alia hujus generis sunt.' t. ii. p. 331. 'Cum aliquando ei docenti supervenisset vir magni in republica nominis Rufinus, caput Procli lumine circumfundi sensisse, cumque philosophus finem interpretationi posuisset, Rufinum assurgentem eum adoravisse,' p. 332. 'Quæ nefandas,' adds Brucker in the same place, 'horum hominum artes, mendacia et imposturas luculenter revelant, geniumque sectæ produnt clarissime, qui in eo unice elaboravit, ut sive fraude, sive nugis et ineptiis, sive mendaciis, et doctoribus suis, et doctrinæ suæ divinam auctoritatem assereret.'

As we are desirous once for all to set the public right (as to Mr Taylor himself, he is too far gone) with regard to the Platonic philosophers, and the entire dissimilarity between them, and the truly philosophic friend of Socrates, whose venerable name they so much abused, we will add the opinion of two recent scholars of our own country, whose knowledge Mr Taylor will not venture to characterize in terms quite so rough as that of the Germans who offend him. The first is Mr Gibbon, who tells us (*Hist. of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. iv. p. 70.) 'The philosophers of the Platonic school, Plorinus, Porphyry and the divine Jamblichus, were admired as the most skilful masters of this allegorical science, which laboured to soften and harmonize the deformed features of Paganism. Julian himself who was directed in the mysterious pursuit by Ædesius, the ve-

nerable successor of Jamblichus, aspired to the possession of a treasure, which he esteemed, if we may credit his solemn asseverations, far above the empire of the world. It was indeed a treasure, which derived its value only from opinion; and every artist, who flattered himself that he had extracted the precious ore from the surrounding dross, claimed an equal right of stamping the name and figure the most agreeable to his peculiar fancy. This freedom of interpretation, which might gratify the pride of the Platonists, exposed the vanity of their art. Without a tedious detail, the modern reader could not form a just idea of the strange allusions, the forced etymologies, the solemn trifling, and the impenetrable obscurity of these sages, who professed to reveal the system of the universe.'

The next is the opinion of Jacob Bryant. 'By the help of the mistaken term *νοος* or *νους*,' (says he, *Analys. of Ant. Mythol.* vol. iii. p. 104. ed. 8vo), 'and of its derivative *νοστος* and *νεντος*, they pretended to find out much mysterious and recondite knowledge; all which was utterly unknown to those from whom they derived their intelligence. There are numberless instances of this in Porphyry, and Jamblichus; and in Proclus upon the Platonic philosophy. It is to be observed, that, when Christianity had introduced a more rational system, as well as a more refined worship among mankind; the Pagans were struck with the sublimity of its doctrine, and tried in their turns to refine. But their misfortune was, that they were obliged to abide by the theology, which had been transmitted to them; and to make the history of the Gentile gods the basis of their procedure. This brought them into immense difficulties and equal absurdities: while they laboured to solve what was inexplicable; and to remedy what was past cure. Hence we meet with many dull and elaborate sophisms, even in the great Plutarch: but many more in after-times, among the writers of whom I am speaking. Proclus is continually ringing the changes upon the terms *νοος*, *νοστος*, and *νεντος*; and explains what is really a proper name, as if it signified *sense* and *intellect*. In consequence of this, he tries to subtilize, and refine all the base jargon about Saturn and Zeus: and would persuade us, that the most idle and obscene legends related to the divine mind, to the eternal wisdom, and supremacy of the Deity. Thus he borrows many exalted notions from Christianity; and blends them with the basest alloy, with the dregs of Pagan mythology.'

A few words, we trust, will be sufficient to convince all men, but Mr Taylor, that there is no consanguinity between Plato, and such sages as those we have been describing.—'The great Plotinus,' [see Mr Taylor's own words, *Introd.* p. lxxvii.] 'the most learned

learned Porphyry, the divine Iamblichus; the most acute Syrianus, Proclus the consummation of philosophic excellence, the magnificent Hierocles, the concisely elegant Sallust, and the most inquisitive Damascius;—men who were truly links of the golden chain of Deity.' One of the most remarkable features of the writings of Plato is, that he affirms nothing; whereas the friends of Mr Taylor are the most desperately affirmative of all human beings. In most of the Dialogues of Plato, the object is to refute the tenets and expose the ignorance of some of those sophists who travelled about Greece, under pretence of teaching eloquence and philosophy, and who, in general, filled the minds of the youth with a spirit of mere logomachy, and with the worst impressions of right and wrong, with regard both to public and to private life. The ingenuity, the acuteness, the address, the eloquence with which this delicate and important task is performed, render the perusal of these Dialogues among the most improving exercises which can engage a juvenile mind. Hardly any thing, in the way of example at least, can be conceived more calculated to sharpen the faculties; to render acute in discerning, and ingenious in exposing fallacies; to engender a love of mental exercise; and to elevate with the ambition of mental excellence. In some of the dialogues, as in those with Alcibiades, the object is to expose some of the false impressions which are most apt to prevail in the minds of men, and to lead to the most dangerous consequences. In these the skill with which the misapprehension is analyzed; the variety of ridiculous lights into which it is thrown; and the power of argument as well as of satire which is employed to expose it, operate as the strongest sanative. In those of a different description, where inquiry, in the rigid sense of the word, is more the object, as in the books concerning Polity and Laws, the business is to give specimens of investigation, to let in rays of light, to analyze particular points, and, by throwing out queries or hypotheses, to encourage speculation, rather than lay down and establish any system of opinions. Accordingly, Cicero expressly tells us, 'In Plato's libris nihil affirmatur; et in utramque partem multa disseruntur; de omnibus quæritur, nihil certe dicitur.'

In all this, nothing under heaven can be more different, both as to matter and manner, than the writings of Plato and those of the *soi-disant* Platonists. The business of the Platonists is all in supernaturals; of Plato, as far as we have yet gone, is all in moral and political, or at most metaphysical subjects. The language of the one is as wild, and mystical, and obscure, as their ideas; that of the other is always elegant, often highly figurative and eloquent; and unless when he is puzzling himself with

abortive attempts to explain the nature of abstract ideas, highly clear and appropriate.

It was celebrated as the glory of Socrates, that he had brought philosophy down from the aerial regions of fiction and conjecture about things remote from the sphere of man; and taught her to converse on subjects of real utility in human life. The immediate disciples of Socrates, among whom the most eminent were Plato and Xenophon, trod in his steps. The latter Platonists were so far from following their example, that they exerted all their influence to lodge philosophy once more among the clouds, and expel her finally from the walks of mortals. Yet strange it is, that these same latter Platonists have in general been regarded in modern times as conveying a fair idea of the philosophy of Plato!

Besides those discourses which we have described above, and which compose the principal part of the writings of Plato, there are a few which are to be regarded, in some sort, as *jeux-d'esprit*, and in which the principal object of the writer seems to have been, to afford a specimen or a display of his genius; such is the *Menexenus*, where Plato enters the lists with the orators, and gives us a model of a funeral oration for Athenian warriors slain in battle, which Mr Harris has celebrated as the masterpiece of human eloquence, though Dionysius Halicarnassensis has censured it as turgid. It was not merely the orators whom Plato was ambitious of rivalling; he desired to contend too with the philosophers, at their own weapons. As explanations of the origin, and economy of the universe, was that on which the sophists chiefly plumed themselves, and which was often, indeed, most available to their reputation, Plato seems to have been desirous of showing them how easy, even here, it would be to excel them. Accordingly, in the *Timæus*, he puts into the mouth of a philosopher of that name a discourse, in which a cosmogony, far more ingenious than any before invented by the philosophers, is laid down. But it is merely presented as a mode, according to which any one may conceive that the universe originated and was composed; not as a delineation on which any one is called upon to rely as a relation of the fact. It is accordingly not presented to us in the person of Socrates, in which form, any thing that Plato designed should be considered as an opinion of his own, is always given; but in that of *Timæus*, a philosopher of a different country, and a different school. This discourse, however, afforded a plausible, and an unlucky plea for the Alexandrian sages to claim the illustrious Grecian for the founder of that wild plan of mystic conjecture which they pursued in the name of philosophy.

2. In regard to the service which ought to have been done to literature, by rectifying, to the highest degree practicable, the text of Plato, it is necessary merely to entreat our readers to reflect for one moment on the importance of this service, and then to tell them that Mr Taylor has entirely abandoned it. Mr Taylor was certainly altogether unqualified for the task. But it is the more wonderful that he has in no degree attempted it, that Mr Sydenham, a scholar of a very different description, set him an example, in the Dialogues which he has translated, of some valuable performance of this nature. We recollect one or two cases in which Mr Taylor has told us that Proclus had followed a different reading from that in our printed copies; and this is what he has nobly contributed toward improving the editions of Plato.

3. We come now to the principal part of Mr Taylor's task, that of giving to us Plato in our own language. We own that it was an arduous task. Of all authors Plato is, perhaps, the most difficult to translate. Nevertheless, the examples, of Sydenham in English, of Grou in French, and of Bembo in Italian, prove at least that the thing may be done, and that there is no impossibility in doing it well. Mr Taylor has done it shockingly. His language is stiff, and awkward, and uncouth, to a degree that has hardly any example, even among those literal translations which have been provided for the use of schools. Nor is this the worst. Mr Taylor has by no means given us a fair representation even of the meaning of Plato. Wherever this misrepresentation has been committed by substituting for the proper translation of the words of Plato, a translation of the base jargon of the latter Platonists, the reader will expect it as a thing of course. The extent to which this pollution reaches, is however very great; and it would have been grievously to be lamented, had the task been well executed where this delusion finds not a place. But the misinterpretation of Plato is not confined within such narrow bounds. Gross mistakes with regard to the meaning of the text swarm in every part. Any competent scholar has but to open the book,—and if he compares one page with the original, the chance is great that he will light upon more blunders than one. If we do not charge Mr Taylor with absolute incapacity to interpret the Greek, it is not because an attentive examination of his Plato has not convinced us, that he has got fully as much reputation for his knowledge of Greek as he deserves, but we at least do charge him with unpardonable carelessness in the performance of his task. We are quite satisfied that his general practice has been to interpret directly from the Latin translation, without so much as looking at the Greek; for the cases are so numerous in which we have found his translation an exact copy of the Latin, and in which

an inspection of the Greek could hardly have failed to convince him he was wrong, that we have been unable to form any other conclusion.

'The reader will expect that we should give him examples in support of these charges. The difficulty is in keeping ourselves within bounds, and in making the selection. The blunders are of two sorts; they are either such as affect the whole strain of an argument, or such as affect single expressions only. The former are of course the most important, and most calculated to strike the mind of the reader. But, to render them manifest, it is necessary to state and explain the argument; and this requires more words than it suits the present occasion to allow. We are therefore obliged to confine ourselves to such inferior examples as we can most quickly despatch. We have little doubt that the evidence they afford will be deemed quite satisfactory. *E parvis disce majora*.

At the beginning of the *Protagoras*, from which, as one of the most difficult of the Dialogues of Plato, we shall take the first of our examples, Socrates relates that one of his friends having called upon him before it was light, and having come into his bed-chamber while he was yet in bed, sat down. In the version of Mr Taylor this latter circumstance is thus expressed; 'And at the same time, taking a couch, he sat down at my feet.' (Taylor, vol. V. p. 105.) In the Latin of Ficinus, the expression is, 'Scabellumque in tenebris manu contrectans ad pedes meos subsedit;' and that of Serranus is very similar. From this the translation of Mr Taylor would by no means appear to be improper. But when we observe the Greek, we shall find the circumstance, as stated by Plato, to have been very different. *καὶ ἄμα ἐπὶ τῇ λαβῇ τῆς σκευῆς καθέζετο παρὰ τὰς πόδας μου*. Here there is not a syllable about taking a couch, and sitting down upon it, *beside* the bed on which Socrates was reposing, all of which Mr Taylor inserts. The plain translation is, 'And groping' [observe that it was yet dark] 'for the bed, he sat down at my feet;'—that is, sat down upon the bed where Socrates was. The French translator, M. Grou, had looked to the Greek for himself. Accordingly his translation is, 'En même tems s'étant approché de mon lit à tâtons, il s'est assis à mes pieds.'

The same friend tells Socrates that he had intended to call upon him the night before. But that he had returned so late and wearied from a long journey, that he had deferred his visit till the morning;—*ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταχίστα*, he adds, *μὲν ἐν τῇ κοπῇ ὁ ὕπνος ἀνέβη, εὐθύς αὖτις διὰ τοῦτο ἐπορευομένη*; which Mr Taylor translates (Ibid. p. 105), 'Soon therefore falling asleep from weariness, when I awoke I came hither.' This blunder is the more remarkable, that the La-

tin both of Serranus and Ficinus is here correct; and that it would be strange indeed if Mr Taylor really did not know the meaning of *με ἐκ τῆ κοπῆ ὁ ὕπνος ἀνῆκεν*; which is so far from being, 'I fell asleep from weariness,' that it is, 'Sleep left me after my weariness.'

The cause of this visit of the young friend of Socrates was to tell him that Protagoras, a celebrated sophist, had just arrived in Athens, with whose reputation the young man was violently inflamed, and was impatient to become a disciple of his. Socrates, accordingly, in his ironical way, asked him, 'Well, what is it to you that Protagoras has arrived in Athens? Does he injure you in any respect? Yes, by the gods, said he laughing, soasmuch as he being wise, makes not me to resemble him. But, said Socrates, if you give him money; and pretend him motives, he will render you also wise.' The young man then answers, *Εἰ γὰρ ἡ δ' ὅς) ὁ Ζεὺ καὶ θεοὶ, ἐν τῷτῳ εἶν' ὡς ἔτι' ἀν τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιλιποῖμαι μὲν, ὥτε τῶν φίλων.* The translation of Ficinus is as follows: 'O Jupiter a que cæteri dii, neque meis neque amicorum rebus parcerem, mudo id me consecuturum considerem.' This, it is evident, is remarkably imperfect; the first clause, which is a very emphatical one, being entirely flurred over. The proper translation plainly is, 'Would, O Jupiter, and ye gods, it depended upon this!' [upon his giving money as Socrates had sarcastically suggested] 'as I would spare neither my own wealth, nor that of my friends.' Mr Taylor follows word for word the erroneous translation of Ficinus; 'O Jupiter, and the other Gods, he replied, I should neither spare my own property, nor that of my friends, to accomplish this.' (*Ibid.* p. 105.) Serranus has done little more than copy Ficinus. Bembo has mended the matter considerably; 'O Giove,' says he, 'e voi altri Dei, se in ciò consiliosse la cosa, io non pardonerei nè alle cose mie, nè degli amici.' The French translator has understood the passage exactly; 'Plût à Jupiter, et à tous les dieux, a-t-il dit, qu'il ne tint qu'à cela! Je n'épargnerois ni ma bourse ni celle de mes amis.'

The next is a blunder peculiarly gross. Socrates says, 'ὦτε, after this, stept out to walk in the hall, *καὶ γὰρ ἀποπερπατῶντες τὴν ἱπποκράτους τῆς βήμης, διασκοπῶν αὐτὸν, καὶ ἤρτων,*' &c. This Mr Taylor (*ult sup.* p. 105.) translates, 'And I, in order to try the strength of Hippocrates, looked at him attentively, and said;'—not recollecting that, a few minutes before, it was so dark, Hippocrates was obliged to grope for Socrates's bed; nor adverting that, after the discourse had proceeded a considerable time, Socrates observes that it was then just beginning to get light, so that he could perceive Hippocrates blushing: *Καὶ ὅς εἶπεν ἐρυθρίασας· ἡδὲ γὰρ ὑπὸ φωτὶ τῆς ἡμέρας, ὥτε καταφάνη αὐτὸν γινέσθαι.* There would, therefore, have been

been little use in Socrates's *looking* attentively at Hippocrates; and it is truly remarkable, that even Mr Taylor had not the discernment to perceive, that *διασκοπεῖν* does not here signify to look at, in the physical sense, but to explore, in the mental sense. The French translator saw this with his usual accuracy; 'Comme je voulois sonder les forces d'Hippocrate, je l'ai examiné, et interrogé en ces termes.' We find, however, that Mr Taylor has again exactly translated Ficinus: 'Ac volens ipse fiducia ejus periculum facere, intuitus sum diligenter, atque ita interrogavi.' Bembo, who has but too often satisfied himself with the easy expedient of Mr Taylor, in looking only at the Latin, misinterprets here in a similar manner; 'Ed andammo alla corte, e facendo io la prova della sua forza, il guardai diligentemente, e lo interrogai.'

For some of the absurd mistranslations of Mr Taylor, one really finds it difficult to account. Thus, in the course of an argument, Socrates questions Protagoras, if any one should ask him, whether, in his opinion, there was such a thing as holiness, and if that holiness was something, what would be his answer? Protagoras replied, that he would answer both questions in the affirmative. Socrates inquired again what he would answer, if he were asked, whether that something were so constituted by its nature, as to be unholy, or to be holy? I should be offended, replied Protagoras, with the question, and I should say; *Εὐφημει, ὦ ἀνθρώπε, — σφόδρ μὲντ' ἀντὶ ἀλλοῦ ὅτιον εἴη, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἡ γὰρ ἡ ὁσιότης ὅτιον εἴηται.* — 'Predict better things, O man,' says Mr Taylor, 'for by no means will any thing else be holy, unless holiness itself be holy.' But what, or how, or where, has *prediction* any thing to do with this passage? *Εὐφημει* is a well known expression exactly corresponding to the Latin idiom *bona verba*.

The following is an error affecting an argument; and as we think we can make it visible without a very long explanation, we are anxious to present it. Protagoras had asserted that virtue consisted of parts, such as justice, wisdom, temperance, &c.; and that these parts were not like the parts of gold, all similar to one another, but like the parts of the face, different, as the eyes, nose, mouth, &c. Socrates, however, pushed him afterwards to confess, that the parts of virtue *are* similar to one another. But he endeavoured to evade the appearance of having suffered refutation by the following plea, *Ἀλλὰ μὲντοι (ἢ δ' ὅς) προσοικε τι δικαιοσύνη ὁσιότης, καὶ γὰρ ὅτιον ὅτιον ἀμνηστὴ προσοικε. το γὰρ λευκὸν τῷ μελανι εἶναι ὅ τε προσοικε, καὶ το σκληρὸν τῷ μαλακῷ καὶ ταλλα ἃ δοκεῖ ἐναντιότατα ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἂ τοτ' εἴημεν ἀλλήν δύναμιν εἶναι, καὶ ἐκ εἶναι το ἕτερον οἷον το ἕτερον, τὰ τε προσώπων μορῆα, ἀμνηστὴ προσοικε, καὶ εἶ το ἕτερον οἷον το ἕτερον. ὥστε γὰρ τῷ γὰρ τροπῷ καὶ ταῦτα ἐλεγχόμεν, εἰ βυλοιο, ὡς ἅπαντα εἶναι ὅμοια ἀλλήλοις. καὶ ἔτι τα ὅμοιον τι ἔχοντα, ὅμοια δίκαιον καλεῖν, καὶ τα ἀνόμοιον τι ἔχοντα ἀνομιῶν, καὶ πάντων σμικρὸν εἶναι το ὅμοιον.*

The

The meaning of the passage we shall first render as literally as possible in our own words: 'True, said he, justice is in some degree similar to holiness; for, in a certain sense, any thing whatever is similar to any other thing: thus, respects there are, in which white is similar to black, and hard to soft. So too other things, which appear to be perfectly opposite to one another, which we formerly agreed possessed different powers, and were not, any one of them, such as any other,—the parts, for example, of the face,—are yet in some sense similar, and any one of them such as any other. Inasmuch that, after this fashion, you may, in refutation of me, prove, if you please, even this, that all things are similar to one another. But it is not right to call either those things similar which have some similarity, or those things dissimilar which have some dissimilarity, provided the points of similitude and dissimilitude are still very small.'

Mr Taylor's translation is as follows.

'But, indeed, he replied, justice has something similar to holiness. For one thing always resembles another in a certain respect, contraries alone excepted: for white has no similitude to black, nor hard to soft; and so with respect to other things which appear to be most contrary to each other, and which, as we before observed, possess another power, and of which one does not resemble the other. But there are other things, such as the parts of the face, in which the one is similar to the other. So that, although you should confute these things after this manner, if you are of opinion that all things are similar to each other, yet it is not just to call those things similar which possess a certain similitude to each other; as neither is it just to call those things which possess a certain dissimilitude, dissimilars, though they have but very little of the similar.' Taylor's *Plato*, *uti sup.* pp. 125, 126.

It is very evident, in the first place, that the former of these translations is coherent with the preceding argument, and contains a sense adapted to the end in view; that such as it is, too, that sense is clearly enough brought out. On the other hand, the translation of Mr Taylor, shows no coherence with the argument; it is so far from exhibiting a sense adapted to the end in view, that it is entirely deprived of sense. It is mere *galimatias*. Contradiction, absurdity, obscurity, are all words too weak to characterize such jargon, which no man not nursed in the school of Proclus could have permitted himself to put down upon paper.

Let us, however, attend to Mr Taylor a little more closely. 'For one thing always resembles another in a certain respect, contraries alone excepted.' The Greek is, *καὶ γὰρ ὅτις ὅτις ἀλλή-
λην ποιεῖται*;—it here appears that the clause, 'contraries alone excepted,' is foisted in by Mr Taylor, without a word to authorize it in the text. In the next member of the sentence there is

a small error in the common readings; το γὰρ λευκὸν τῷ μελανι εἶναι ὁ τι προσοικε, κ. τ. λ.; instead of ὁ τι it is printed ὁ μὴ, which entirely destroys the whole meaning of the passage, and the whole pertinency of the argument. To all this, however, Mr Taylor was blind. He follows the corrupt reading, and has no idea of the nonsense; 'for white,' says he, 'has no similitude to black, nor hard to soft.' Yet Henry Stephens, had he but given himself the trouble to look at the edition of that eminent scholar, would have set him right. "Scribendo εἶναι ὁ τι," says he, "vel εἶναι ἢ, (nam εἶναι ὁ μὴ quæ diceretur?) belle cohærebit," &c. It will be seen what havoc our translator then makes with the rest of the paragraph. The clause beginning καὶ πολλὰ, and ending τοῖς ἑτέροις, he totally misunderstands, divides it into two parts, and explains one half one way, and the other half another way. But the most unpardonable misinterpretation, perhaps, of the whole, is that of the clause which succeeds; ὥς τῶν γε τῶν τροπῶν καὶ ταῦτα εἰληγχοίς, εἰ βέλαιο. ὥς αὐτὰν εἰς ὁμοίαν ἀλλήλοις. 'So that,' says Mr Taylor, 'although you should confute these things after this manner; if you are of opinion that all things are similar to one another.' The real Greek scholar will very plainly see, not only that the sense of the text is here totally misunderstood and misrepresented, but that the idiom of the language is totally mistaken and perverted. The phrase, εἰ βέλαιο, for example, he takes, not as an independent clause, meaning, 'if you please;' he takes it as connected with, and as governing the succeeding clause, in the sense of 'if you mean that.' But he ought to have known that the idiom of the language does not admit of such a construction; in the first place, the optative mood in that sense would have been wrong, and the word ought to have been βύλει, not βέλαιο; in the next place, βυλόμεαι in that sense is never construed with the connective particle ὥς but ὅτι. The verb εἰληγχομαι, of one important meaning of which he must have entirely lost sight, seems likewise to have misled him. It has two principal shades of meaning. It first means simply to refute, by showing the contradiction or absurdity of an antagonist's plea; and secondly it means to refute, by proving something better on the other side; to establish one proposition in refutation of another. It has this last sense in the present instance, while Mr Taylor had thought only of giving to it the former.

It will now amuse the reader, after having seen how unlike the translation of Mr Taylor is to the Greek of Plato, to perceive how similar it is, on the other hand, to the Latin of Ficinus: "Nam quodlibet cuilibet quiddam simile habet, præter illa quæ omnino inter se contraria sunt, ut album nigrum, molle durum. Atqui et illa quæ supra diximus aliam aliamque inter se rem ha-
bere,

here, nec tale esse alterum quale alterum est, ceu vultus ipsius partes, quiddam simile inter se habent, estque quodammodo tale alterum quale alterum. Atque hac ratione licet hæc refellas, si placet quod cuncta invicem similia sunt: non tamen quæcunque simile quiddam habent, similia vocanda sunt, neque etiam quæcunque dissimile quiddam, invicem dissimilia si exiguum quiddam simile habent.'

We must now, however, leave the Protagoras, to take a few specimens from another quarter. We find, on turning to our notes, and reckoning up the passages we had marked for animadversion, in this single Dialogue, that they amount to above a hundred. As a sample of Mr Taylor's bad English, the following instances even of grammatical transgression, may be presented from the translation of this Dialogue.—'And when they were about to lead them into light, they commanded Prometheus and Epimetheus to distribute to, and adorn, each, with those powers which were adapted to their nature.' (n. s. p. 115.) The relative 'each' is here governed jointly by the two verbs, 'distribute to' and 'adorn'; and the succeeding phrase, 'with those powers,' &c. is common to both. But what an expression to say, *distribute to each with those powers?*—In page 124, he says, 'Is it therefore thus also with the parts of virtue, so that the one does not resemble the other, *neither* in itself, nor in its power?'—*Not neither*—Mr Taylor should have known that in English double negatives are either not known, or are equivalent to affirmatives.

Let us next then turn to the Timæus, that part of the writings of Plato, which affords the greatest delight to Mr Taylor, and his companions. 'Ἡδὲ Κουρεωτὶς ἡμῖν ἔσα ἐτυγχάνειν Ἀπαυτηρίαν, το δὲ τῆς ἰορτῆς συνῆδες ἑκάστοι, καὶ τότε ζυνέβη τοῖς παισιν. Mr Taylor translates this, (vol. ii. p. 465.) 'When, therefore, that solemnity was celebrated among us which is known by the name of Curcotis Apaturiorum, *nothing was omitted which boys in that festivity are accustomed to perform*:'—the last clause entirely wrong; for Plato says not that *every* thing, but only that *one* thing, customary on those occasions, was done: το τῆς ἰορτῆς συνῆδες ἑκάστοτε, καὶ τότε ζυνέβη τοῖς παισιν; 'this custom attached to that festival was then too observed by the youths,'—namely, the custom of contending with one another in the recitation of verses.

There is a passage, a little further on, which we really can invent no hypothesis to account for, but a degree of ignorance, which, if real, is truly lamentable. Ἐστὶ τις κατ' Αἰγυπτίον ἐν τῇ Δελτᾷ, περὶ ἧ κατὰ κορυφὴν σχίζεται τὸ τῆ Νεῖλου ῥεύμα, Σαῦτικὸς ἐπικαλλόμενος νομός. This Mr Taylor (p. 466.) thus translates, 'There is a certain region of Egypt called Delta, about the summit of which the streams of the Nile are divided. *In this place a government*

is established, called *Saitical*.' A *Saitical* government; what did Mr Taylor mean by that? What sort of a government is a *Saitical* government? Are we really driven to the necessity of supposing, that Mr Taylor does not know the terms of Egyptian geography? Was not Egypt divided into a number of districts, computed to have been about thirty-six; and were not these divisions called *nomes*, every one of which had a distinctive name? Thus there was the *Saitic nome*, the *Bubastic nome*, the *Helio-politic nome*, and a variety of other *nomes*; as we have in England, the county of Middlesex, the county of Surry, or the county of York. The translation of Mr Taylor is the same as if a man, who knew no better, should translate a passage, which meant, that 'there is in England a county called Devonshire,' and should say, 'there is in England a government called Devonshirical.'

In a part of the discourse relating to the Creator of the world, after a division of exemplars into two kinds, according to one or other of which it behoved the world, *κοσμος*, to be created, the speaker proceeds to inquire according to which of these it was likely the Creator of the world regulated his work: τοῦ αὐ καλὴν ἐπισκεπτῶν περὶ αὐτῆς, πρὸς ποτέρων τῶν παραδειγμάτων ὁ τεταταμένος αὐτὸν ἀπυργάζετο. 'This Mr Taylor renders; 'Again: this is to be considered concerning him, I mean, according to what paradigm extending himself, he fabricated the world.' (*Ibid.* p. 474.) According to what paradigm extending himself—the Creator of the world extending himself according to a paradigm—what can be meant by this? But again, where is there any thing bearing the least resemblance to it in the Greek? τοῦ αὐ καλὴν ἐπισκεπτῶν περὶ αὐτῆς (subaud. τακομένη)—'But this again we are to inquire with respect to it'—πρὸς ποτέρων τῶν παραδειγμάτων, 'according to which of the two exemplars'—ὁ τεταταμένος αὐτὸν ἀπυργάζετο, did the Fabricator fashion it?'

But to pursue examples would be a task without end. We are still, however, anxious to give one or two from the *Parmenides*. This, perhaps, of all the discourses of Plato, is that which has been the most abused and tortured by the Platonists. In most of the other discourses, the object of which is to expose the Sophists, some one of them, after having stated his principal dogma, is led on by Socrates, till he lands in self-contradiction and absurdity. In the present instance the case is somewhat different. *Parmenides*, the Sophist in question, is introduced explaining his own doctrines, and is merely allowed to run on, with such a string of absurd inferences, as abundantly expose themselves; while he labours, with most preposterous ambition, to display the exquisite powers of his genius, by proving all manner

of contradictory and absurd propositions, as equally necessary consequences from the principle with which he set out.

The field in which this ridiculous and contemptible legerdemain is performed, is that of abstract ideas; in which Plato himself attempted occasionally to perform better exercises. The great puzzle to the antient philosophers was the nature of abstract terms. The sophists availed themselves of the obscurity attending them, to invent quibbles, and to prove by invincible argument what no man would believe. Plato laboured to explain them, and in the attempt displays the powers of a genius truly gigantic; but still it is evident that he fell short of the discovery at which he aimed.

The mode in which he endeavoured to conceive their meaning was this. Man, for example, is a general term. What then is man? Crito is a man, and Cebes is a man; but these are individuals, and there are other such individuals, infinite in number, who are likewise men. This therefore is not what is meant by man. What is meant by man, is something common to all those individuals. In like manner with regard to horse, and ox, or tree, plant, stone, and so forth.—The generalization of qualities he attempted to penetrate in the same manner. Beauty, for example, what is that? A rose is beautiful, a fawn is beautiful, Lais is beautiful. But it is not the enumeration of beautiful individuals, that can explain what is beauty. Beauty is something common to all those individuals, by partaking of which something they are beautiful. But what are these somethings, man, horse, beauty, &c.? It is evident that they are not the objects of sense. Individuals only are the objects of sense. They are the creatures of the mind. Plato gave to them the names *ἰδέα*, and *εἶδος*; and advanced a variety of propositions with regard to them. Individuals, as Crito, Cebes, Solon, Socrates, were infinite in number; man, however, was *one* of the same, in the whole species. So, in regard to horse, and all other species; the *ἰδέα*, the *εἶδος*, is one, and invariable; the individuals are infinite, and changeable. He appropriated to them the terms, *οὐκ ὅτι, το αὐτὸ ἐπὶ πάντων, κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὅσαυτὰ ἔχον*. Individuals again were *ἀπείρα, μὴ κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὅσαυτὰς ἔχοντα*, &c.

Inquirers carried, however, their generalizations further than to mere species. There was the term *animal* which was common to all the species of living creatures. There were the terms *thing* and *substance*, common to all material existences. In this manner they mounted up till they came to a term which included every thing; this was the term *being*, in Greek *τὸ ὄν*. This of course was the highest *εἶδος, ἰδέα*. As, in the case of man, horse, tree, &c. the something man, the something horse, that is, the

abstract idea, the *ιδέα*, was *one*, *ἓν*, in regard to all the individuals of the species; so the abstract idea *being*, *τὸ ὄν*, was *one*, in regard to all things whatever; as the former were, each of them, *one*, with regard to whole classes of the parts—so this was *one* (with regard to the whole; it was therefore *one* by distinction; it was *the one*, *τὸ ἓν*.

The sophists getting hold of this very abstract—and while the nature of abstract terms was still so little understood, this very obscure term—in their insatiable desire to say only surprising things, they played with it the most extraordinary pranks. It is an exhibition of this despicable sort which we have in the *Parmenides*. The sophist of that name is introduced ringing the changes upon *τὸ ἓν*. Incredible are the consequences, if *τὸ ἓν* exists; equally incredible are they, if *τὸ ἓν* does not exist.

This obscure nonsense, however, evidently left by Plato as a model of absurdity, was as the breath of life to the latter Platonists. They had learned from the Oriental and Egyptian mythologists to apply the term *τὸ ὄν* to the Divinity. They seized upon it, therefore, with greediness, wherever they found it in Plato, and along with it upon the term *τὸ ἓν*, to which they gave the same application. All the ridiculous quibbles, therefore, respecting *τὸ ἓν*, put into the vain and ostentatious mouth of *Parmenides*, are embraced by *Proclus* and his brethren as so many sublime and mysterious discoveries concerning the Divinity. They comment upon them, as such, with their own tedious and disgusting stuff; which Mr Taylor has here poured out upon his reader, with exorbitant praises, and in exorbitant quantity. He has accordingly totally misinterpreted this curious dialogue. The instances however of mistranslation, arising from this general cause, we must leave with this general explanation. Of the instances which arise from misapprehending the sense of particular passages, we shall select one or two.

Parmenides, beginning his discourse, says, he would prefer carrying it on by way of question and answer, and that he should like to put his questions to the youngest man in the company; because such an one “would least complicate the inquiry by disturbing it with ideas of his own, and would most candidly say what he thought:” *ἥμισυ γὰρ ἂν πολυπραγμονή, καὶ ἄσπασται μάλιστα ἀπεκρίνατο*. This, Mr Taylor totally misunderstands, and mistranslates in the following manner: ‘For the labour will be very little for him to answer what he thinks.’ (v. iii. p. 107.)

Parmenides, having assumed that *τὸ ἓν* exists, proceeds to inquire what consequences follow, first with regard to *the one* itself, and then with regard to *other things* than the one. He had just finished the inquiry with regard to the first part, the consequences

quences following with regard to *the one* itself; and says, ταυτα τα παθηματα παντ' αν πασχει Το 'Εν, ει εστιν. He then adds, Τι δε τοι, αλλοις προσηκει αν πασχειν, 'Εν ει εστιν, αρα ε σκεπτεον; "Is it not requisite, in the next place, to inquire, what are the consequences with regard to other things, if *the one* exists?" The respondent having answered in the affirmative, Parmenides subjoins, Λεγωμεν δε, 'Εν ει εστιν, τ'αλλα τε 'Ενος τι χρη πεπονθεαι; "Let us then explain, if *the one* exists, what must be the consequences with regard to other things than *the one*." Mr Taylor translates the words thus, 'Let us relate, therefore, *if the one is*, what other things ought to suffer from *the one*.' (Ibid. p. 19.) The τ'αλλα τε 'Ενος, though a phrase, the meaning of which is so clearly fixed by the context, he has entirely misunderstood.

But we must proceed no further. The dialogue abounds with similar blunders. The Theætetus is another dialogue in which we have carefully traced Mr Taylor for examples to the present article. This discourse too is prolific in similar proofs of his accuracy and knowledge. But our limits will not permit us to pursue further this examination. We have already adduced abundant proof of Mr Taylor's lamentable deficiency in every requisite for the performance of his arduous task;—and we trust that, in the course of this investigation, we have thrown out some hints that may be of use to the student of Plato, especially by warning him against the too common error of confounding the works of that justly celebrated philosopher with the extravagant fancies, and absurd reveries, of the Alexandrian Sages.

ART. XV. *Biographie Moderne, ou Dictionnaire Biographique de tous les Hommes morts ou vivans, qui ont marqué à la fin du 18 Siècle ou au Commencement de celui-ci, par leur Rang, leurs Emplois, leurs Talens, leurs Malheurs, leurs Vertus, leurs Crimes, et où tous les faits qui les concernent sont rapportés de la Manière la plus impartiale et la plus authentique.* A Leipzig. 1807.

"To endeavour," says Machiavel, in his Discourses, "to make a people free who are servile in their nature, is as hopeless, as to attempt to reduce to slavery a nation imbued with the spirit of freedom." This remark, which was dictated by a review of history in the days of Machiavel, is eminently confirmed, we think, by the events of our own times. There are nations who cannot be permanently enslaved, and others which cannot be long maintained in the erect posture of freedom. It is

often no less foolish than it is criminal, in an ambitious sovereign to bear down the unarm'd laws of a free people; and sometimes unwise and unjustifiable in an honest patriot to subvert all at once a corrupt or arbitrary government.

These reflections were suggested by the perusal of a curious and interesting work on the French revolution, which has accidentally fallen into our hands. Under the title of *Modern Biography*, it purports to be a history of all those who, by their rank, their talents, their virtues, and their crimes, have contributed to illustrate, or to disgrace, the end of the last and the commencement of the present century. Before we offer an opinion concerning the execution of so comprehensive a plan, we shall state the circumstances, which, as we are informed, attended the publication of the work in Paris. In the year 1800, a Dictionary, similar in form to the present; but characterized by far greater asperity and boldness, was published in the French capital, and immediately suppressed by the police. The authors seem to have had it in view, to expose the inconsistency of those who had enlisted themselves in the service of the Consular Government, after signalizing themselves by their zeal for a democratical equality. The book, although written in a republican spirit, was particularly levelled at the members of the Convention, and contained much pointed declamation against the leaders and emissaries of the parties which alternately usurped so sanguinary a dominion over their wretched country. In 1806, the undertaking was revived in a shape which it was supposed would prove less obnoxious to the public authorities. The *vitriolic acid*, to use an expression of the author, was wholly extracted; and particular care taken to exclude from the biography of the Imperial family, and of the chief favourites of the monarch, whatever might be offensive. The better to secure themselves from suspicion, they professed, not to pass judgment, but merely to furnish materials for decision; and to embrace, at the same time, the names of all their foreign contemporaries of political note. These sacrifices, however, were not sufficient to propitiate the favour, or lull the vigilance of the police. The authors were punished; and the circulation of their book immediately prohibited. The copy now before us was secreted, and given to the individual from whom it has passed into our hands—with some additional sketches of character, upon the accuracy of which we have reason to think we can depend.

The work is interesting, we think, in various points of view. It presents us with the portraits of beings of whom almost all of us have heard; and whose names we still recal with sensations of astonishment and terror. The biography of foreigners, indeed,

deed, is miserably scanty and erroneous; but this branch evidently appears to have been executed without interest or exertion, and forms a remarkable contrast to the industry and ingenuity which have been exercised in collecting and detailing the opinions of the chief actors in the French Revolution. With regard to this part of the undertaking, too, our own recollections, and our knowledge of the sources of their information, enable us to judge with some confidence of their accuracy. These sources are, the journals of the legislative bodies,—the files of the *Moniteur*,—the several memoirs published at different times, such as those of Bertrand de Moleville and Bouillé; furnishing a narrative of facts whose exactness cannot be doubted, whatever diversity of opinion may prevail as to the motives and views of individuals and parties.* It may be generally remarked, indeed, of the epoch now under consideration, that its leading occurrences have had more notoriety than those of almost any other. There cannot well be any privacy in the history of a popular revolution, effected in a great degree by pamphlets and public debates, and consummated by battles and treaties.

It certainly is not our intention to repeat the disgusting catalogue of the miseries and crimes of the French Revolution; but we have thought that a summary review of the career and fate of some of its most conspicuous agents, preceded by a few remarks on the moral and political lessons with which it abounds, might not be without interest, nor perhaps without utility. We know of no period in the whole record of history, which deserves to be so deeply weighed, and so particularly examined, as the interval between the years 1790 and 1800. These few years give us the abridged experience of as many centuries; and never did the

O 3

faculties

* The memoirs of these two writers are of unquestionable authority. Both deserve credit for much firmness of conduct and purity of intention; and have infused less of passion into their narrative, than might have been expected from their character of leaders and sufferers in the Royal cause. The work of Bertrand de Moleville, although somewhat diffuse, is exceedingly precious as a great body of authentic materials. The historian should particularly add to these works, the *Procès-Verbaux* of the Legislative Assemblies, the "*Tableau Anonyme du Moniteur*," and the History of the War of La Vendée, by Alphonse Beauchamp. As men, we blush to acknowledge that these indelible records, but too clearly prove, that the savage features of the Convention have not been greatly caricatured by the hand of party.

Tristius haud illis monstrum, &c.

We find that acts of amnesty for revolutionary crimes were passed by this body: but they will not be ratified by posterity.

facilities and the passions of civilized man work with so much force, and so little disguise. Those who have lost, and those who have acquired power; the vicissitudes which the nations and governments of Europe have undergone; and the precautions employed to avert the evils of change; are equally subjects for minute research and profound speculation. During the shock of this great convulsion in France, and the conflict of opinions among ourselves, there was no place for calm observation; and the mind was rather bewildered than guided by the light which these astonishing events seemed to throw on the character of our nature. Now that the storm is hushed abroad, and the apprehensions of danger have subsided at home, our conclusions are likely to be more just, and our reflections infinitely more beneficial.

We think, however, that a considerable time must still elapse, before the world will be presented with a suitable history of the causes which accelerated the dissolution of this great monarchy, and so rapidly converted a mild and loyal people into a lawless and frantic mob. Prejudice and resentment are still too powerful to let us hope for an impartial narrative among ourselves; and if we could supply the talents and the temper, the materials would still be wanting. In France, where alone they could be found, the sword is still reeking with blood; the spirit of adulation would suppress, and the unsubdued animosities of faction distort the truth, to which indeed the genius of a military despotism in the minority of its dominion, must be essentially hostile. Hereafter, should our neighbours ever enjoy that *rare felicity* of a free press*—even for the transactions of the past—there may arise some mighty painter, whose pencil shall do justice to the subject.

When

* When we consider the real state of the press in France, there is something ludicrous in the mock solemnity with which the *Constitution* provides against its violation. It creates a committee in the Senate, entitled the *Senatorial Committee of the Press*. When authors or printers have to complain of impediments thrown in the way of the circulation of their works, they are entitled to petition this committee. When these obstacles are not conceived by the committee to be rendered necessary by the interests of the state, the Minister to whom they are ascribed is invited to withdraw them. Should they continue to exist after three invitations, the committee demands a general meeting of the Senate, to whom the President formally announces, "that there are strong presumptions that the liberty of the press has been violated." The case is then brought before the High Imperial Court—a judicature for the trial of delinquency in the members of the Imperial family, public functionaries, &c.—the judges of which are the Princes, the Senators, &c.

When we recollect that Tacitus was born in the reign of Nero, and matured in that of Domitian, we are encouraged to hope that history may again have in store some intelligence of the same exalted stamp, to avenge her cause, and to frustrate the efforts which are now made to stifle her voice on the Continent.

Before we enter more particularly upon the contents of these volumes, we must remark, that we are powerfully struck with the novel and imposing spectacle which France exhibited from the time of the Convention until the establishment of the Consular administration—of a country ruled by ephemeral governments, each struggling to maintain itself by every art which fraud could suggest to violence—convulsed to the centre by profligate factions—deluged with native blood—with every atom of society out of its proper place—in a state of absolute bankruptcy—with no regular system of finance—with a paper currency incalculable in amount, and at the last ebb of depreciation—yet still maintaining, with unexampled success, a war which cost more blood and treasure than any ever known in modern times—supporting at different periods fourteen different armies on a vast establishment—lavishing great sums in largesses at home and subsidies abroad—and, finally, triumphing over all her Continental enemies, and settling down in an organization civil and military, which threatens the subjugation of the world.* During a crisis when, both within and without, the state appeared

* 'The republic maintained fourteen different armies. The troops paid were estimated at fourteen hundred thousand. The front of the troops defending her on the East occupied a line of five hundred leagues, extending from the Adriatic to the mouth of the Ems in the North Sea. Forty sous were paid, for some time, to the individuals who frequented the popular societies. The theatres of Paris were hired to give gratuitous exhibitions (*de part et pour le peuple.*) Succours were given to large districts. Bread, which cost eight sous the pound, in hard money, was distributed almost for nothing to the inhabitants of Paris. The National Convention, in the midst of the revolutionary whirlwind, had no system of finance, and could have none.' (*Ramel, Histoire des Fin. de la République.*) This writer was himself Minister of Finance at the period of which he speaks. He states the issue of assignats to have amounted to 40,000,000,000, of which only 12,000,000,000 were withdrawn from circulation; and at the epoch of their cessation, 100 francs, in assignats, were valued at 3 sous in coin! a proportion of $\frac{1}{100}$. The manufacture of this paper currency, the history of which is unparalleled, occupied 800 workmen, who sometimes printed, numbered, and stamped from 2 to 3 millions of francs a-day. During the six years of their currency, the annual revenue was about 300 million francs. These sums were applied to the purchase of neutrality and alliance

appeared to be rushing furiously to destruction—when, to use the rhetorical language of one of her representatives, the sons of freedom were encountering all the malignity of fortune abroad, and the Revolution, like Saturn, was devouring her own children at home, not a single indication of despondency was given by her rulers; nor, during the various devolutions of public authority, did there seem to be any abatement of enthusiasm, or any remission of energy in furnishing the means of resistance to foreign aggression. The fortune of the Republic was never once entrusted to the issue of a single battle; nor was the execution of their plans either relinquished or adjourned in consequence of new appearances of danger, or an increase in the number of their opponents. The Senate of Rome, under the pressure of adversity, never displayed a more magnanimous feeling, nor assumed a more imposing attitude, nor hurled defiance in a prouder tone, than the revolutionary government in a season of the most alarming disasters. While we bitterly deplore the excesses of a people intoxicated with the first draughts of anarchy, and express our detestation for the crimes of the most horrible of all despotisms—that which wears the mask of liberty—it is impossible not to admire the splendid military achievements of that period, the steady confidence in the cause, and the ardent attachment to liberty manifested on the scaffold even by those who fell victims to the abuse of her name—the numerous instances of heroic death afforded both by royalists and republicans—not inferior to those upon which the historians of antiquity dwell with so much delight. “*Laudatis antiquorum mortibus pares exitus.*” We are but little disposed to be the apologists of the French Revolution, but we cannot consent to qualify all this as fanaticism—or to reprobate all those as Jacobins, who believe, that even the members of that school have occasionally displayed a spirit which confers dignity on human nature. If France had after all worked out her salvation—if *liberty* had survived these furious struggles, we should consider mankind as gainers. Her own losses would have been retrieved—her crimes might have been forgotten: but it is of all reflections the most lamentable, that the issue which is now before our eyes, has not only rendered her redemption hopeless, but has dishonoured the cause of freedom, which is now throughout the universe made responsible for her miscarriage.

In this country, it has been but too much the fashion to point the moral of this Revolution one way, without adverting to the awful

alliance abroad. In a curious report made to the Convention on this subject by St Just, the Court of Constantinople alone is said to have cost 70 millions of francs in diamonds and gold!

awful warning which it holds out, as well to rulers as to subjects. The pride of the Patrician may be instructed, by this catastrophe, no less than the jealousy of the Plebeian. In the utter annihilation of the old hereditary distinctions, and the ruin of the great proprietaries of France, there is assuredly something fitted to alarm and to improve the aristocracy of rank and wealth of all countries. Necker states in his book on finance, that there were seven thousand pedigrees carefully deposited in the Royal Library of Paris;—and we will not undertake to conjecture how many title-deeds of extensive patrimony might have been found upon the judicial records. If we should ask, why it is, that these no longer exist?—we must not be told, that the wreck of title, of fortune, and of royal power, was owing to the mere perversity of the people, or to the unprovoked spirit of faction. The people may unjustly and capriciously desert an individual contending against the power of a government, but will never abandon a government which has honestly laboured to deserve and to secure their affections. If those who were upon ‘the slippery heights’ of the kingdom of France, had been less confident of their security, and more attentive to the progress of public opinion;—if the privileged orders had discarded in time their habits of luxurious indolence, and zealously cooperated to ease the burdens, and to ameliorate the condition of the lower classes,—to promote *economical* reforms,—to restore order to the finances,—to purify the civil list,—and to restrain the cupidity of courtiers; *—if the royal princes had not, by their prodigality and their excesses, offended even the decorum of vice;—if the experiment had been fully tried—of a *popular minister seconded by a patriotic king*, they might have stood firm upon the basis of their own authority,—in spite of all the machinations of philosophers and leists, encyclopedists and levellers, to whom their misfortunes are so proudly and loyally ascribed. When Lepelletier, president of the parliament of Paris, advised the recall of Necker, it was with this exclamation—*Représentons le peuple, de peur qu’il ne le représente lui-même!* ‘Let us represent the people, lest they should represent themselves.’

One

* ‘*Le livre rouge*,—la prodigalité des princes,—l’énormité de la liste civile,—l’insatiable cupidité des courtisans et des agens des menus plaisirs, voilà la racine du mal,’ &c. (*Observ. sur la Rev.*) ‘I am convinced,’ says Necker, ‘that an habitual residence at Versailles weakens, in an administration of the finances, the inclination and ambition to undertake great things;—there he sees vanities rated so high, and such a deep interest taken in the game of ambition and intrigue, that he loses sight of the true value of every thing that is worthy of esteem.’

One of the chief causes of the atrocious character which the Revolution assumed, is to be found in the apathy or pusillanimity of those who were most deeply interested in the preservation of order, and best able to fashion public sentiment. The greater part of these men, at the commencement of the contest, either looked on with indifference—or shrunk back in dismay—or consented to purchase a momentary security at the expense of honour and conscience. Had the men of moderate views and local influence, when the dangers of anarchy were but too apparent, stood bravely forward, and united to combat the designs of faction, they might have set bounds to the fury of a tempest which they could not wholly avert. Their irresolution served only to embolden the audacity of the turbulent, and their precipitate flight to confirm the domination of the mob.* The law of Solon, which enacted, that the citizen who, in a period of civil commotion, did not side with one or other of the contending parties, should forfeit his estate, and be for ever banished the commonwealth, extraordinary as it may at first appear, is nevertheless founded in correct views of human nature, and has a tendency not to foment, but to appease dissension. In such a conjuncture, an attention to petty interests leads to total ruin; and the neutrality of the good only widens the field for those profligate passions, and desperate projects, which the ferment of discontent naturally calls into action. That ferment can, however, in no degree be allayed by an obstinate adherence to palpable corruptions. When we inculcate the necessity of a prompt and persevering exertion of that influence which always accompanies prescriptive authority, personal character, and honest intentions,—it is with a full persuasion, that they never can be successful over the unremitting activity of the friends of discord, unless attended by a ready concurrence in the reformation of abuses,—by timely concessions,—and by temperate and conciliatory language. If the war of extermination so long waged in the bosom of France, yield one salutary caution to all orders of men, it is—that they should be sparing in the application of general terms of reproach or contumelious epithets of party. The use made in that unfortunate country of the words *Jacobin* and *Aristocrat*, abundantly* proves, that what at first is but loosely or petulantly thrown out as a mark of ridicule or distinction, not only serves to swell the number, and exasperate the

* Vide *Anl. Gell. in Noct. Attic. lib. 2. c. 12.*—‘*Boni nescio,*’ says Cicero, ‘*quomodo tardiores sunt et principiis rerum neglectis ad extremum ipsa denique necessitate excitantur—ita ut nonnunquam cunctatione ac tarditate, dum otium volunt, etiam sine dignitate retinere, ipsi utrumque amittant.*’—(*Pro Sextio.*)

the resentment of parties, but may be converted into an engine of the most furious and sanguinary proscription.

Among the most striking lessons which are taught by the history of this Revolution, is the profound oblivion into which multitudes have already fallen, who were once objects either of terror or pity to the whole nation. These volumes contain, not only the catalogue of those who, in the face of the world, swore eternal hatred to Royalty, and are now the most prominent agents of despotism; but the names also of a host of clamorous politicians and writers of vast importance in their day, whose influence and notoriety are now buried, without the possibility of resuscitation. It is remarkable also, how active a share was taken in the tumults of the time by the mere men of science and letters, and to what 'illustrious dignities' many of *them* have attained under the auspices of a martial monarch. Doubtless, the nature of their pursuits inclined them to espouse with eagerness the cause of freedom; but the part they have ultimately chosen leads us to suspect, that their zeal was animated by a wish to govern—*politiquement*, in the first instance,—and that, in the miscarriage of their hopes, they have not been insensible to the consolations of what Mr Burke so emphatically terms 'the gross lucre and fat emoluments of servitude.'

In the number of distinguished Royalists who have returned to breathe the air of their native country, we observe but few however who hold any public trusts. Their situation necessarily exacts the affectation at least of a cheerful acquiescence in the present order of things;—those who are in the capital, either from fear or inclination, contribute to swell the pomp of the Imperial Court, and to enliven the drawing-rooms of the new nobility. But in the merit of consistency, they are certainly superior to their republican antagonists. The apostasy of the latter, might, nevertheless, admit of many palliatives. Those who once wore the *bonnet rouge*, should not indeed ostentatiously display the livery of a despot; but it must be acknowledged, that the establishment of his power was beyond their controul. France had reached a crisis, when the absolute sway of an individual was rendered necessary, and perhaps desirable, even for such as sighed, with disinterested
zeal,

* The list of political denominations introduced during the conflict of parties, and employed for the purpose of mutual destruction, deserves to be reported. Anarchistes, Aristocrates, Babouvistes, Brissotins, Chouans, Clichyens, Contre-revolutionnaires, Cordeliers, Dantonistes, Federalistes, Fcuillans, Girondins, Hebatistes, Jacobins, Maratistes, Modérés, Montagnards, Orleanistes, Reactionnaires, Sans-culottes, Septembriseurs, Theophilantropes, Terroristes, Thermidoréens, Vendéens, &c.

zeal, after the blessings of freedom. Every man of judgment had become sensible of the hopelessness of their first pursuit; and it must be needless to suggest, that the preponderance of the military, left no choice, even of evils, to the civil authority. During the paroxysms of the Revolution, the officers of the army either caught the contagion of republican sentiments, or saw the necessity of professing them; but their allegiance was much more naturally and readily paid to a victorious general, than to the bloody phantom of a republic.

At the establishment of the Consular government, in order to colour the first usurpation, the forms of a free constitution were preserved; and it was even deemed expedient, to introduce into the new legislative bodies the leading republicans of the old. To make this, however, as little dangerous as possible, it was provided, that one fifth of the members of the Legislative Assembly should be annually replaced. The process of excluding this proportion is entitled *elimination*; and we observe, that during the first years, the lot regularly fell upon those who continued to assert their original doctrines, or who indicated a disposition to scrutinize the views, and resist the encroachments, of the First Consul. The Tribunate, which was found the most democratical and restive branch of the legislature, was soon pared down to the number of fifty, and finally abolished. Still, however, the legislature, the great offices of state, the prefectures of the departments, and the judicial employments particularly, are filled by men who took an active part in promoting the Revolution. Their enmity might have endangered the stability of the new Sovereign—their influence and their talents were necessary for the erection of that vast and regular system of administration which was projected—their dissensions, and their venality, rendered them an easy conquest. Under a general view of human nature, the policy was wise; for men, who, in the commencement of a reign, believe themselves suspected, would naturally wish to blazon their fidelity,—to counteract the prejudice arising from their character, by particular zeal and activity in the discharge of their new functions. The event at least has, in this instance, justified this supposition.

Wherever disaffection was openly expressed, the individual was either exiled into the remote departments, or placed under the particular supervision of the police. This plan is still pursued. An austere and jealous vigilance is now exercised over the *unreclaimed* republicans, and particularly over the royalists, who are objects of much greater suspicion and apprehension. Although a system of intimidation, beyond our powers of description, is extended over all the subjects of the empire, the instances of studied oppression,

oppression, or of immoderate rigour, in the civil administration, have certainly been few ;—much fewer indeed than might have been expected; when we consider how fierce and delirious was the anarchy to which this formal and omnipotent despotism has succeeded. Within the last three or four years, since the leading patriots, either corrupted by the fortune, or overawed by the power, of their new ruler, have consummated their apostasy, his favour has been somewhat diverted to those who adhered, as far as the temper of the Revolution would allow, to the *mezzo termine*, or whose revolutionary career was marked by a degree of moderation. Some expansion too is occasionally permitted to those bitter enmities which still rankle among the victims and agents of party violence, and every indulgence for the disclosure of such traits as serve to aggravate the infamy, and elucidate the views of the factions into which the Convention was divided. The policy of indulging, to a certain extent, this war of recrimination, is obvious, and highly servicable. The prostration of all the adverse parties is a triumph for each : the humiliation of their adversaries gratifies their private hate; and reconciles them to the evils of their own condition. It is worthy of remark, that this feeling of our nature operated to strengthen even the dominion of Robespierre. France, rent and exhausted by the conflicts of the different factions, seemed to be less miserable under one tyrant, and to rejoice at a tyranny which was indiscriminately exercised. The royalists appeared grateful for the vengeance which he inflicted on his revolutionary colleagues ; and it is doubtful whether the savage reign of this detestable monster might not have been prolonged, had he not driven his own instruments to desperation, by his insatiable thirst for blood.

It is easy to imagine, that the despotism of Bonaparte, notwithstanding the misery of which it must be productive, must have other supports than that of the military force. We cannot find colours sufficiently vivid, to paint the appalling image which the Revolution has left in the minds of the moderate and timid portion of the community. There is a morbid sensibility on this head, which astonishes even those who give full credit to every disastrous tale of suffering and barbarity to which this event has given birth. For multitudes, therefore, the actual exemption from revolutionary massacres and alarms is a state of comparative beatitude ; and the possibility of their recurrence far more formidable than any existing evil. The minute subdivision of property which we noticed in a former number, has created a great body of new proprietaries, who would hazard more than they could hope to gain by any change. The government, moreover, has studiously multiplied offices, to a degree highly burdensome no doubt to the

the people, but which interests in its support, a host of dependants, whose allegiance is secured by present benefits, and whose zeal is stimulated by the hope of future rewards. The additional splendour with which the new despotism is daily invested—the stately affectation and ostentatious pageantry of the imperial court, are not to be ascribed to the workings of mere vanity, but to views of profound policy. By the formation of a numerous state-hierarchy,—by lengthening the chain of subordination,—by multiplying the titles, and dividing the substance of power,—new ties and interests are produced, which augment the influence and enlarge the foundations of the throne. Such a system is every way adapted to the temper of the people. The more ceremonious the servitude, the sooner will every vestige of republican feeling be obliterated. The spirit of freedom soon disappears with the characteristic simplicity of its institutions.

Although we are far from believing, that either Bonaparte or his government is now popular, in the usual acceptation of the term, we can readily conceive, that the reflecting part of the nation may have many inducements to uphold his authority. Experience has taught them the unfitness of their country for any other than an absolute government, and the necessity, at this moment, of a system of rigorous coercion. Dreadful as is the domestic police, there is no man acquainted with the actual state of society in France, who does not see the impossibility of preserving order without some such inquisition. Detestable, too, and dangerous as is the genius of their government, it cannot be without some merit in the eyes of *Frenchmen*. Under the shade of the Imperial purple, most of the elegant pleasures of the mind, and some of the generous sympathies of the heart, are suffered to flourish, and may be almost considered as a new creation. From a state of total disorganization, of the most destructive civil war, France has been restored, by the provident ambition of her new rulers, to the enjoyment of many of the advantages of a well-regulated community. Their labours to establish a regular administration of justice and of the finances, and to form some system at least of public instruction, are not without their utility; although, as we are informed, they have not as yet proved eminently successful. Their plan of conquest, too, although it has deluged the neighbouring countries with blood, has preserved their own territory from becoming the theatre of war. The improvements in the roads,—the rapid construction of public works,—the numerous institutions for the encouragement of national industry,—the embellishments of the capital,—the ostentatious protection extended to the sciences and to the fine arts,—all involve solid advantages, while they spring from the comprehensive

hensive and truly Machiavelian wisdom of an ambitious despot. In making these remarks, we allude to the condition in which he found France; and must not be understood as retracting the opinions which we formerly delivered, with regard to the pernicious consequences likely to result, both to her and to the world, from the foreign policy of his government. Under this point of view, we are ready to exclaim with the poet,

Ἀγαθὰ καὶ κατὰ νόμον ὅτις ταῦτά γε εἶποι.

We shall now present our readers with such a selection of the notices and anecdotes contained in these volumes, as our limits will allow. The first are instances of a flexibility of conscience or of judgment, not often paralleled—even in the world of politics.

Grégoire, whose name is so conspicuous in the annals of the Revolution, is now a member of the Senate and of the Legion of Honour. He was born near Luneville, in 1750; and, after serving as a curate, was deputed to the States-General, and was among the first of those of the clerical order who passed down to the lower chamber. On the 8th of July, 1789, he declaimed against the march of the troops which the King had ordered to approach Paris, and exclaimed, ‘that if Frenchmen ever consented to become slaves, they should be despised as the refuse of nations.’ On the 5th October, he described the King as surrounded by the enemies of the people,—denounced M. de Bouillé,—and asked, why it was that Paris, after an abundant harvest, was driven to insurrection by the want of food. The ministers were less able to answer this question than the Duke of Orleans; but the object of the orator was, to exasperate the populace against the court, by this insidious accusation. Grégoire was the first ecclesiastic who took the constitutional oath. In return, he obtained the bishopric of Blois, and soon after became President of the Assembly. At the period of the King’s flight, he pronounced a violent invective against the Monarch, and called for an immediate trial. In September 1792, he was delegated to the Convention, and soon after made and carried a motion for the abolition of royalty,—declaring, at the same time, ‘that Kings were, in the moral order of things, what monsters are in the physical, and that their history was the martyrology of nations.’ On the 15th November, he pronounced a violent philippic against Louis XVI., and requested that he might be arraigned without delay. He was then made President of the Convention; and, having proposed the incorporation of Savoy with France, was sent to organize that country, under the name of the Department of Mont Blanc. As the King was tried during his absence, he did not vote; but wrote, concurrently with his colleagues, to announce to the Assembly, ‘that, under a conviction of the unremitting treachery

treachery of that perjured Monarch, he solicited his condemnation without an appeal to the people.' In 1793, he invited Barrere to retract the eulogy which he had pronounced on Louis the Twelfth, and undertook to prove, that this pretended father was, in fact, the scourge of his people. On the 7th November, however, he loudly condemned Gobel for abjuring the Christian religion and his episcopal functions. He was then accused by Danton de l'Oise, of wishing to *Christianize* the Revolution, (*Christianiser la Revolution*.) On the 4th of March, 1794, he read to the Assembly an original letter, as he stated it to be, of Charles the Ninth, recommending that a recompense should be given for the assassination of the Constable of Mouy; and this letter he proposed to have enrolled among the national archives, 'in order that its publicity might aggravate the abhorrence which nations should feel for Kings.' In April, he tendered to the Convention some historical researches concerning the tree of liberty. In September 1795, he became one of the Council of Five Hundred. After the 18th Brumaire, (December 1799), he was elected to the Legislative Body, of which he was nominated President in February 1800. On the 25th December, 1801, he was appointed a member of the Conservative Senate, and decorated with the insignia of the Legion of Honour. Grégoire has published a great variety of works, and now divides his time between literary pursuits and the routine of his political station, which he fills with much apparent satisfaction. However reprehensible for the violence of his revolutionary opinions, he deserves no small credit for the energy with which, during the worst periods, he defended, and for the zeal with which he has uniformly protected, the cause of science and literature. At this moment, his house is the favourite rendezvous of many of the most distinguished *savans* of the French capital; and, in private life, there are few men of more amiable character, or more winning manners.

The next name we shall select is that of *Garat*, originally a mere man of letters, now a member of the Legion of Honour, of the Institute, and of the Senate, and Professor of History in the Lyceum of Paris. He was sent to the States-General from Labour; in 1798 was made Minister of Justice, and, as such, acquainted the King with his condemnation. This task he executed, according to Bertrand de Moleville, with great barbarity. In March 1793, he became Minister of the Interior. At a sitting of the Jacobins on the 16th July of that year, he was complimented by Danton on the important services which he had rendered the cause. He soon after abdicated his ministry, and announced his intention to edit a republican journal. He was, within

within a short time, twice arrested, but saved by the activity of his friends. In 1797, he published an elaborate epistle addressed to La Harpe, with a view to demonstrate the utility of persevering in the use of the term Citizen. In 1798, he went as ambassador to Naples; but soon rendered himself obnoxious by the warmth of his republican principles, and returned to take a seat in the Council of Antients. He became President of this body in 1799, and pronounced a discourse on the anniversary of the King's death. He cooperated zealously in the revolution of the 18th Brumaire, and announced the adoption of the Consular government, in an encomiastic speech. In 1806, he delivered, before the Senate, a long and florid oration on the victories of the Emperor Napoleon, and now shares largely both in the favour and the munificence of his master.

There are few names of more note, in the revolutionary annals, than that of *Merlin de Douai*. He passed from the Bar to the States-General in 1789, and was conspicuously active in promoting all the popular measures of that period. After the session, he became President of the Criminal Tribunal of the Department of the North, and was delegated to the Convention in 1792; but, on arriving in Paris, found himself implicated in an accusation relating to some papers seized in the Thuilleries. He appeared at the Bar on the 7th December, and justified himself by proving, 'that he had never committed the crime of wishing to serve Louis the Sixteenth.' He voted for his death; and, in 1793, procured the enactment of a law against suspicious persons; which crowded the prisons throughout France with numberless victims, of all conditions and parties. He afterwards went under the name of *Merlin the Suspicious*. In 1794, he became a member of the Committee of Public Safety, and was among the most active of that body for a long period. On the 14th November, the Directory appointed him Minister of Justice, and, in January 1796, Minister of Police. He succeeded Barthelemy as a member of the Directory, and acquired a great ascendancy over his colleagues. After having shared the supreme power for some time with Barras and Rewbel, he was compelled to resign, and had the good fortune to escape unhurt from the accusations preferred against him on all sides. After officiating as attorney-general in the Court of Cassation, he became a member of the Legion of Honour in 1804; and, in 1806, was made a Counsellor of State. Carnot said of this man, in his Memoir, 'that he marched steadily in the revolutionary line, and never swerved from his principles.' His present situation is the best commentary on this panegyric. He must not, however, be confounded with another of the same name, *Merlin de Thionville*, one of the most indefatigable and relentless monsters

of the Revolution. The latter, originally a sheriff's officer, announced, to the Convention, that he had no other accusation to prefer against his own revolutionary conduct, than that of having neglected to poignard Louis XVI. on the 10th of August. Although among the prominent leaders of the Republican party, he eluded the persecutions to which they were alternately subject, and is now in the quiet enjoyment of an immense fortune, accumulated by every species of rapine and violence.

Merlin de Thionville was intimately connected with *Chabot*, the celebrated Capuchin, in whose life there are some singular traits. In consequence of his 'ardent patriotism,' he became the curate of Grégoire; and, until he was executed in 1794, was in the first rank of incendiaries. In the course of July 1792, he caused himself to be wounded by six men hired for the purpose, in order that the King might be accused of an attempt at assassination. It is credibly stated, that he urged Merlin with the most serious and pressing instances to assassinate him; and to have his body transported to the Faubourgs, in order to kindle the fury of the mob, and to expedite the destruction of the monarchy. He, on one occasion, summoned the Convention, of which he was a member, to swear, 'that, profoundly convinced of the vices of all kings, they would for ever detest them. The whole Assembly rose, and replied, *'Nous le jurons; plus de Roi!'* He requested also that a new law might be framed concerning emigrants, 'so simple, that a child might send an emigrant to the guillotine.' The *liaisons* of Merlin with this man and Bazire, a worthy coadjutor, gave rise to the following *jeu d'esprit*.

'Connoissez-vous rien de plus sot,
Que Merlin, Bazire et Chabot?
Non : Je ne connois rien de pire
Que Merlin, Chabot et Bazire;
Et personne n'est plus coquin
Que Chabot, Bazire et Merlin.' &c.

Jean Debry, associated in the French mission to the congress of Rastadt with Roberjot and Bonnier, whose mysterious assassination created so lively a sensation throughout Europe, is now a senator, a dignitary of the Legion of Honour, and prefect of the department of Doubs. He was originally a delegate to the Legislative Assembly, and a coryphæus of the popular party. No man evinced, on all occasions, a more acrimonious and active hostility to priests and kings, whom he constantly denounced as the *scum and putrefaction of the human race*. At his instigation the Assembly decreed, that Monsieur, the brother of the King, had forfeited his right to the crown, in consequence of

of disobedience to the laws on the subject of emigration. On the 20th of June 1792, he prevented the Assembly from entertaining a question which tended to the prevention of the nocturnal attacks made on the palace of the Tuileries, and signalized himself, by his exertions, to promote the memorable affair of the 10th of August. On the 20th of the same month, he proposed the formation of a corps of *Tyrannicides*, whose sole duty it should be, to single out and to destroy the kings at war with France, and the generals who commanded their armies. He soon after moved, that a reward of 100,000 francs should be given to the person who should bring to the Assembly the heads of Francis II., the Duke of Brunswick, and 'all the other beasts who resembled them.' He voted for the death of the King; became a member of the Committee of Public Safety; and procured the establishment of a Committee of Supervision throughout France, which gave birth to the Revolutionary Tribunals, so celebrated for the atrocity of their proceedings.

After a zealous and efficient cooperation in the violent and sanguinary measures of the time, he became, in the year 1796, a member of the Council of Five Hundred,—was elected secretary, and soon after president of that body. In 1798, he presented a report on the necessity of infusing new life and vigour into their republican institutions, in which the following, among other sentiments, are to be remarked. 'If we must have a superstition, let us have that of liberty,—the fanaticism of liberty, if we can. There is no philosophy without patriotism,—no genius but in a republican soul. The sacred love of liberty is one of the noblest characteristics of talent, as well as of virtue,' &c. In 1798, he was sent as minister-plenipotentiary to Rastadt, and, on his return, was wounded in the attack made upon the French legation. On his arrival at Paris, he made his appearance in the Council of Ancients, with his arm in a sling, and invoked the vengeance of the nation on the House of Austria. At the sitting of the 19th June, consecrated to the memory of Bonnier and Robertjot, the President solemnly addressed Jean Debry in this way. 'You live. The task of proclaiming your merits belongs to posterity. It is our province to avenge your wrongs.' Debry made this reply. 'I swear by the manes of my unfortunate colleagues, that I will rather share their fate than be unfaithful to this republic;—without which, nothing remains for us but to die.' It was then decreed, that the seat of Robertjot, who had been a member, should be covered with black crape; and that, until it was filled, the President should, whenever his name was read from the roll, pronounce these words: 'May the fate of the French mini-

sters assassinated at Rastadt be retorted upon the House of Austria !' After the revolution of the 18th Brumaire, Jean Debry became a member of the Tribunate; and, in 1800, pronounced a panegyric on the First Consul, and a speech in honour of the victory of Marengo. He has since seconded and applauded all the measures of the new government, and is now among the most ardent admirers of '*those transcendent qualities which belong to the whole "Imperial race."*' During the revolution, this man was remarked for the acrimony of his invectives against the emigrants, and those who had voted for the banishment of the king. Among the latter, many were induced to pronounce that judgment, from a conviction, that by no other expedient could the life of the monarch be saved. Others, who aimed at the destruction of the monarchy, were nevertheless subdued by the virtuous and beneficent character of the Sovereign. Their lenity proved fatal to themselves, by marking them out as objects of suspicion and vengeance to the more sanguinary republicans. One of the opinions delivered on this subject, by a member of the name of Alasseur, deserves to be mentioned, as exhibiting a curious *rapprochement*. It was expressed in this way. 'Rome banished her kings, and remained free. Cæsar was assassinated by Brutus, and had a successor. The English destroyed their tyrant, but resumed their chains. I think, therefore, that to preserve liberty, Louis should be banished.' Many of the members who voted for the punishment of death, expressed their opinion in a manner too shockingly barbarous to be related. One of them remarked, that, long before the Revolution, 'he had conceived and treasured up that vote *in his heart*.' It is said of another, of the name of Le Jeune, that he had small guillotines made for the purpose of decapitating the poultry used at his table; that he used them to cut his fruit; and never failed to point out to his guests *the general utility of the machine*.

Cochon, whose name must be familiar to all our readers, is now Prefect of the Netherlands, and a member of the Legion of Honour. After voting for the death of the King, and cooperating in all the excesses of the time, he was sent as Commissary of the Convention, to the army of the North, and assisted with distinguished courage at the siege of Valenciennes, the capitulation of which he attributed to the treachery of the inhabitants, in his report to the Convention. He became, in 1794, a member of the Committee of Public Safety, and in 1795, accompanied the army of the North to Holland. In the following year, the Directory appointed him Minister of Police, a situation in which he was found eminently useful; in detecting and baffling the conspiracies of Babœuf and of the camp of Grenelle, where four hundred

red Jacobins were cut to pieces, conformably to his arrangements with the commanding officer. In 1797, he denounced and brought to trial, several emissaries of the Bourbons; and stated, in his report of the trial, 'that he knew not to what he was to attribute the *odious distinction* of being placed in their list of the ministers who were to be retained after the revival of the monarchy,' with this additional remark, 'that he had voted for the death of the King.' He soon after swore to combat the enemies of the republic, of whatever party; and, in a report against the refractory priests, accused them of corrupting the public mind. He was afterwards dismissed by the Directory, and included among the *déportés*; but had proceeded no further than the island of Oleron, when the revolution of the 18th Brumaire took place. He returned; and was immediately admitted to the favour of the new government, of which he is now a zealous supporter.

The polished courtesy and peculiar softness of manner by which Cochon is distinguished in private life, are strikingly contrasted with the intemperance of his political career. He was originally an advocate, and unites considerable literary attainments to an uncommon share of sagacity and industry. The Government have associated with him at Antwerp, in the capacity of *Maritime Prefect*, Malouet, who sustained so courageously and ably, the falling fortunes of the monarchy, and who emigrated to this country in the year 1792. The latter enjoyed much of the confidence of Louis XVI.; and when the intended trial of that Monarch was known in London, wrote to the Executive Council, to request that he might be permitted to undertake his defence before the Convention;—a trait of loyalty which deserves to be recorded. On his return to France, after the affair of the 18th Brumaire, he was at first arrested by the police, but soon obtained his release; and in 1803 was chosen by the Government to fill his present station. It was expected that these men, by the attractions of their society, and the mildness of their administration, would have been able to conciliate the inhabitants of Antwerp; but such was the general antipathy to the French dominion, that even in 1807, they had not succeeded in establishing a social intercourse with more than two or three of the principal personages of the department. With the exception of Malouet, Mounier, Ségur, Alexandre, La Rochefoucault, and Cardinal Maury, but few of the distinguished royalists have enlisted themselves in the service of the new dynasty. Ségur, who at various times, acted as a foreign minister under the *ancien régime*, is now a counsellor of state, and grand master of ceremonies at the imperial court. Mounier died in 1806, at Paris, after having become a senator and prefect of one of the departments. Prince

Ferdinand de Rohan, formerly archbishop of Cambray, is now almoner of the empress.

Cardinal Maury retired from the first tumults of the Revolution to Rome, where he obtained his cardinal's hat. In 1805, he addressed a letter to the Emperor Napoleon, signifying his wish to return to France, and to recognize the new government. In the month of June of that year, he was presented to the monarch at Genoa, and much gratified by his reception. He was soon after appointed almoner to Prince Jerome, and obtained a bishoprick. He is now resident in Paris, professing himself to be warmly devoted to the interests of the reigning family. In the month of May, he was received as a Member of the Institute, and delivered on that occasion an elaborate discourse.—No occurrence of the kind ever excited more curiosity in the capital, or drew a more numerous auditory.—His reputation as the first orator of the *Côté droit*, and the formidable rival of Mirabeau; the unshaken courage and persevering energy with which he once defended the throne of the Bourbons, and his recent defection from their cause, on which he was expected to touch, gave an extraordinary interest to his first public exhibition. His hearers, however, retired fatigued and disgusted with a dull and prolix harangue, remarkable only for the fulsome adulation which it offered to the Imperial family. Those who recollected him preaching before the King, his benefactor, or asserting in the National Assembly the rights of his order, with such force of argument, and so captivating an elocution, had the mortification to find, that his manner was stripped of all the charms with which it was once invested; and that, with the dignity of his character, he had lost the fire of his genius, and the lustre of his eloquence.

The name of *Mirabeau* is so often conjoined with that of *Maury*, that we are naturally led to turn to the article which treats of the former. The accounts of this extraordinary man are already so voluminous, that it would be superfluous to indulge in any details. The disorders of his private life, and the extraordinary inflictions to which they exposed him, enter not into our present subject. It is sufficient to say, that, being rejected at the first election for the States-General by the noblesse of Provence, he hired a shop, and inscribed on his sign, 'Mirabeau, draper.' He succeeded as a candidate for the third estate, and, at the court of Versailles, passed under the designation of the *plebeian count*. He soon signalized himself in the tribune by the powers of his invective, and the sagacity with which he analyzed every question of public interest agitated in the Assembly. His first connexion was with the Duke of Orleans, whom he abandoned, after making a liberal use of his purse. His frequent overtures to the
King,

King, satisfactorily prove, that he sought popularity only to acquire a more arbitrary dominion over the court. It was not until near the end of the session, after a fiery and turbulent opposition, which is too well known to require any description, and when he had obtained an unrivalled ascendancy over the popular party, that his services were accepted by the court, his debts paid, and a pension allowed him. It does not appear, that he at any time contemplated the possibility of establishing a democracy in France; but it is certain that, after his desertion to the court, he had formed the plan of dissolving a legislature, which he soon found wholly untractable. * His death frustrated the execution of this scheme—perhaps the only one which could have saved the monarchy. The address with which he contrived to promote his own views, by appealing to second those of his old confederates, the energy and splendour of his declamation, are all calculated to inspire the highest idea of his powers, and to awaken a lively regret, that an intelligence almost stupendous should have been conjoined with a depravity of morals scarcely to be paralleled. The mechanism of his oratory is said, by all those who knew him, to have corresponded to the force and brilliancy of his expression. His works, some of which are detestably licentious, display a profound knowledge of human nature, and deep research; but are written in a loose, luxuriant style, and in much too declamatory a tone. He died at the early age of forty-two, declaring ‘that he carried the monarchy away with him.’ It was a favourite phrase of his, in allusion to the versatility of the mob, ‘that the distance was but small from the Capitol to the Tarpeian rock.’

P 4

Mirabeau

* We find the opinions which Mr Burke has expressed in his ‘Letter on the French Revolution,’ concerning the composition of this Assembly, confirmed in these volumes, by a very remarkable testimony. They mention a farmer of the name of Gerard, who was introduced as a member of the States-General, for the purpose of conciliating the people of his district, by making one of themselves a representative of the nation. He was wholly without education, and in manners and dress a mere peasant, but with much honesty and good sense to compensate for his exterior. In writing to his constituents, he expressed himself in this way. ‘What can I do in the midst of a crowd of pettyfogging lawyers and attorneys, who believe they know every thing, and look upon themselves as the most important branch of the legislature, although they have not an inch of ground under the sun, and can only gain by the total subversion of the existing order of things?’ One of the orators of the Assembly terminated a long speech, by asking Gerard what he thought of the Assembly. ‘I think,’ said Gerard, rising in his place, and looking very gravely around him, ‘I think there are a great many scoundrels among us.’

Mirabeau had a younger brother, the *Viscompte*, of a character nearly as depraved as his own, and gifted with uncommon powers of wit and ridicule,—which he wielded to the great annoyance of the popular party. His brother said of him, that, in any other family, the *Viscompte* would have been considered as a profligate; but that, in theirs, he was a prodigy of virtue. During the tumults, to which the question of confiscating the property of the clergy gave rise, in the Constituent Assembly, the younger brother apologized for the vehemence of his manner, by stating, ‘that, in that Assembly, he found the logic of the lungs as necessary as any other species of dialectics.’ When the elder Mirabeau reproached him with indulging in habits of intoxication, his reply was, ‘What can you complain of? Of all the vices of any importance, you have left me no distinctive one but that.’ He emigrated, and died at Fribourg in 1792, after serving with distinction under the orders of the Prince of Condé.

In the number of those who have stood foremost in the revolutionary ranks, there is perhaps no individual, whose character or history is more interesting than that of CARNOT. He is the only one of the whole list of Republicans, who has adhered to their former principles, and in whose character and manners the new order of things appears to have wrought no change. He entered, at an early age, into the corps of engineers, and owed his advancement to the favour of the Prince of Condé. Some mathematical essays and light verses acquired him a certain degree of reputation before the Revolution. He was a captain of engineers at the commencement of the troubles; and, in 1791, was deputed to the legislature by the department of the *Pas de Calais*. An ardent imagination, heated by a constant meditation, or deep study of the popular institutions of antiquity, led him to embrace the popular cause with eagerness, and to concur zealously in most of the intemperate opinions and measures of the time. He voted for the accusation of the princes,—for the fabrication of 30,000 pikes to arm the *Sans-culottes*,—and, finally, for the death of the king. He was sent, by the Convention, on various missions to the armies; and signalized himself as much by personal intrepidity, as by the energy of his republicanism. In the month of March 1793, accompanying the Army of the North, he cashiered General Gratiot on the field of battle, for having retreated before the enemy; and put himself at the head of the troops. On his return to the Convention, he became a member of the Committee of Public Safety; and, under the influence of Robespierre, was but too active an auxiliary in the unprecedented atrocities which characterized the reign of terror. His conduct during that period gave rise to the picture which Mr Burke has drawn of him, in his

his first letter on the Regicide peace. Carnot, by the peculiar bent of his genius, soon acquired an unlimited influence in the military department; and, during his administration, it could never be said, that the errors of the cabinet rendered abortive the operations of the field. He was entrusted with all the plans deposited in the bureaux since the reign of Louis XIV.; and, by his own memoirs and instructions, issued in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, contributed materially to the astonishing success of the French arms. He claimed the merit of the victory of Maubenge, gained by Jourdan, at which he assisted as Commissary of the Convention; and he has, at all times, been ambitious of this species of glory. In May 1794, he was elected President of the Convention; and, when a deputation from the Jacobins appeared at the bar, to state, in a formal manner, that they actually believed in the existence of a God, Carnot told them, that this step alone was sufficient to refute all the calumnies vomited forth against their society. He on one occasion denounced Turreau, now ambassador to the United States of America, and Carrier, for their barbarities in La Vendée; and when Barrere and Collot were arraigned by the Convention, undertook their defence with the utmost warmth. He was himself exposed to frequent attacks, particularly in May 1795, when Legendre called for his arrest; but Bourdon de l'Oise saved him, by exclaiming, 'This is the man who organized Victory in the French armies!' He was afterwards raised to the Directorship, and, for some time, exerted a considerable ascendancy over his colleagues; but was at last overpowered by their intrigues, and compelled to take refuge in Germany, where he published a vindication of his conduct; and it is rather remarkable that he should, although at that time under the protection of a monarch, have terminated it, by declaring himself 'still the irreconcilable enemy of Kings.' This *Memoir Justificatif* accelerated the downfall of the Directory, whose vices and crimes he has denounced with great force and acrimony of invective. He returned to France after the dissolution of their power, and was appointed Minister of War in April 1800. He, however, soon relinquished this office, and lived for some time in retirement. In 1802, he consented to act as a member of the Tribunal; and in this capacity, resisted, on several occasions, the favourite measures of the Government. He stood alone in his vote against the Consulate for life; strenuously opposed the accession of Buonaparte to the imperial dignity; and persisted in refusing to sign the registers. In 1807, he appeared to be wholly engrossed by his avocations, as a member of the first class of the Institute. Various works on the higher branches of the mathematics attest his eminence in that science. In manners, in countenance,

and

and in the deep workings of the soul, no one of his contemporaries approaches so nearly to the republican models of antiquity, as there is none more profoundly versed in all the branches of republican history. These studies, perhaps, have nourished a fierce spirit, and a severity of temper, which have justly subjected him to the imputation of cruelty; but he is free from the reproach of peculation, which attaches to so many of his colleagues. Those who contemplate him under his present circumstances, and recollect the genius of the man, and the sphere in which he has once moved, are reminded of the picture which the Roman historians draw of Marius sitting on the ruins of Carthage. The skill and intrepidity which he, and many others, without a military education, exhibited, when deputed to the armies, is a trait too remarkable to be passed over. There is, moreover, something to admire in the lofty confidence which the Commissaries of the Convention, like those of Rome, so often manifested in the fortunes of the republic, although accompanied by the fastidious insolence of profligate power. They spoke and fought with equal energy. When General Montesquieu hesitated to take possession of Geneva, in consequence of the remonstrances of the Swiss Cantons, Dubois Crancé, the delegate to his army, is said to have exclaimed, 'A quoi bon tant de façons;—' I would beat down Geneva into her own lake by a shower of bombs, and invite the magnificent Cantons to fish her up again.' In the life of St Just, who, at the age of twenty-six, perished on the scaffold with Robespierre, and whose endowments resembled those of Carnot, there are striking instances of the same spirit. While with the army of the North, and at the battle of Fleurus, he exhibited the accomplishments of an able general, united to the desperate courage of a soldier, and the lofty enthusiasm of an impetuous Proconsul. The associates of Carnot in the directorial power, are still alive. Rewbell,* who voted for the death of the King, and who

* This man was charged with '*les grands mouvements pecuniaires*,' in the technical phraseology of the banditti. A relation of Rewbell, of the name of *Rapinat*, was sent into Switzerland by the Directory, '*pour travailler la Suisse*,'—to pillage and distract that country. It is rather a singular coincidence, that his two principal coadjutors in this honourable mission, were called *Forfait* and *Grugeon*. His spoliations became so intolerable at length, that the French Government was compelled to recal him. On his return, the following quatrain was published, in allusion to his name.

' *Question d'Etymologie.*

- ' Un bon Suisse que l'on ruine,
- ' Voudrait bien que l'on decidât ;
- ' Si Rapinat vient de rapine,
- ' Où rapine de Rapinat.'

who acquired so much celebrity by his rapacious exactions, although in disgrace with the government, is left to enjoy the fruits of them in the vicinity of Paris. *La Réveillière Lepeaux*, the highpriest of the sect of Theophilanthropists, and of whom it was sarcastically observed by one of his colleagues, 'that his predominant passion was the fear of being hung,' is living, unmolested, in the midst of botanical pursuits. *Barras* resides, in a state of honourable exile, in the South of France. *Roger Ducos*, who, in 1794, presided at the meetings of the Jacobin Society, and passed from the station of Director to that of Third Consul in 1799, fell soon after into the ranks of the Senate, where he now glitters as one of the great dignitaries of the Legion of Honour. *Sieyès* supports the same honours, with a large estate, bestowed by the Consuls as a national recompense. *Barthelemi* is also a member of the Senate, and by far the most respectable of that body. During the great shocks of the Revolution, he was absent on foreign missions, and conducted himself with uniform moderation and distinguished ability. He negotiated several important treaties abroad; and, on his return to Paris, was forced into the Directorship, rather by the lustre of his character, than by any love for the situation. That character threw him among the number of the *déportés*; when Barras and his party acquired a preponderance. His escape from Cayenne must be familiar to most of our readers, by the work of Ramel. His early studies were pursued under the direction of his uncle the celebrated author of the *Travels of Anacharsis*, who combined with so copious a variety of knowledge, and such exquisite taste, so much private virtue and social talent, as to render him the delight of his friends, and the ornament of his age. With an intellect and a heart formed upon this amiable model, the nephew has a similar exterior; a tall and well-proportioned frame; a physiognomy of the true antique, with a mingled expression of simplicity, of goodness and of greatness, which seems to reflect the true character of a noble and elevated mind.

We find mentioned in these volumes an *Abbé Fenelon*, a grand-nephew of the celebrated Archbishop of Cambray, from whose name virtue appears inseparable. In the decline of life, the Abbé is said to have conceived the design of improving the condition and correcting the vices of an unfortunate class of children, known in Paris under the appellation of *Petits Savoyards*. He laboured so assiduously for the accomplishment of this benevolent purpose, that he acquired the surname of their Bishop. He was seen constantly surrounded by a little group, who appeared to listen to him with respect and admiration; and who, in a short time, imbibed a strong affection for his person. He was seized

and

and imprisoned in the Luxembourg, during the reign of terror. As soon as the Savoyards heard of his imprisonment, they assembled, and proceeded in a body to the Convention, to solicit his liberation, but without success. He was condemned as an *Aristocrat* by the Revolutionary tribunal, and executed at the age of eighty-one.

Our attention has been attracted by the name of *Desezé*, who pronounced the eloquent and powerful vindication of Louis XVI. before the Convention. The reputation which he had acquired at the bar before the Revolution, induced the Monarch to call upon him, after the refusal of Target, to undertake his defence. He obeyed the call with enthusiasm; and, before he entered on the performance of his task, made every necessary disposition for his own death—so sure was the fate which seemed to await all those who openly adhered to the interests of the throne. His discourse, written in the course of four nights, embraced, and triumphantly refuted, all the topics of accusation preferred against his royal client. It contains some most pathetic appeals, and many bold strokes of eloquence. His enunciation is uncommonly fine; and was found every way suitable to the importance of his object. The interesting journal of Malesherbes states, that the peroration, as it originally stood, was of irresistible pathos. ‘When Desezé read it to us,’ says his venerable associate, ‘we could not refrain from shedding tears;’ but the King remarked, that ‘it must be suppressed, as he did not wish to make an appeal to the passions.’* The monarch, after his condemnation, asked Malesherbes, with visible emotion, what he could do to reward his advocate. This was reported to Desezé, who asked no other recompense than the honour of kissing his master’s hand. The request was immediately granted; and, as he approached to bend the knee, Louis pressed forward, threw his arms about his neck, rested his head upon his shoulder, and sobbed bitterly for some time, exclaiming ‘*Mon pauvre Desezé!*’

Desezé, soon after the execution of the Sovereign, was thrown into an obscure prison, where he remained for a long period, apparently forgotten by those who had ordered his arrest. His wife, a woman of a most accomplished and vigorous mind, applied for his release to Barrere, on whom her husband had conferred some important benefits at his outset in life. Barrere shed tears when he was informed of the miseries of his benefactor; but commanded the wife to abstain from all further applications in

* There is one part of this speech which particularly deserves to be noticed as ‘*un beau mouvement.*’ The orator, casting his eyes indignantly around him, exclaimed, ‘*Je cherche ici des juges; Je ne vois partout que des accusateurs.*’

in favour of her husband, lest the attention of the Revolutionary Government should be drawn towards him; and after the lapse of a few months, had him secretly removed to a *Maison de Santé*, or a house for the reception of invalids and lunatics. We know of no other favourable trait in the life of this furious and wily demagogue; who, after having so long governed the Legislative Assemblies of France, and occupied so much of the attention of mankind, has dwindled into absolute insignificance, and now drags out a solitary and sordid existence in Paris, contemned by the Government, and shunned by all orders of men.* In this *Maison de Santé*, Desezé remained during the whole of the reign of terror, secluded from public notice, and occupied in the education of his children. He ventured forth when the fury of the tempest was past; and it is thought rather remarkable in France, that, of a numerous family, not one fell under the axe of the guillotine. He exercises no employment under the Government, but lives in a retired part of the capital, in the midst of a society of men, such as Morellet, Sicard, and some others, with whom any state of things would be tolerable. Malesherbes perished on the scaffold at the age of seventy. Target, who shrunk from the peril of defending his Sovereign, and who, during the reign of terror, acted as secretary of the Revolutionary Committee of his section, is now a Judge of the Tribunal of Cassation, and a member of the Legion of Honour. Franchet, who cooperated so nobly with Desezé, died in 1806, after having served as a senator under the new regime. Tronçon Ducoudray, who defended the Queen, was *deported* to Cayenne, where he fell a victim to that destructive climate, facetiously styled the *dry guillotine* by the agents of the Directory. On this fatal spot, about the same time, died also Billaud de Varennes, Bourdon de l'Oise, and many others of a character and principles so opposite to those of Ducoudray. There are few things, indeed, which can give us a more powerful impression of the atrocities of faction, or the indiscriminate mischiefs of revolution, than the singular group which the colony of Cayenne exhibited for some time,—of re-
fractory

* Since the establishment of the Imperial despotism, he for some time edited, under the auspices of the Police, a violent Journal with the title of *Memorial Anti-Britannique*. Notwithstanding the sanguinary and infuriate conduct of this man during the Revolution, there are few of more mild or fascinating manners, or whose conversation breathes purer and more indulgent sentiments of morality. He was remarkable for the inflation of his style, and unrivalled in the art of puffing the successes of the French arms. His exaggerations induced St Just to remark to him, rather angrily, 'Barrere, tu fais trop mousser nos victoires.'

fractory and apostate priests—of royalists and demagogues, brought together to encounter the same destiny on the same spot. The same instructive lesson was afforded in the prisons of Paris, where the executioner and his victim, the accuser and the accused, the leaders of a fallen party and their vindictive successors, often met on their passage to the same scaffold. It was truly and emphatically said by Danton, that the fraternity of these republicans was that of Cain; and that the tyrant crowned with the *bonnet rouge*, may be as relentless as he who wields the sceptre. Danton, Chaumette, Hebert and Robespierre, occupied successively the same dungeon in the Conciergerie. When Danton was going to the scaffold, he at first imprecated curses on Robespierre; but suddenly checking himself, exclaimed, 'They are all alike: Brissot would have sent me to the guillotine as well as Robespierre.'—'Quod inter bonos amicitia,' says Cicero, 'inter malos factio est.'

We observe by these volumes, that the fury of the revolutionary leaders was particularly directed against the farmers-general, who all perished, with the exception of a single individual, a M. de Verdun. Sixty of them were executed at one time, in consequence of a report of Dupin, a frantic member of the Convention. The Revolutionary Tribunal adopted a general formula as the ground of their condemnation: which is curious as applied to *Lavoisier*, who was declared guilty of having 'adulterated snuff with water and ingredients destructive of the health of the citizens.' This chemist requested time to complete some experiments necessary for an important discovery in which he had been for some years engaged; and offered to lay down his life willingly when he had finished his task. The reply of Coffinhal the President, was, 'that the Republic did not want savans or chemists, and that the course of justice could not be suspended.' Nothing can be imagined more atrocious, and sometimes more ludicrous than the judgments of this horrible inquisition. We find instances—of a woman of ninety-two, both deaf and blind, condemned for *counter-revolutionary intentions*—of an individual, for not paying his taxes through a spirit of royalty—of another, for declaiming against 'the innocent and virtuous Robespierre,' &c. *Camille, Desmoulins*, and *Danton* were condemned for intending to re-establish monarchy! and *Carrier* for executing the famous *noyades*,* and shooting children of thirteen and

* The *noyades* were effected by drawing out a plug inserted in the bottom of the boats on which the wretched victims were launched. The genius of iniquity often displays itself in the same inventions. The learned reader will recollect, that when Nero was desir-

and fourteen years old, *with monarchical views*. We observe, that the writers of these volumes, after stating the condemnation of an individual, deem it altogether superfluous to add that he was executed !

Anacharsis Cloots, the soi-disant orator of the *human race*, was conducted to the scaffold under the same pretext. 'This man was the nephew of *Paau*, the author of some well-known works, and appears not to have been wholly destitute of talents. German metaphysics and depraved morals contributed to render him one of the most wild, as well as one of the most original fanatics of the Revolution. The grave solemnity with which he was received by the National Assembly, *on his embassy from the human race*, and the serious attention paid to his procession and insane harangues, would be fit subjects for derision, if they did not afford a sad proof of the melancholy condition of the times. His invectives against monarchy and religion are too gross and blasphemous to bear repetition. He encountered death with the utmost serenity ; and on his way to the scaffold, lectured Hebert on Materialism, 'to prevent him,' as he said, 'from feeling any religious sentiments in his last moments.' He also asked to be executed after his associates, 'in order to have time to establish certain principles, while their heads were falling.'

We are much struck with the account which is here given of the end of *Condorcet*. After having acted a prominent part in the first stages of the Revolution, he was denounced 'by Chabot, in the year 1793, and compelled to take refuge at the house of a female acquaintance, with whom he remained until the following year ; and in this interval, wrote his book on *the Progress of the Human Mind*. Forced to quit this asylum, in consequence of a decree which punished with death those who were convicted of harbouring outlaws, he left Paris, meanly dressed, and with the intention of putting himself under the protection of an old friend, *Suard*, who resided at Seaux. When he reached his dwelling, he

ous of despatching his mother, and found himself at a loss for an expedient, Anicetus, a freed man, proposed to him, 'the model of a ship upon a new construction, framed in such a manner that a part might be withdrawn, and the unsuspecting passenger committed to the waves.' (*Tac. Ann. lib. 14. Ar. 3.*) Carrier is also said to have frequently practised the same refinement of cruelty, which Virgil in his 8th book of the *Æneid*, attributes to the tyrant Mezen-
tius.

Mortua quinetiam jungebat corpora vivis,
Componens manibusque manus, atque oribus ora,
'Tormenti genus ! et, same taboque fluentes,
Complexu in misero, longa sic morte necabat.

he found that Suard had gone to Paris; and the fugitive was necessitated to skulk for several nights among the quarries of the neighbourhood. Hunger at length drove him from his retreat, and led him to enter a small inn at Clamart. His long beard, his gaunt and haggard appearance, the agitation of his manner, and the voracity with which he ate, subjected him to suspicion; and he was accordingly arrested by a Member of the Revolutionary Committee of the place. When brought before the Committee, he called himself *Simon*, and stated that he had been a servant. But on being searched, a small copy of Horace was found in his pocket, with Latin notes pencilled on the margin. 'You say that you were a domestic,' said the peasant who interrogated him, 'but I should rather suppose, that you are one of those *ci-devant*, who had domestics.' The man sent him to Bourg la Reine on foot, but his strength failing before the end of the journey his conductors mounted him on the horse of a labourer. On his arrival, he was thrown into a dungeon, and forgotten for twenty-four hours. At the end of that time, he was found lifeless and stiff by the person who was sent to supply him with bread and water. It was doubtful whether his death was produced by mere inanition, or occasioned by a strong poison which he always carried about him. Such was the exit of one who may be justly classed among the most original writers of his age, and who was surpassed by none of the illustrious body of literati to which he belonged, in the brilliancy of his genius, and the variety of his acquirements. Although author of that formidable phrase, *peace to the cottage, but war on palaces*,* his temper was mild and benevolent, and his morals are said to have been irreproachable. *Petion*, the celebrated Mayor of Paris, an enthusiast of a much more criminal cast, experienced a similar fate. After being proscribed by Robespierre, he wandered over Brittany, and the department of the Gironde, and was at length found dead in a field, apparently through hunger. The miserable end of Bailly, the predecessor of Petion, is well known. He is said to have borne a strong resemblance to Lord Melville—in person and face.

Of the party of the Gironde, to whom Mad. Roland is so prodigal of her praise, but few appear to have survived. Barnave, Gaudet, Valagé, Vergniaud, were all swept away. Most of them were men of talents, and apparently of good intentions. There are some circumstances connected with the death of Vergniaud, which deserve to be mentioned as illustrative of the French character. *Fonfrede*, Genfonné, Ducos and Valagé, were confined in the *Conciergerie* along with him, and passed the night before their execution in a manner suitable to the character which each had

* *Guerre aux chateaux, paix à la chaumière.*

had received from nature. Fonfrede, although resigned to his fate, shed a tear, every now and then, at the recollection of his wife and children. *Ducos* made verses, enlivened his companions by sprightly sallies, and gravely proposed, that, while they still retained their quality of deputies, they should decree the indivisibility of their heads from their bodies, as they had decreed that of the republic. *Valagé*, unmoved and determined, was busy in contriving how he should despatch himself. *Vergniaud* threw away some poison which he had kept about him, declaring, that as he had not enough to share with his friends, he would not abandon them. He discoursed for a long time, with his usual eloquence, on revolutions and governments, and predicted the miseries which awaited his country. These volumes abound with similar instances of perfect *sang-froid*, of steady composure, and of careless gaiety, † displayed by individuals of all parties, even at the foot of the scaffold. They furnish also numerous cases of deliberate suicide, of a singular nature. *

We have encountered various anecdotes of female heroism; two or three of which we shall cull out for our readers. The chiefs of La Vendée were attended, in the most bloody engagements, by several females, who ornamented their standards with chivalrous devices, and who, like the Camillas and Penthiévilles of old, carried consternation and death into the enemy's ranks. Among the number was a Mad. La Rochefoucault, the mistress of Charette, who signalized herself on various occasions, and was at length taken

† When D'Espréménil was going to the scaffold, he was accompanied by Le Chapelier, well known as one of the best orators of the Constituent Assembly, and who was to be executed with him. Le Chapelier, as they were ascending the steps, observed to his companion, that they were to have a terrible problem to solve in their last moments. What is that said the other? 'To determine,' was the reply, 'to which of us the hisses of the populace are meant to be addressed!'

* The Royalists sometimes destroyed themselves through the fear of being massacred; and the Republicans, in order to escape the guillotine. Most of the Republican leaders habitually carried poison about them for this purpose. Montesquieu, in endeavouring to account for the frequency of suicide among the Romans during their civil wars, among other causes, enumerates the influence of passion. To this may be added, with regard to the Republicans of France, their irreligious maxims, similar in their effects to the principles of the Stoics, which prevailed among the Romans. Most of the Republicans had selected, as a motto, the lines of Voltaire in Merope.

'Quand on a tout perdu, quand on n'a plus d'espoir,
La vie est un opprobre, et la mort un devoir.'

taken prisoner, and executed. Another of these heroines, at the affair of Gesté, rallied the broken forces of the Royalists, charged three times at their head, and was found covered with wounds on the field of battle. In the terrible battle of Mans, in which 10,000 republicans, and 20,000 Vendéans, are said to have perished, a young woman, armed with a helmet and a lance, and pursued by some soldiers, fell at the feet of the republican commander, General Marceau, and entreated him to protect her. He raised her up, bade her discard her fears, and, attracted by the beauty of her countenance, determined to save her if possible. A law, however, was then in force, which punished any Republican with death who gave quarter to a Vendean taken in arms. Marceau was denounced, and would have been executed, had it not been for the interference of Bourbotte, the Deputy of the Convention, whose life he had saved in the same engagement.—Neither the authority of the Deputy nor the tears of Marceau could, however, wrest the fair prisoner from the hands of the executioner. There is something particularly interesting in the story of Cecile Renault, a beautiful woman, executed at the age of 20, for an alleged attempt to assassinate Robespierre. The distractions of the capital, and the tide of blood which rolled in the streets, appear to have disordered her fancy; but it is not clear that she really had the intention imputed to her. In May 1794, she called at the house of Robespierre, and requested to see him. On being refused, she replied, that he was a public functionary, and should therefore be accessible to all.—‘When we had a king,’ she added, ‘there was no difficulty in seeing him.—I would sacrifice my life to have another.’ When dragged before the Revolutionary Tribunal, two knives were found in her pocket; and she was therefore condemned. Her father was executed with her as an accomplice; and all her relations, friends and acquaintance, involved in the same fate. More than 60 persons, whom she did not know, were sacrificed on the same account. One of these, a Republican of the name of Admiral, jocosely remarked to her, as he was about to lay his head on the block,—‘Vous-vouliez voir un tyran?—Vous n’avez qu’à aller à la Convention: vous en eussiez vu de toutes les façons.’ A similar instance of philosophy, or insensibility, is remarkable in the person of Lebon, a Sans-culotte of the most ruffian cast. When, preparatory to his execution, they were about to invest him with the *chemise rouge*, the symbol of a murderous life, he returned it with affected gravity to the executioner, exclaiming, ‘Ce n’est pas moi qui dois l’endosser; il faut l’envoyer à la Convention dont je n’ai fait qu’exécuter les ordres.’

The most famous, perhaps, of these heroines was *Mad. Roland*, who has left, in her Memoirs, the most lively and striking picture

ture of the Revolution that has ever fallen into our hands, and the most eloquent delineation of those feelings and principles by which the virtuous part of its agents were guided.—It is needless to repeat any part of what is to be found in a work so popular. We may only mention, that after her incarceration in the Abbaye, in 1792, the section of Paris in which she resided, petitioned for her liberation; but this application, and her own letters to the Assembly, were equally unavailing. She was transferred to the *Conciergerie*; and on the 8th of November 1793, condemned to death by the Revolutionary Tribunal, for having conspired *against the unity and indivisibility of the Republic*! She displayed the most unshaken courage on the scaffold, which she mounted with a marked expression of disdain and dignity in her countenance. It may be observed, that the same fortitude was evinced by all the females who perished in the same way, with the single exception of Madame Dubarry, whose deplorable weakness at the moment of her execution was strikingly contrasted with the tenor of her life. Madame Rolland, in crossing the Place de la Revolution, on her way to the scaffold, bowed her head before the statue of Liberty which stood there, and uttered an indignant exclamation concerning the abuse of the name. She predicted, when about to die, that her husband would not survive her loss,—a prediction which was speedily verified. He had been proscribed in the month of May, and had taken refuge in the house of a friend at Rouen; but as soon as he heard of her execution, he resolved upon destroying himself. He quitted his asylum, took the road leading to Paris; and the next morning was found seated by the side of it, with his back against a tree, and mortally wounded with a sword-cane, which he usually carried with him. A note was found beside him, in which he declared that the death of his wife had left him without any further consolation on earth.

We dare not trespass on the patience of our readers by any more of these distressing details. We close these volumes with feelings of humiliation and almost of despondency. When we think what has been, and what is, in France, we are afraid to look forward to what is to be; and if our principles did not forbid us ever to despair of the fortunes of the human race, we should be glad to turn away our eyes for ever from the fearful spectacle of triumphant guilt, baffled genius, and insulted virtue.—We cling steadily, however, to the faith, that the seeds of future happiness are sowing in the midst of this scene of apparent desolation; and that the plough and the harrow which are now deforming the surface, and tearing up the roots of European society, are only preparing the soil for a new and more abundant harvest of permanent enjoyment.

ART. XVI. *Narrative of the Siege of Saragoza*. By Charles Richard Vaughan, M. B. Fellow of All-Souls College, Oxford, and one of Dr Radcliffe's Travelling Fellows from that University. Fifth Edition; with corrections and additions. pp. 38. London. Ridgeway. 1809.

MR VAUGHAN having made an extensive tour in Spain last summer, and visited Saragossa, (or, as he calls it, Zaragoza), where he lived with the celebrated Palafox, has given, in the little work now before us, a very simple and well written narrative of what passed there a short time before his arrival. The profits of the sale, he informs us, are to be transmitted for the relief of the brave and unfortunate inhabitants. We shall, therefore, abstain from making such extracts as might interfere with so praise-worthy an object; and shall only give a specimen of the unaffected and interesting manner in which the pamphlet is written.

‘ One side of the street Cozo, the breadth of which is about equal to that of Pall Mall, was now occupied by the French; in the centre of which General Verdier was seen giving his orders from the Franciscan convent. The Arragonese maintained their positions on the opposite side, throwing up batteries at the openings of the streets, within a few paces of similar batteries of the French. The intervening space was soon heaped up with dead, either thrown from the windows of the houses in which they had been slain, or killed in the conflicts below.

‘ Nothing, in the whole course of the siege, more embarrassed Don Joseph Palafox than this enormous accumulation of the dead, and the apprehension of the contagious disorders which must infallibly result from it. To an Arragonese, it was almost certain death to appear in the middle of the street; and the expedient resorted to was, to push forward French prisoners, with a rope attached to them, amidst the dead and dying, to remove the bodies of their countrymen, and bring them in for burial. The office in which they were employed, and the pity of their own soldiers, secured them in general from any annoyance; and, by this expedient, the evils arising from the horrible corruption of the dead was in some degree diminished. The principal season for attack, in this singular species of warfare, was the night. The French and the Arragonese, under the cover of darkness, frequently dashed across the street, and attacked each other's batteries with the most undaunted courage. The struggle, begun at the batteries, was often carried into the houses beyond; and the author of this narrative has often seen, in every story of an house in the Calle de Cozo, unequivocal marks of the madness and desperation with which such sort of contests must have been carried on. The batteries of the contending parties were so close to each other, that, in one instance, a Spaniard crept from his own side; and

and insinuating himself under the intermediate bodies of the dead, attached a rope to one of the French cannon. In the struggle which ensued, the rope broke, and the Arragonese were deprived of their prize, at the very moment when they thought themselves secure of it.' p. 23—25.

It is not at all unnatural for Mr Vaughan, in this and perhaps in some other passages, to have been betrayed, by his laudable enthusiasm for the Spanish cause, and his partiality for his Saragossan friends, into an easy belief of whatever was told him. Making every allowance, however, for the very pardonable exaggerations of men so recently engaged in such a service, enough remains, in the conduct of this memorable defence, to command the admiration of all ages; nor should we ever have hinted at Mr Vaughan's partialities, had we not found him appealed to by Lord Castlereagh, in a despatch to Sir John Moore, dated 16th December, 1808, as bearing testimony to the important fact of 'the southern and eastern provinces being full of ardour and enthusiasm.*' With this qualification, we earnestly recommend the perusal of Mr Vaughan's tract to all our readers; and regret that he has not favoured the public with larger communications upon the incidents of his tour, and the anecdotes which he must have collected in the course of it, respecting the events immediately preceding it.

We avail ourselves of this opportunity, to call the attention of our readers once more to the affairs of Spain. When we first brought this interesting subject under their consideration, the country was in such a tumult of hopes and expectations, that the small voice of reason had no chance of being heard. Afterwards, when the favourable events with which the Spanish campaign opened, had converted all those hopes into certainty, the desponding views exhibited in our pages scarcely arrested the eye of the deluded people; and it was not till the first reverses of the patriots had damped their heedless joy, that we began to attract notice and execration. The good sense of the nation, we would vain hope, has now triumphed over the tricks of a paltry and interested

Q 3

* House of Commons Papers on Spain, p. 84.—It is worthy of notice, that Mr Vaughan's authority is here urged to General Moore, after Lord Castlereagh had received despatches by the hands of that gentleman from the General, in which his name is mentioned; consequently, after the General must be supposed to have received from Mr Vaughan himself whatever information he had to communicate. It is equally singular, that such statements should not have been given to the General, on the authority of the regular civil and military agents whom the Government had sent to various parts of Spain, for the express purpose of examining this matter.

terested party, and left all those ardent wishes for the liberty of Spain, which did so much honour to the character of Englishmen, unmingled with that obstinate and intolerant determination to believe in the success of the cause, which could only be excused by reflecting on the means taken to propagate the delusion. Presuming, then, that the country is at length awakened, we would willingly contribute, as much as in us lies, to assist it in retracing the arts which were used to bring on the trance, and exposing the practices of designing and interested men while it lasted,—practices equally prejudicial to the interests of the country, and destructive of all the prospects they seemed to encourage,—alike hurtful to England and to Spain. This we are disposed to attempt, rather with the hope of preventing, if possible, such delusions in future, and of leading to sound views of the expectations now to be formed, and the line of policy fit to be adopted, than for the sake of blaming the Government for what is past and irremediable, or of defending our own former speculations. With respect to the Ministry, indeed, it is our desire to speak as gently as possible. The feelings and intentions which regulated all their proceedings towards Spain were so praiseworthy, that it is difficult to judge very harshly, however bitterly we may lament the train of errors by which those generous intentions were frustrated. For ourselves, we have unhappily too good a defence in the events that verified our predictions; and the abuse with which we have been assailed from so many quarters, has been far too dull, and infinitely too unsuccessful, to merit any notice. *

The fundamental position which we ventured to lay down respecting the Spanish question, was this—That the spirit of the people, however enthusiastic and universal, was in its nature more uncertain and shortlived—more likely to be extinguished by reverses—or to go out of itself amidst the delays of a protracted contest, than the steady, regular, moderate feeling, which calls out disciplined troops, and marshals them under known leaders, and supplies them by systematic arrangements;—a proposition so plain and obvious, that, if it escaped ridicule as a truism, might have been reasonably expected to avoid the penalties of heresy or paradox. The event has indeed wofully proved its truth. With

a

* The various attacks on the *Edinburgh Review*, which have appeared during the last six months, partly in prose, partly in some other sort of writing not exactly resembling prose, would, if collected, make a volume of no ordinary weight; and, as far as we have had patience to peruse these things, considerably exceeding in stupidity any equal mass of controversial matter formerly produced. We own that this is rather a mortifying circumstance.

a great apparatus of juntas and public functionaries, the Spanish government has betrayed only the qualities which mark the undirected movements of popular bodies. There has been just sufficient controul, to check the natural fervour of national enthusiasm—to prevent the people from acting for themselves, which, upon sudden emergencies, they have sometimes been known to do with happy effect. The vigour and the wisdom, which could at once direct and develop that enthusiasm—which could concentrate its impulse towards one point, without weakening its force—which could, by an happy mixture of compulsion, at a moment when it would not have been felt, ensure the duration of the people's exertions: this from first to last has been wholly wanting. Since the retreat of Joseph from Madrid, Spain has exhibited only the faults of popular governments, combined with the failings of decrepit monarchies—the fickleness and confusion of revolutionary times—the feebleness, the abuses, of worn-out establishments.

It is quite impossible to deny, that a very great spirit of resistance to France prevailed over almost every province of Spain during the last summer. The upper classes of society, however, were but moderately imbued with this feeling. The considerable proprietors dreaded convulsions and intestine war. Unaccustomed to active exertion—not peculiarly attached to the old government—disgusted indeed with the scenes which had preceded its downfall, although they might prefer the sway of a Spanish prince, and would have voted for a continuance of the Bourbon dynasty, had their voice alone been required to defend the throne,—they were but little disposed to risk their fortunes in its cause, or even to gratify, at the expense of almost certain confiscation and banishment, that hatred of Frenchmen which they shared with the inferior ranks of the people. In all probability, we should have seen nothing like exertion on their part, had not the lower orders, exasperated by the cruelties committed at Madrid, and excited by the religious orders, given full scope to their inveterate detestation of the French name and nation, and urged on persons of a higher description to a participation in the contest,—frequently, it must be confessed, by the direct application of force. The successes which attended these efforts at Cadiz and Andujar, and the glorious and romantic defence of Saragossa, notwithstanding the reverse at Rio Seco, spread the spirit of resistance widely over the Peninsula. Nothing was wanted but a few months of supineness, a little drivelling, on the part of the enemy, or a few men of commanding talents at Madrid, to give Spain a fair chance of securing her independence, assisted by her generous and powerful ally. Unhappily the supineness and the drivelling were di-

vided in pretty equal portions between Madrid and London, while the talents entrenched themselves behind the Ebro.

To the flight of Joseph Bonaparte, succeeded the most inexcusable security and confidence. With the thoughtlessness common to popular councils, the Spaniards appear to have considered every point as already gained; and, we are afraid, it must be added, that the self-sufficiency, so prominent in their national character, and in which they are perhaps only exceeded by the Russian *grandees*, lulled them into a dream, that the Spanish name was as formidable to the rest of the world as it was dear and venerable to themselves. The idea of any reverse of fortune never entered the minds, either of the people or of their rulers, as a bare possibility; and the belief that their arms were invincible, which, if confined to their armies, might have realized itself, was unhappily still more fondly cherished by the government: nay, what seems almost incredible, the necessity of any further struggle was not anticipated; and it was actually imagined, that the French either durst not, or would not, send any reinforcements across the Pyrenees. Accordingly, Lord William Bentinck describes the central government as having been '*thrown into a considerable degree of alarm*,' when, at the beginning of October, two months after Joseph left Madrid, a letter was intercepted, which mentioned that an army was about to enter Spain; and he adds, that, in consequence of this very tardy alarm, '*their former supineness, confidence, and indifference to the existing danger, had been succeeded by a state of great activity.*' (*House of Commons' Papers*, p. 153.) We request the reader to keep this point in mind; for it is of very material consequence to a future part of the discussion. It is proved by various other documents in the printed papers; but we rest it upon the passage now quoted, as affording the most unexceptionable evidence. We need not inquire how the invaluable months, which thus elapsed, were wasted. Useless discussions of precedences and ceremonial, pernicious disputes between different assemblies and individuals of distinction, installations, and other exhibitions of pomp, which might have been harmless, and even beneficial, had they not interfered with higher offices;—these, and similar occupations, filled up the interval which the enemy of Spain and of Europe employed in securing the alliance of Russia,—sounding, probably intimidating Austria,—preparing his subjects for new wars,—and marching seventy thousand men to the Pyrenees.

Now, we apprehend it must appear evident, to any one who considers this subject, that the important period in question was peculiarly well adapted to the establishment of a vigorous government, and the introduction of a proper military system among the Spaniards.

Spaniards. The popular enthusiasm, and the hatred of France were at their height; and both feelings had been recently carried to this pitch by very unexpected successes. The horrors of war had scarcely been felt—its privations, perhaps still more trying to public spirit, were yet unknown—delay had not wearied the people, nor had a season of inactivity given them time to think of their civil privileges, or of any thing but opposing the enemy. At this moment, there can be little doubt, they would have submitted to the only measure which could render their numbers available against such an enemy as France—a compulsory levy. It was by such means that the French Revolution enabled the Convention to call out the resources of the country, and to lay the foundations of a military system, which unhappily has been found far more powerful than its original destination required. It is only by such means that solidity and duration can ever be given to the efforts of popular spirit. We may flatter ourselves by talking of the enthusiasm of our allies—and turn sentences about their determination to die rather than yield; we may exult in the idea that a nation cannot be conquered unless it chooses—and fondly talk of invincible spirit until we have mistaken the figure for a reality. But the sad question recurs—how much spirit may a man have—how excellently well disposed may he be to the cause—how loyal and how loud in his curses upon the enemy, before he will come out with his pike, and make himself utterly a soldier? Get, however, a few such men once enrolled; and, while their goodwill and the zeal of the nation continues, you may enforce, by their means, the enrolment of many more, without any great risk of abating the prevalent enthusiasm, before its natural and appointed period. The Spanish government thought otherwise; and it happened, accordingly, that their armies were not only inferior to the French in discipline, in appointments and in commanders—which was necessarily to be expected—but were inferior to them also in numbers of fighting men—were deficient in that quality by which alone they had any chance of balancing their unavoidable defects—were beaten, not only at the enemy's weapons, but at their own too. Even before the French were reinforced, we find the British resident at Madrid complaining that none of the armies in Spain was equally numerous with the troops opposed to them. And it has been stated in Parliament, and not contradicted, that at the opening of the campaign in November, the whole amount of the Spanish forces, in all parts, did not exceed 80,000 men; while the French, at the very lowest calculation, had above 180,000 in one part of the Peninsula.

If nothing was done to embody and direct the spirit, of which so much has been said, just as little pains were taken to foment

it and keep it alive. No attempts were made to improve the condition of the people—to correct the manifold abuses of the government—to remove those most galling oppressions under which the lower orders more especially laboured—and which are felt, not as political evils, but as interfering daily and hourly with the comforts of each individual. If the fancy of man had been required to form a combination of circumstances favourable to the excitement of popular spirit, it would have failed in going beyond the reality then existing in Spain—where the people were animated with the most bitter hatred of the enemy—and, in comparison with a foreign yoke, heartily loved their own government, notwithstanding all its defects—whilst the only person interested in perpetuating those defects, was deprived of all real power—and their removal, being accomplished by a stroke of the pen, would have sensibly augmented the comforts of all whom the actual rulers had any occasion to reward or to conciliate. At that moment, every thing which could relieve the people, might have been given as a boon for their gratification, with all the value which it derived from their necessities—and with the grace, too, which adorns a free gift. When the events of these strange times shall be meditated by the men of future ages, in no one passage will their credulity be more startled than in this—when they shall contrast the decrees of Buonaparte with the proceedings of the Central Junta—and shall find him eagerly attempting to win over the Spanish people by concessions much more naturally to be expected from their own chosen rulers, who, upon such subjects preserve a dignified and important silence, while they are contriving some foolish procession, or seeking to encourage and conciliate the nation by devising restraints upon political discussion.

It was a wretched substitute for the reforms which the government might so well have granted, and which would have so greatly promoted the real happiness of the people, to delight them from day to day with false accounts of victories, and to keep them in a pleasing ignorance of their dangers and losses. Such deceptions, practised by all the Juntas, might keep up the national spirit for a season, and render the task of government somewhat more easy. But in a short time they were sure to be detected; and their effect must then be to propagate alarm and distrust—alarm, greater than the occasion justified—distrust, equal to what the authors of the flattering statements deserved. But here, as in all their other proceedings, the Spanish government lost sight of the wise maxims which had been laid down by some of their number early in the contest; they forgot that the struggle in which they had engaged was, if it succeeded at all, to be one of long duration; their measures showed as little of foresight or system as if they had been planned in the cabinet

binet of their allies. It might, for example, have been expected, that a government embarked in a great popular cause, and depending upon the exertions of the country at large for every sinew of the war, should have taken some steps to secure the speedy diffusion of intelligence,—the communication of sentiments and principles from point to point of their dominions. It was reasonable to suppose, that no efforts would be spared to remove whatever obstructions there might be to the intercourse between the provinces.

But, we are afraid, symptoms rather appear of some attempts to raise such obstacles where they did not previously exist. How else are we to account for the scarcely credible fact, that the capture of Madrid was only known at Lisbon, a distance of not quite four hundred miles, one calendar month after the event happened?

The want of energy and system on the part of Government, and the unfortunate, but surely not unexpected, successes of the French, accelerated the decay of the popular spirit, at all events not likely to last long in its original strength. Of this, and indeed of all the positions which we have ever maintained on the subject of Spain, the late discussions in Parliament furnish the most ample evidence. The official papers, both by what they tell, and by their still more eloquent silence, incontestably prove, either, that there never was any effective spirit of resistance in Spain,—a position quite untenable in the face of the known facts, and indeed so fatal to the credit of the British Government, that no man can believe it without the strongest evidence; or that this spirit was on the decline almost as soon as any British agents arrived to examine it, and had nearly perished before our armies landed to take advantage of it.

‘I hope,’ says Sir John Moore, (8th December, 1808, *Salamanca*), ‘a better spirit exists in the southern provinces. Here ‘no one stirs; and yet they are well inclined.’ An expression in an intercepted letter from a French officer commanding at Vittoria, to the Chief of the Staff with the army, paints the people in this part exactly—‘*L’Esprit public est toujours mauvais, toujours de l’incrédulité sur nos avantages.*’ Quant à la tranquillité du pays elle est parfaite.*—‘In the provinces,’ says our commanding officer, in another letter from the same place, ‘no ‘armed force whatever exists, either for immediate protection, ‘or to reinforce the armies. The French cavalry from Burgos, ‘in small detachments, are overrunning the province of Leon, ‘raising contributions, to which the inhabitants submit without ‘the least resistance. The enthusiasm, of which we have heard ‘so much, no where appears: whatever goodwill there is, (and

'*I believe amongst the lower orders there is a great deal*'), is 'taken no advantage of.'* From Toro he writes in the same strain; and after having advanced quite through the kingdom of Leon, and retreated to Astorga, he complains, on the 31st December, that he had risked the loss of the army to no purpose, as there was nothing in the country to take advantage of the diversion. 'The people,' he adds, 'run away; the villages are deserted.'† Sir David Baird, who had marched through Gallicia to Astorga, thus writes, November 22. 'No efforts are making for arming the people, or reinforcing the armies, in the country through which we have passed; and Major Stewart of the 95th, who was despatched in front of this place to obtain information, reports, that the inhabitants appear perfectly depressed by their losses; and seem to abandon all hope of making a successful resistance.'‡ In his letter from Corunna, January 13. 1809, Sir John Moore delivers it as his opinion, that the people of Spain 'had neither the power nor the inclination to make any efforts for themselves.' This he states, after having traversed Leon and Gallicia; and not only corresponded with Mr Frere, but lived some weeks in the society of General Hope, who had marched through Estremadura and Castile; and of Colonel Graham, who had visited both the capital, the eastern provinces, and we believe the south also, and had been attached to Castanos during the whole of his campaign. The British Government have published no contradiction from those two respected officers upon this point; and we are not very apprehensive of falling into an error when we suspect, that this is owing to their having none to publish, and not to any tenderness towards Sir John Moore's memory.

But all these witnesses, we shall be told, are military men, whose authority upon such subjects is questionable, because their prejudices are strong against the efforts of any people, or of irregular troops. Were there no civil agents, then, sent to Spain? Many. But from none, except Mr Frere, to whose judgment on the present subject no great deference is due, has one single line of a despatch been made public. Mr Frere himself admits, that no popular enthusiasm existed in Leon, nor in any part of the Castiles, except Madrid and La Mancha; § and of the other provinces he speaks from report. How short-lived the enthusiasm was, even at Madrid, may be collected from an intercepted despatch

* House of Commons Papers, 155. † Ibid. 164. ‡ Ibid. 146.

§ This was stated in Parliament to be the real substance of M. Frere's despatch to Sir John Moore, November 30, and published in a most mutilated state; and no contradiction was given to the assertion.

spatch of Berthier to Soult, dated 10th December 1808. 'The city of Madrid,' says he, 'is very tranquil; the shops are open; the theatrical amusements have been resumed; and you would not suppose that the first conferences had been accompanied by 4000 discharges of cannon.'* Sir John Moore vouches for the general accuracy of the description of Spain given in this letter; † and no one can doubt the truth of the particular facts just now quoted, without believing that the French Government intentionally deceives its own agents in its secret and confidential communications with them. Nor is it only the reports of our diplomatic agents on the state of Spain, that the Ministers have suppressed. Whatever information upon this subject the papers contain, seems to be made public only because it could not be separated from other matters. The passages above cited, from the despatches of Generals Moore and Baird, form parts of the detail of military operations. No reports are given from the multitude of excellent officers sent purposely to inquire into the state of things; and instructed more especially to examine how far the spirit of the people could be relied upon. The despatches of the greater number of them are wholly suppressed. The few which appear, relate to military operations; and if we may judge from the accidental notices in some of those few, the officers, on their first arrival in July and August, seem to have been satisfied with the prevailing enthusiasm in the North. Too much praise cannot be given to the fulness and accuracy of their instructions. Long lists of queries are furnished to each, embracing almost every point of doctrine, civil and military, which could in any way touch the great business in hand. The misfortune is, that none of the answers to those queries are laid before the public; and we regret this the more, that several of them are directed to the very subject with which we have been occupied, the dispositions of people of rank and property towards the cause of the patriots. ‡ Upon this important topic, not one chance word escapes, in the whole mass of despatches presented to Parliament; except, indeed, the passage from Sir John Moore's letter, cited above. Can any unbiassed person believe, that there exists a reason for suppressing such information, other than its tendency to show that the upper classes were lukewarm in the cause? || The satisfaction,

* House of Commons Papers, 161.

† Ibid. 160.

‡ See particularly House of Commons Papers, p. 35.

|| It is worthy of notice, that when the Spanish prisoners were to be sent home from this country, the persons whom Lieutenant-colonel Doyle was desired to take with him for his assistants in persuading the rest to join the patriots, and in conducting their return to Spain, were two *serjants*. Ibid. 15.

faction, too, which is occasionally expressed at first with the popular feeling, gradually wears out of these papers; and we are left in the painful necessity of concluding, that this feeling had, all over the North, been reduced to the state described by Generals Moore and Baird, even long before our armies entered Spain.

It was nearly thus in Portugal also. The letters of Colonels Brown and Grant from Oporto and Figuera, paint the enthusiasm of the people as at its height. These are written early in July. When the campaign commenced there a month later, we may remember how miserably our expectations of cooperation were disappointed. If any one should conclude, from these facts, that there existed at no time any spirit in the Peninsula dangerous to the French power, we desire him to read the intercepted letter of Junôt to Murât and Loison. He is speaking only of the comparatively trifling insurrection at Badajos; but he is speaking at the beginning of June, and he mentions it with no small respect. 'I have detailed to your Imperial Highness, says he, the insurrection at Badajos; and I take it for granted you will have taken steps to oppose the insurgents. I have sent to General Kellerman at Elvas, the brigade which was destined for Cadiz. If your Highness has sent troops to Badajos, and if they combine their movements with General Kellerman, the insurgents will speedily be reduced; but I cannot be of any great service to the plan at present, the Spanish troops under my command requiring to be guarded, instead of contributing to my strength.' In another part of the letter, he says, that it will be impossible for General Carassa to resume the command of Estremadura, and to return thither with the cavalry. To Loison, he says, 'the insurrection of Badajos deserves your most anxious attention, and you must use your utmost efforts to prevent it from spreading. Treat the Portuguese well, and endeavour to reclaim all deserters,' &c. * If any man doubts whether the spirit in question might, by vigorous measures taken at the proper season, have been turned against the usurper with a fair chance of success, we bid him look to Cadiz, Andujar and Saragossa; to the flight of Joseph; to the memorable pause in the enemy's operations, when he retired behind the Ebro, and awaited for two months the arrival of new armies. Unfortunately he is a formidable enemy, who knows so well how to appreciate his danger. Without this it would avail him little to possess the means of facing it. The letters of Junôt, just now quoted, are as much to be dreaded by a blind and confident adversary, as his master's message to his senate.

Let us next cast our eye over the part which England took in these momentous affairs, and compare it with the line of conduct

* House of Commons Papers, 31.

duct pointed out by the circumstances of the case. Our opinion upon this matter is already before the public; and we are willing that its justness should be tried by the event, and by the evidence now produced on the part of the British Government,—evidence of all others the most unexceptionable. We ventured to maintain that, instead of wasting the invaluable months of July and August in an expedition to Portugal, our forces should have been collected in July, and prepared for whatever expedition to Spain the events should render adviseable; that, as it happened, the nearer the force was sent to the Pyrennees, so much the better; and that, during the months of August and September, an opportunity was afforded of driving the French out of the Peninsula. But even if the Portuguese expedition were admitted to have been adviseable, we conceive it is clear, that after its object was accomplished, time remained for attacking the enemy in the North.

It has been objected to this speculation, in the first place, that the Spaniards did not wish for our assistance; and that in one instance they positively declined it. Now even if this fact were clearly proved, we should not allow it to be at all decisive of the question; and this leads us to a consideration, of infinite moment in the whole of the present discussion. We have already seen the grievous errors into which the Juntas fell; above all, we have had occasion to deplore the blind confidence, and the supineness, which probably arose from that feeling. The delay in chusing a central government was one of the worst consequences of this fatal security. The supposed refusal of our assistance has been by some ascribed to the want of a central government, and by others, more directly, to the confidence of the Spaniards in their own strength. Mediatly, or immediately, however, it was owing, the advocates of the Government must allow, to that state of confidence and security. We contend that the duty of this country was to break down such an obstacle at once; to tear the film from the eyes of our ally; to awaken him from his slumbers. Is it doubted that we had the power? We have already shown, from the evidence of Lord William Bentinck, that a single intercepted letter had the effect of rousing the Supreme Government, and putting its powers in action, though unhappily it was then too late. An intimate and entire union of councils should at first have been established. A decisive influence should have been obtained over the views of our ally, as soon as the errors already pointed out were visibly in his way. Instead of sending out a pompous embassy under a person certainly of considerable talents, and of very great representation, when little more than the ceremonial of a condolance remains to be performed, we should have despatched the same, or some able man, (even although he was less gorgeous in his array), when a close union of the countries could yet effect something

thing towards repelling the common enemy, by skill and valour; not to beat him in gaudiness and parade, and in the trappings of the East. It is impossible to suppose, that the intentions of Buonaparte to reinforce his armies, and continue the war in Spain, could have been a matter of surprise at Madrid in October, if the English government had been in close correspondence with its ally. It is equally inconceivable, that the Spaniards, as soon as they were convinced of their perilous situation, could have refused the advice and cooperation which they afterwards so thankfully received. But it has been the constant error of our Government to rest satisfied with furnishing the means of war to its allies, and never to have a voice on the plan of operations. Our envoy is always excluded, when the ministers of those, whose armies we are to pay, are consulting. When their plan is settled, and money is wanted, he is graciously allowed to enter, and to draw his bills upon London. The scenes which were heretofore enacted at Vienna and St Petersburg, have been repeated at Madrid and Seville, without even the shadow of the excuse that might formerly have been offered for them, and with an infinitely more fatal result.

The want of this concert, however, and of the influence which was due to our voice in the Spanish councils, appears to have been more detrimental in many other respects, than in occasioning a refusal of military cooperation. We can find no proofs that our assistance was refused. On the 18th of June, the Junta of Asturias, acting in concert with the kingdoms of Leon and Old Castile, and the Montana, earnestly intreated that 10,000 British troops should be sent to their assistance. * On the 4th of August, the Asturian Deputies in London made a still more urgent requisition of 'some thousands, some artillery, and artillery men,' as the succour of which their armies stood most in need. † On the 6th of August, the Gallician Deputy requests, on the part of his constituents, 'that one of the expeditions should be sent to Corunna or Vigo, although it may consist of 12 or 15,000 men, with 5 or 6000 cavalry; ‡ and suggests that the cavalry should be landed at Gijon. § When Sir A. Wellesley touched at Corunna, although the Junta of Galicia then approved of the Portuguese expedition, evidently from a dislike of our landing in their town, and from a most ill-founded confidence in the sufficiency of their own forces, he received a communication through Sir T. Dyer from the Junta of Asturias, urging him to disembark at

* Mr Hunter to Mr Canning, Gijon, June 19. 1808.

† Viscount Matteroza's Note to Mr Canning.

‡ Don Sangros's Note to Mr Canning.

at St Andero. § Previous to the 4th of July, General Spencer was repeatedly intreated by the Junta of Seville to join Castanos, and march upon Cordova. || About the 18th of September, Lord W. Bentinck arrived at Cadiz; and, from that moment, his despatches are uniform in the recommendation of a British army entering Spain, and of our exerting the influence necessary to destroy intrigues, and give activity and unity to the operations of the Spaniards. Mr Stuart's communications from Madrid are of the same nature. † In case the opinion of Morla on this subject should be doubted, we shall only cite that of Castanos and Florida Blanca. 'To the first question I had to ask,' (says Lord W. Bentinck, Sept. 26) *viz.* 'whether the Spanish government did, or did not, wish to have the assistance of a British force?—the Count *at once, and in the strongest terms*, expressed the greatest satisfaction with which such assistance would be received.' General Castanos stated exactly the same opinion; and added, that 'besides the military advantages, the presence of a large British force would insure union in their own councils and operations. *They both seemed surprised at the existence of a doubt in regard to the willingness of the Spaniards upon this point.*' ‡ These expressions are quite inconsistent with the notion, that an unwillingness to receive our armies existed at any time in Spain. The mere formal objection of there being no supreme government to treat for alliance, and for the reception of foreign troops, could speedily have been removed by men anxious to cooperate with cordiality, and capable of acting in new and difficult emergencies. Even the unwillingness to receive us into their arsenals—for we fear there did exist such a feeling—and can the captors of the Spanish frigates, and of Copenhagen, greatly marvel at it?—even this natural distrust might have been got over by men in whose integrity the Spaniards could confide—or, if the intervention of such were impossible under the existing circumstances, our armies might have been suffered to land, should they not be allowed these fortresses for points of retreat. No doubt, the difficulty of all that we are describing, will be talked of. We shall hear, that such plans, or projects, as they will be termed, required infinite combination, and were opposed by various obstacles. But we never said, that it was an easy thing to beat Buonaparte, and free Spain and Europe from the yoke of France. Indeed, we know no other reason, except its *difficulty*, for the British ministry not having done this long ago.

We are next told, that there was no time for preparing the expedition in question. But a reference to the dates completely

VOL. XIV. NO. 27.

R

answers

§ Cintra Papers, p. 34.

|| *Ib.* p. 152.

* House of Commons Papers in Spain, p. 191.

† *Ib.* 166.

answers this objection. The insurrection of Madrid was known in London on the 21st of May. Admitting that this event, when added to the previous intelligence, was not sufficient to raise some expectation of an opening for our exertions in Spain, it must be allowed, that when the Asturian Deputies arrived on the 8th of June, and when, on the 10th, the government yielded to their request, and liberated the prisoners, there was good reason to look for events that might require our more active interference. From that moment, the eye of the government should have been fixed upon Spain. Every other object should now have yielded to the grand one which had been opened to their view. No Scicily—no Ceuta—no Sugar islands—no cruizes in the Cattegat.* All the efforts of all our departments should have been directed to assembling an armament ready for whatever opening might have been afforded. If no such opportunity offered, the troops made a few more marches, and a little more money was sunk in the transport service, than was altogether necessary,—but not one march more, nor one pound more, than we were throwing away at any rate in useless expeditions. If an opportunity should be afforded, then we were entitled to reckon upon the rewards due to foresight and discretion. On the 1st of July, the insurrection at Cadiz was announced officially to the Lord Mayor; and, on the eleventh of that month, the surrender of the fleet. It became now absolutely certain, that our cooperation should be wanted; and we wish to know why an armament might not have been sent forthwith to threaten the French and Spanish coasts in the bottom of the Bay of Biscay? We are not here talking of transports at all. Our men of war might have been fitted up for the accommodation of troops; and fifty or sixty thousand men afloat, would speedily have drawn towards the North as many of the French troops as could escape from the attacks of the Spaniards. It happened that, at any rate, this retreat had become inevitable;—then, by landing on the nearest point at which a sufficient number could disembark together, a most equal chance of coping with the enemy was afforded. No doubt, a number of ships of war must be new-fitted, and in a great hurry;—vast bustle must prevail at the Admiralty and the Victualling Board;—many nights' rest of many a Lord and many a clerk must be broken. What is still worse, an innovation—dangerous as such on every account, but peculiarly awful to the shipping interest, and hateful to the Transport Board—must be attempted; and the hair of several officers of distinction may probably stand on end, at hearing of an expedition without transports. The armament, too, must be exposed

to

* Sir J. Moore's expedition did not reach Portsmouth, until six weeks had elapsed from the arrival of the Deputies.

to the storms of the Bay of Biscay, in the *boisterous* months of July and August; and its landing may be attended with difficulty, and even a little danger, from surf; and it is even possible that the enemy may annoy us during the operation. Nor is it certain that so agreeable and so secure a beach can be found in the province of Biscay, as the ardent volunteer loves when he practises the art of invasion upon the silver Thames. All this is exceedingly probable; and unhappily, real war is full of such difficulties and of dangers, exposes you to certain troubles, and to high risks; and the worst of it is, that you may gain nothing by it after all. But if such a miserable and selfish wisdom had always prevailed as that which looks only at the risk and the cost, without considering the prize, and will attempt nothing against which a single plausible argument may be used to raise a difficulty, then should we never have gloried in recollecting the heights of Abram, and the beach of Aboukir; and the names of Chatham, and Wolfe, and Abercromby, and Nelson, which make us the proudest nation on earth, would have been enrolled at St Luke's, or have adorned the academy of some new Laputa.

Let us only attempt to grapple with these objections, and we find them elude our touch. They are dissipated by the very facts which the campaign discloses, in spite of all the caution and hesitation that prevailed over it, and frustrated all its objects.—‘The season was unfavourable.’ Admitting that the expedition could not have arrived before September; Romana’s army sailed down Channel on the 24th of September, touched at Corunna, and then disembarked safely in the Montana; and General Baird’s army did not land in Galicia till the middle of October.—‘There was no safe landing place for troops near the Ebro.’ Romana, however, landed nearly 10,000 men at Santander; and it is allowed that Santona is a much more favourable point.—‘It was impossible to secure their reembarkation in case of any disaster.’ At all events, they were no worse off than General Moore’s army, which had to retreat upon Corunna,—a port described by Sir David Baird and Admiral De Courcy, as peculiarly well adapted for the ‘reembarkation of troops.’* If they landed near the enemy, and had to march upon a distant point of retreat, they were at least much better off, than if they had both advanced from, and retired to that distant point.—‘The means of transport were wanting for provisions and stores.’ Admitting that it is impossible to establish a depôt at Santona, which could be supplied from the sea, and that it would be imprudent to trust to naval supplies with out such a place of strength; there seems

to have been no difficulty in procuring mules from the north of Portugal and Galicia; and a great cattle fair is mentioned as held at Burgos on the 1st of November, after the country had been well drained. If an active commissariat, previously sent, could not, with the assistance of all the English money, and all the Spanish good will, collect those animals, it would be wise perhaps never to think of expeditions,—at any rate, to send none into the territory of our Spanish friends.—‘But after we should have landed in the North, and beat the French behind the Ebro, there were fortresses in our way which would have prevented us from driving them out of the Peninsula.’ And did these fortresses oppose such an attempt the less, because we landed in Portugal and Galicia,—met the enemy in Leon instead of Navarre,—and allowed him full time to reinforce himself, before we so much as looked at him? Which of all the plans that have been devised, annihilated Pampeluna and Figueras at the outset? Which of them all could have been executed without meeting, or passing these obstacles in the end? Those who conducted the defence of Spain had this difficulty staring them in the face, whatever might be their views; and it behoved them to weigh well at the first, whether it ever could be surmounted. If it was insuperable,—if no hope remained of driving the enemy beyond the Pyrenees, the success of the Spanish cause must necessarily be temporary. There was a moment, we think, when some prospect presented itself of effecting it by the assistance of England. In August and September, the whole country was disposed to rise. The English army might then have been sufficient, with their cooperation, both to watch Pampeluna, and to secure the western passes of the Pyrenees. After all, the place was less important than the time, provided the north of Spain was our object; and the same army which landed at Corunna and Mondoñedo, might have reached the Ebro before the enemy had received any reinforcements, and might have decided the fate of Spain while the popular enthusiasm was at its height, had it not been detained by the convention, and by the singularly impolitic plan of taking the government of Portugal upon our hands.

Before leaving this part of the subject, we must say a few words upon our operations in Portugal, because that point enters into the discussion of the present state of affairs. It seems clear, that whoever is master of Spain, holds Portugal as an appanage to his crown. To what purpose then begin, by taking a possession which cannot be kept if you lose Spain, and which the salvation of Spain secures of itself? We are told that it is a point of retreat, in case of disaster. But when the disaster befel our armies

armies in the North, they fell back on Galicia, and not on Portugal; and any disaster in the South would drive them more naturally towards Cadiz or Gibraltar, than Lisbon. It is also termed a rallying place for the spirit of the Spaniards. But if this means any thing (which we greatly question), it applies much better to Andalusia than to Portugal. Lastly, it is said that the trade of Portugal deserves our attention, and that the occupation of the country secured it at least in the mean time. But it is fit that rulers should make up their minds in such cases, and abide either by one principle or another. We blockade the enemy's coasts, and go to war with him; professing thereby to sacrifice the profits of trade to our political views. We at the same time send an expedition to Portugal, which might be better employed elsewhere,—and give, as a reason, that it will enable us to push a little trade. It cannot be wise, any more than it is consistent, at one moment to sacrifice our interests as traders to the concerns of the war; and the next to sacrifice the war to trade. It is, however, a contradiction by no means peculiar to our Spanish policy; ~~it is~~ only a variety of the old principle of '*British objects*;' and belongs to the very same class with our Sugar campaigns.

It is scarcely necessary for us, after the remarks which we have so often before made, and which we have in the present article confirmed by evidence, to repeat the melancholy truth, that very little hope remains of Spain being liberated from the yoke of her savage invader. He has nearly annihilated every Spanish army that has been opposed to him, and, we are afraid, is in possession of almost the whole country to the north of the Sierra Morena,—in quiet possession of the greater part of it,—and without any thing fit to meet him in the places least disposed to submit. We apprehend it is now too late to expect any general risings of the people. Those fears and interests must be operating which keep all nations in order, even under the most detested rulers. There are some who still hope, that, though they cannot meet the French in the field, which it is said they never should have attempted, they may still cut off their troops in detail. But this is a vague and unprofitable way of speaking. The French have now all the towns and roads and passes. They have the implements of government in their hands. The organization of the Juntas is destroyed; and as for individual and combined exertion,—in order to fight, the patriots must eat,—they must work many days in the week;—their zeal will cool,—their feelings as private men will, by no very slow degrees, undermine their political animosities, and prepare them at least for a state of inaction. Now it is that we dread the policy of France, aided by the effects of all the exaggerations and

deceptions heretofore practised. The hatred of the name of a Frenchman in Spain has been such as the reality will by no means justify; and the detestation of the French government has, among the inferior orders, been carried to a pitch wholly unauthorised by its proceedings towards them. It is greatly to be feared, that the security afforded to property, and the excellent police introduced by the French,—that the abolition of the Inquisition, the restriction of the monastic orders, and the encouragement of the secular clergy,—that the reforms already introduced into the collection of the revenues, and the abolition of the most galling monopolies, which the Spanish government blindly suffered to remain, but which, being equally useless to the state and oppressive to the people, Buonaparte will most likely part with. It is to be feared that these and similar changes are already beginning to work in the tyrant's favour; and that their immediate and sensible effects on the individual interests of men, will tend, if not to conciliate his new subjects, at least to make them regret, much less bitterly, the government of the Bourbons and the Juntas. A few days after the inhabitants of Madrid had sworn to bury themselves under its ruins, we find them hating the French no doubt, but hating them in secret—working in their shops, and crowding the theatre.

The question with respect to the south of Spain, is therefore reduced to a very narrow compass. Have we any fair grounds for expecting, that the remains of the Spanish forces collected there, will resist the French armies more effectually than they did, when their numbers were much greater, and their confidence more entire? The antient practice of ascribing all the disasters of our allies to treachery, has no doubt been resorted to, in order to explain what was sufficiently intelligible, the defeat of raw troops under inexperienced leaders, by an enemy perfect in discipline and skill, and superior even in numbers. But, granting that the Spaniards did wisely in butchering their generals when they were beaten—that St Juan, so highly praised by Lord W. Bentinck, was a traitor as well as Socorro, Filangieri and others—have we any right to expect that all this disloyalty shall stop short at the Sierra Morena? And admitting, what is much more likely, that Castanos was defeated from his want of capacity—that the battle of Rio Seco was lost by the jealousies of Cuesta and Blake—is there any thing in the air of Andalusia to brighten the intellects, or sweeten the tempers of those captains? Why should every prospect to the north of the Sierra be blasted by treachery and cowardice—or chilled by feebleness and distraction—while the happy plains on the south of that ridge, enjoy a perpetual sunshine of loyalty, genius and vigour?

We are afraid, then, that as often as the armies of the two nations

tions meet, the patriots will continue to be worsted; and that their numbers will fluctuate with the approach or the delay of active operations; increasing a little if the enemy defers his attack; falling off as the season of fighting draws near; dispersing after the blow is struck. Ignorant as we are of the amount of the French force in Spain, it is difficult for us to conjecture what will be the course of the enemy. But one of two things they most probably will do;—either they will push on from the north and from Estremadura, compelling us to evacuate Portugal; and at nearly the same time enter the south of Spain from Valencia;—or, if they are not strong enough at present for that purpose (which is by no means impossible), they will rest where they are, and wait until the too probable issue of the campaign in Germany shall enable them to receive fresh supplies. In the mean time, our army is, as usual, locked up in a place where it cannot be of the smallest use. If we attempt to attack the French, all their force is drawn to that point, at the risk of some juntas rising again in its rear; and, if they do not make an effort to drive us out of Portugal, it is only because we are better there than anywhere else. ~~We~~ ^{we} fear they will not leave us on the Tagus many days longer than suits their own purposes. Here, then, is just the old blunder over again. Our operations in Spain or in Portugal can make no diversion in favour of Austria, unless we are strong enough not only to maintain ourselves, but to advance against the enemy. If we remain on the defensive, whether in Lisbon or in Andalusia, the defeat of Austria will enable the enemy to advance against both the Spaniards and ourselves; to overpower them by fighting; and to overwhelm us with numbers. The defeat of France by Austria will indeed cause her to evacuate Spain, whether we are there or not. The policy which we ought to pursue, follows most clearly from this simple view of the subject. If there is such a force of tolerably good troops in Andalusia (say fifteen or twenty thousand men), as, being united with our army from Sicily, could enable us to defeat the French in Valencia, while our army from Lisbon advanced into Estremadura;—if, in short, we can still advance against the French armies, and attack them with regular troops, we shall, for some months, be fighting a definite number of the enemy; and he cannot be reinforced, in case of defeat, without drawing supplies from the war in Germany. But, as the utmost success that can be expected from this attempt, would only create a diversion after the most critical part of the German campaign is over, it appears more reasonable to think that a concentration of our whole disposable force might be made subservient to the operations of the Austrians, with better effects both to their cause and the cause of the Spaniards, always supposing that there

is such a fair prospect of Austria making a stand in the present war, as renders it possible for any aid to save her. If, however, as seems but too probable, the war is of the enemy's chusing—if he has pursued his usual policy of anticipating a blow which he saw preparing—if he has fallen upon Austria with the full concurrence of Russia—or even if he has attacked her, 'from some apprehension of a change in the politics of St Petersburg, which change will best be prevented by the suddenness of the attack—we may rest assured, that no effort of ours can *now* ward off the fate of our antient ally, and that the completion of the Spanish campaign will only be interrupted for a season by a series of victories on the Danube.

In this hopeless state of affairs, the result of our rupture with Spain, and our alliance with Russia in 1805; the legitimate consequences of the dollar war, and the third coalition; what remains for England to do? She has sacrificed largely—generously, if not wisely, to the defence of others. It is time to think in good earnest of her own; not, indeed, by making war upon trade, or by taking West India islands, but by drawing closer and closer the bonds of natural union which knit her with every people whom the sea divides from France; and by attacking, while the war in Germany and Spain has drawn off all the troops from the French coast, every arsenal in the enemy's hands which the combined operations of our fleets and armies can destroy. In accomplishing these right British objects, we shall be also doing all that remains in our power to assist our Spanish allies. We shall save their South American empire for their place of refuge; and cherish for them the means of maritime power; of becoming members of that naval confederacy, of which England is the natural head; and which, until happier times arise on the Continent, is the only obstacle between France and universal empire. *

QUAR-

* The topics here lightly touched, must be the subject of a future discussion. We rejoice that the abolition of the Orders in Council has paved the way for a cordial reconciliation with America, and thus facilitated the formation of a great maritime alliance: and severely as we have been compelled to blame the conduct of our Spanish campaign, we are proud to think, as Britons, both that it has shown the valour and discipline of our troops in a favourable point of view to all Europe, and afforded, to so large and efficient a part of our army, a series of practical lessons, of which the value must be incalculable.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS,

From January to April, 1809.

AGRICULTURE.

The Practical Norfolk Farmer, describing the Management of a Farm throughout the Year. 5s. boards.

Crosby's Grazier's, Steward's, and Cattlekeeper's Memorandum-Book for 1809. 3s. 6d.

Result of an Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Blight, the Rust, and the Mildew, which have particularly affected the Crops of Wheat, on the Borders of England and Scotland, with some Observations on the Culture of Spring Wheat. By Sir John Sinclair, Bart. M. P. &c. 8vo. 4s.

ARTS AND SCIENCES.

The British Encyclopædia. By William Nicholson. 6 vol. 8vo. 6l. 6s. boards.

A Practical Treatise on Brewing, Distilling, and Rectification, with the Doctrine of Fermentation: in which the London Practice of brewing Porter, Ale, Table Beer, &c. is given; with the genuine Process of making good and wholesome Rum, Brandy, and Holland Gin, undistinguishable from foreign; the Preparation of Made-Wines, Cider, Vinegar, &c. By R. Shannon, M. D. 4to. 2l. 12s. 6d.

The Retrospect of Philosophical, Mechanical, Chemical and Agricultural Discoveries. No. XVII. 2s.

Select Papers of the Literary Society of Belfast. Fascic. I. and II. 4to. 6s.

An Appeal to the Public, stating Mr Thomas Earnshaw's Claim to the Invention of the Original Improvements in his Time-Keepers. 8vo. 6s.

Outlines of Mineralogy. By J. Kidd, M. D. Professor of Chemistry in the University of Oxford. 2 vol. 8vo. 18s.

Remarks on Conical and Cylindrical Wheels, Public Roads, Wheel Carriages, &c. in which the present Systems are reprobated. 8vo. 5s.

An Essay on the Theory of the various Orders of Logarithmic Transcendents, with an Inquiry into their Applications to the integral Calculus and the Summation of Series. By William Spence. 4to. 12s. boards.

ARTS (FINE.)

The Antiquarian and Topographical Cabinet, Vol. IV. containing 50 Plates. 15s.

The British Gallery of Engravings, No. IV. 2l. 2s.; large paper, 2l. 12s. 6d.

Engravings from original Designs, by Da Vinci, the Caraccis, Claude, the Poussins, Raphael, &c. By John Chamberlaine, Keeper of the King's Drawings and Medals, No. VI. 2l. 2s.

Ornamental Groups, descriptive of Flowers, Birds, Shells, and Insects. By M. Gartside. Imperial Folio. 1l. 11s. 6d.

Gothic Ornaments in the Cathedral Church of York, drawn and

etched by Joseph Halfpenny, on 106 Plates, with descriptive Letter-Press. Large 4to. 6l. 6s.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Life of Princess Louisa, a Carmelite Nun, Daughter of Louis XV, and Aunt to Louis XVI, Kings of France. Translated from the French of Abbé Proyart. 2 vol. 12s.

The Life of George Washington. By Aaron Bancroft. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

The Life of St Neot, the eldest Brother of King Alfred. By the Rev. John Whitaker, B. D. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Memoirs of William Paley, D. D. Rector of Bishopwearmouth. By G. W. Meadly. 8vo. 9s. boards.

The Memoirs of Count Joseph De Puisaye. Vol. VI. 16s.

BOTANY.

The English Botanist's Pocket Companion. By James Dede. 4s. boards.

Supplement to the Philosophy of Botany. Part X. 10s. 6d.

DRAMA.

The British Theatre; or, A Collection of Plays, which are acted at the Theatres-Royal, Drury-Lane, Covent-Garden, and Hay-Market; printed under the Authority, and by Permission of the Managers, from the Prompt-Books. With Biographical and Critical Remarks. By Mrs Inchbald. 25 vol. Royal 18mo. 6l. 16s. 6d. Fine Paper, 13l. boards.

Man and Wife, or more Secrets than One, a Comedy in Five Acts. By J. Arnold, Esq. 2s. 6d.

Poetus and Arria, a Tragedy, with a Letter to Thomas Sheridan, Esq. on the present State of the English Stage. 2s. 6d.

The School for Authors, a Comedy in Three Acts. By the late John Tobin, Esq. 2s.

A New and Original Comedy in Three Acts, called Valentine's Day, or the Amorous Knight and Belle Widow. By Anonymous. 2s. 6d.

EDUCATION.

An Abridgment of the Latin Prosody made easy; containing as much of the Information given on each Subject in the larger Work, as appeared suited to the Use and Capacity of young Prosodians. By J. Carey, LL. D. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

An Introduction to Arithmetic, in which the Four Principal Rules are illustrated by a variety of Questions, Geographical, Biographical and Miscellaneous. By Richard Chambers. 1s. 6d. bound.

A complete Treatise of Merchant's Accounts, particularly adapted to the Use of Schools. By R. Langford. 3s. 6d.

The Eton Latin Grammar, with Explanatory Notes collected from various authors. By William Mavor, LL. D. 2s. 6d.

The Youth's Preceptor; or Moral Conductor from the Academy to Manhood. To which is added, An Essay on the extensive Utility, Advantages and Amusement of Mathematical Learning. By David Morrice, Esq. 6s.

An Easy Grammar of the Laws and Constitution of England, accompanied by Questions and Cases for Solution, and by a Glossary of Terms. By the Rev. J. Goldsmith. 3s. 6d.

Lessons for Children, or Rudiments of Good Manners, Morals and Morality. By Mrs Fenwick. In three Parts. 3s.

The Three Wishes, a Tale; with Engravings. 1s. plain; 1s. 6d. coloured.

Les Premieres Leçons d'une aimable petite Fille. Par Mad. H. C. Chollet de Veveraz. 12mo. 5s.

A History of France, from the Commencement of the Reign of Clovis to the Peace of Campo Formio 1797, after the Manner of the History of England, in a Series of Letters from a Nobleman to his Son. 12mo. 5s. 6d.

The Linguist, or Literary Amusement; consisting of a box containing above 200 Cards, comprehending some of the principal Nouns, Adjectives, Verbs, Adverbs, and other parts of Speech, in the English and French Languages; the English printed on one side, and the corresponding French Word on the other. 12s.

HISTORY.

The Chronicles of Hollinshed, comprising the Description and History of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with a general Index to the whole. 6 vol. royal 4to. 12l. 12s.

The History of Barbadoes, from the first Discovery of that Island till the Accession of Lord Seaforth in 1801. By John Proyer. 4to. 1l. 11s. 6d.

De Motu per Britanniam Civico-Annis 1745 et 1746, Liber Unicus. Auctore T. D. Whitaker, LL. D. S. S. A. (the Historian of Whalley and Craven, &c.) 12mo. 6s.

A Tract chiefly relating to Monastic Antiquities; with some Account of a recent Search for the Remains of the Scottish Kings interred in the Abbey of Dunfermline. By John Grahame Dalyell, Esq. with two Engravings of Antiquities. 8vo. 9s. boards.

LAW.

A Treatise on the Defects of the Debtor and Creditor Laws, and the Consequences of Imprisonment for Civil Debt. By W. Menchen, Esq. 7s.

Reports of Cases in the High Court of Chancery. By F. Vesey, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister at Law. Vol. XIV. part II. 7s. 6d.

A most interesting Case, in a Letter addressed to Sir Samuel Romilly on the Bankrupt Laws. By George Baillie, Esq. 1s.

Remarks on a late Publication, entitled, A Vindication of the Opinions delivered in Evidence by the Medical Witnesses for the Crown, on a late Trial at Lancaster. By James Carson, M. D. 4s.

A Full and accurate Report of the Trial, Parr v. Benson for Criminal Conspiracy, in the Court of King's Bench, Guildhall, London, the 20th December, 1808.

MEDICINE.

Thomæ Simfoni (Medicinæ Prof. Candossensis, in Acad. Andregana apud Scotos) de Re Medica Dissertationes Quatuor. In usum Medicinæ et

Humanitatis Studioforum iterum excudi curabat And. Duncan, senior, M. D. & P. Principis Scotiæ Medicus primarius. 8vo. 7s. 6d. boards.

Observations on an Eruptive Disease which has lately occurred in the town of Sherborne, Dorset, after Vaccination. In a Letter to a Friend. By Richard Pw, M. D. of Sherborne, Member of the Royal Medical and other Societies, Edinburgh. 1s. 6d.

The New Practical Family Physician; or Improved Domestic Medical Guide. Containing a very plain Account of the Causes, Symptoms, and Method of curing every Disease incident to the Human Body, with the most safe and rational Means of preventing them, by an approved Plan of Regimen, Air, and Exercise. Adapted for the use of Private Families. By Thomas Furlong Churchill, M. D. 8vo. 11s. bound.

Reports on the Effects of a peculiar Regimen on Scirrhus Tumours and Cancerous Ulcers. By William Lamb, M. D. 8vo. 5s.

The Physician's Vade-Mecum. By Robert Hooper, M. D. Small 8vo. 5s.

The London Medical Review. Vol. I. 12s. 6d.

A Letter to John Haygarth, M. D. from Colin Chisholm, M. D. Author of an Essay on the Pestilential Fever, exhibiting further Evidence of the infectious Nature of this fatal Distemper in Grenada during 1722, 4, 5, and 6, and in the United States of America, from 1793 to 1805; in order to correct the pernicious Doctrine promulgated by Dr Edward Miller and other American Physicians, relative to this destructive Pestilence. 8vo. 6s.

Observations on the Proceedings and Report of the Special Medical Board, appointed to examine the State of the Army Depot Hospital in the Isle of Wight. By Thomas Keate, Esq. Surgeon-general to the Forces. 3s. 6d.

Observations on the Management of the Insane, and particularly on the Agency and Importance of humane and kind Treatment in effecting their Cure. By Thomas Arnold, M. D. 3s.

An Essay on Warm and Vapour Baths; with Hints for a new Mode of applying Heat and Cold, for the Cure of Disease and the Preservation of Health. By Edward Kentish, M. D. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

Observations on some of the most important Diseases of the Heart; on Aneurism of the Thoracic Aorta; Preternatural Pulsation in the Epigastric Region; and on the unusual Origin and Distribution of some of the large Arteries of the Human Body. Illustrated by Cases. By Allan Burns, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, London, and Lecturer on Anatomy and Surgery, Glasgow.

Cases and Observations on Lithotomy, including Hints for the more ready and safe performance of the Operation; with an Engraving. To which are added, Observations on the Chimney-Sweep's Cancer, and other Miscellaneous Remarks. By W. Simmons, Surgeon. 7s. 6d.

Anatomico-chirurgical Views of the Nose, Mouth, Larynx, and Fauces; with appropriate Explanations and References. By John James, Surgeon. Folio. 1l. 11s. 6d. plain, or 2l. 2s. coloured.

Practical Observations on the Inoculation of the Cow Pox; point-

ing out a new Mode of obtaining and Preserving the Infection; and also a certain test of Perfect Vaccination, illustrated by Cases and Plates; the Second Edition. With an Appendix, containing additional Observations, together with a Plan for extinguishing the Contagion of the Small Pox in the British Empire, and for rendering the Vaccine Inoculation general and effectual. By James Bryce, F. R. S. E. 8vo. 9s. boards.

A practical *Materia Medica*; in which the various Articles are fully described, and divided into Classes and Orders, according to their Effects; and their Virtues, Doses, and the Diseases in which they are proper to be exhibited, fully pointed out, &c. 12mo. 5s. boards.

MILITARY.

Essays on the Theory and Practice of the Art of War, including the Duties of Officers on actual Service, and the Principles of modern Tactics. Chiefly translated from the best French and German Writers. By the Editor of the Military Mentor. In three handsome volumes; with numerous Engravings. 11. 16s. boards.

Five Military Plans of, with References to, the Battles and Movements of the British Forces, under the Command of the Right Hon. ~~General~~ Sir Arthur Wellesley, K. B. Illustrative of the Report of the Board of Inquiry. 2s. 6d.

A Treatise on Military Finance, containing the Pay and Allowances in Camp, Garrison and Quarters, of the British Army. 2 vol. 12s. 6d.

Scloppetaria, or Considerations on the Nature and Use of Rifle-barrel Guns, with reference to their forming the basis of a permanent System of National Defence. 8vo. 9s.

Observations on the Persecution of his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, with an Inquiry into the Abuses at the Royal Military College, Great Marlow, &c. By Pierre F. McCallum, Esq. 2s. 6d.

The Military Cabinet, being a Collection of Extracts from the best Authors both ancient and modern; interspersed with occasional Remarks, and arranged under different Heads. By Captain T. H. Cooper, half-pay 58th Regiment. 3 vol. 12mo. 18s.; Royal paper 11. 7s.

Thoughts on Libels, and an Impartial Inquiry into the present State of the British Army.

The whole of the Proceedings of the Board of Inquiry upon the Subject of the late Convention in Portugal. Published by Authority. 12s.

Narrative of the Siege of Zaragoza. By Charles Richard Vaughan, M. B. Fellow of All-Souls, Oxford, and one of Dr Radcliffe's Travelling Fellows from that University. 2s. 6d.

A Refutation of Pierre Frank McAlum's Remarks on the Royal Military College. By L. T. Peithmann, Professor of the R. M. C. 2s.

The Trial of Lieut. Colonel Mackelcan of the Corps of Royal Engineers, by a General Court-Martial held at Chelsea, in June 1808. By Adam Olliam. 3s. 6d.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The East India Register and Directory, for 1809. By John Matthison and Alex. Way Mason, of the Secretary's Office, East-India House. 7s. 6d.

Kearsley's Gentleman's and Tradesman's Pocket Ledger, for the Year 1809. 2s. 6d. bound in red.

The Daily Journal; or Gentleman's, Merchant's, and Tradesman's complete Annual Account-Book, for the Year 1809. 2s. 6d. bound in red.

Anecdotes of Literature and scarce Books. By the Rev. Wm. Beloe. Vol. III. 8vo. 9s.

The British Cicero; or, a Selection of the most admired Speeches in the English Language; arranged under three distinct Heads of Popular, Parliamentary, and Judicial Oratory; with historical Illustrations: To which is prefixed, an Introduction to the Study and Practice of Eloquence. By Thomas Brown, LL. D. 3 vol. 8vo. 14 11s. 6d.

An Essay on Sepulchres, or a Proposal for erecting some Memorial of the illustrious Dead, in all Ages, on the Spots where their remains have been interred. By William Godwin. Crown 8s. 4s.

The London Female Penitentiary defended, or a Reply to Mr Hales's Pamphlet on its dangerous Tendency. By James Clarke. 1s. 6d.

Letters from the late W. Warburton, D. D. Bishop of Gloucester, to the late R. Hurd, D. D. Bishop of Worcester, from the Year 1749 to 1770; left for Publication by the late Bishop Hurd. 4to. 14 7s.

Cœlebs in Search of a Wife; comprehending Observations on domestic Habits, Manners, Religion and Morals. 2 vol. 12s.

An Account of the short but splendid Campaign of the Right Hon. Sir Arthur Wellesley, K. B. preceding the Convention of Cintra; with three Military Plans. 3s. 6d.

The Angler's Manual; or, Concise Lessons of Experience, which the Proficient in the delightful Recreation of Angling will not despise, and the Learner will find the advantage of practising. 7s. 6d.

The Tarantula, or the Dance of Fools. 2 vol. foolscap 8vo. 12s. boards.

The new London Family Cook; or, Town and Country House-keeper's Guide; comprehending Directions for Marketing; Cookery in all its branches; making Pastry and Confectionery, Pickling, Potting, Preserving; also a Selection of valuable Family Receipts in Dyeing, Perfumery, &c.; Instructions for Brewing, making British Wines, Distilling, Managing the Dairy, and Gardening. By Duncan Macdonald, head cook at the Bedford Tavern, Covent-Garden. 8vo. 11s. bound.

Mentorian Lectures on Sacred and Moral Subjects; to which are added four original Miscellaneous Poems. By Ann Murray. 12mo. 6s. 6d.

A Treatise on the Game of Chess. By J. H. Sarratt. 2 vol. 8vo. 18s.

Cursory Remarks on a recent Publication, entitled, An Address to the Public upon the dangerous tendency of the London Female Penitentiary. By Juvenis.

A Statement of Facts relative to the Conduct of the Rev. John Clayton, senior, the Rev. John Clayton, junior, and the Rev. William Clayton: the Proceedings on the Trial of an Action brought by Benjamin Flower, against the Rev. John Clayton, junior, for Defamation; with Remarks. By the Plaintiff. 4s. 6d.

Prostitutes Reclaimed and Penitents Protected; being an Answer to some unreasonable Objections against the Tendency and Principle of the London Female Penitentiary. By William Blair, Esq. Surgeon of the Lock, Asylum. &c.

The Introduction to an Examination of the internal Evidence respecting the Authenticity of certain Publications said to have been found in Manuscript at Bristol, written by a learned Priest and others in the Fifteenth Century. By John Sherwen, M. D. 7s.

The Annual Review and History of Literature for 1808. 1l. 1s.
~~An~~ Exhibition of the Errors, &c. of a Synopsis of Geography, for the Use of the Cadets of the Royal Military College at Great Marlow. 1s.

A Statement of the Duties of Customs and Excise payable upon all foreign articles imported into, or exported from Great Britain; also the Duties Outwards, the Bounties and Allowances on British Goods, and those on the Fisheries; the Duties Coastwise, the Quarantine and Tonnage Duties; together with Tables of Scavage, Bailage, Levant and Russia Dues; the whole brought up to 5th January, 1809. By Edward James Mascal. 14s.

The School for Orators, or a Peep at the Forum. 2s.

An Attempt to ascertain a Theory for determining the Value of Funded Property. 2s. 6d.

A Dialogue in the Elysian Fields, between the Right Honourable Charles James Fox, and some of his Royal Progenitors. Royal 4to. 2s.

The Trial of Joseph Henry, Esq. for Crim. Con. with Lady Emily Best. 2s. 6d.

British Liberty and Philanthropy. 1s.

The Harleian Miscellany. Part I. & II. 8vo. 3s. 6d.; royal paper, 6s. each.

The Plan and Terms of Instruction at Mr Thelwall's Institution for the Cure of Impediments, &c. 5s.

A Defence of the London Female Penitentiary, in reply to Mr William Hale. By William Shrubsole. 1s.

The Dangers of the Edinburgh Review, or a brief Exposure of its Principles in Religion, Morals and Politics. In Three Letters addressed to its Readers. By Mentor. 1s. 6d.

The New London Review. Conducted by Richard Cumberland, Esq. No. I. 5s.

The Quarterly Review, No. I. 5s.

State of the Foreign Affairs of Great Britain, for the Year 1809. 2s.

Political, Commercial, and Statistical Sketches of the Spanish Empire in both Indies. 4s. 6d.

Strictures on Dr Milner's Tour, and on Mr Clinch's Inquiry; with a New Plan for obtaining Emancipation for the Catholics of Ireland, humbly submitted to their Friends in Parliament. By the Rev. Edward Ryan, D. D. 2s. 6d.

Liber Facetiarum, being a Collection of curious and interesting Anecdotes. 12mo. 6s. boards.

NATURAL HISTORY.

The Natural History of British Insects, with 36 coloured Plates. Vol. XIV. Royal 8vo. 1l. 11s. 6d.

Sixty-one Plates, representing about One Hundred and Fifty rare and curious ornamental Plants; elegantly coloured after Nature, from original Drawings. By Sydenham Edwards, Esq. F. L. S. 4to. 2l. 2s.; coloured 3l. 13s. 6d.

Montagu's Supplement to Testacea Britannica, with 137 figures. 4to. 1l. 10s.

Alphabetical List of the Names of Minerals at present most familiar in the English, French, and German Languages; with Tables of Analysis. 8vo. 5s. in boards.

NOVELS AND ROMANCES.

The Towers of Lothian; or the Banks of Carron: a Scottish Legend. 4 vol. 20s. boards.

Woman, or Ida of Athens. By Miss Owenson. 4 vol. 12mo. 1l. 1s.

The Bachelor. By Thomas George Moore, Esq. 3 vol. 15s.

Leontina. Translated from the German of Augustus von Kotzebue. 3 vol. 15s.

The Irish Chieftain and his Family. By Theodore Melville Esq. 4 vol. 12mo. 1l.

The Forest of Comalva. Containing Sketches of Portugal, Spain, and part of France. By Miss Hill. 3 vol. 15s.

Matilda Montfort. By Peter Peregrine Esq. 4 vol. 1l. 1s.

London; or Truth without Treason. By T. Lathom Esq. 4 vol. 12mo. 1l. 2s.

Tales of the Manor. 2 vol. 10s.

John de Lancaster. By Richard Cumberland Esq. 3 vol. post 8vo. 1l. 1s.

The Soldier's Orphan. By Mr Costello. 3 vol. 12mo. 13s. 6d.

The Dominican, a Romance; of which the principal Traits are taken from the Events relating to a family of Distinction which emigrated from France during the Revolution. 3 vol. 12mo. 15s.

POETRY.

The Mother. In Five Books. By Mrs West. Foolscep 8vo. 7s.

Poems and Translations from the minor Greek Poets and others; written chiefly between the ages of Ten and Sixteen. By a Lady. Foolscep 8vo. 5s.

Gertrude of Wyoming, and other Poems. By Thomas Campbell. Medium 8to. 1l. 5s. boards.

A Translation from the Latin of Vanier, Book XV., upon Fish. By the late Rev. John Duncombe, of Christ Church College, Cambridge; with a brief Introduction, and Passages from English Writers, selected as Notes.

An Elegiac Tribute to the Memory of our much-lamented Hero Sir John Moore. By Mrs Cockle. 2s.

The Muses' Bower, embellished with the Beauties of English Poetry. 4 vol. small 8vo. 1l. 4s.

Poems on various Subjects. By Harry Wood Esq. Foolscap 8vo. 5s.

The Garland, or Poems on various Subjects. By S. Sayer. 5s.

Europe: Lines on the present War. By Reginald Heber, A. M. 2s.

English Bards and Scottish Reviewers, a Satire, with Notes. 4s.

Latin and English Poems, Translations, &c. By the Rev. Richard Burnett. 8vo. 8s.

The Holidays: or Application rewarded, and Indolence disgraced. 1s.

Military Promotions, or the Duke and his Dulcinea; a satirical Poem. 2s. 6d.

The Remains of Hesiod the Ascraean. Translated from the Greek into English Verse. With a Preliminary Dissertation, and Notes. By Charles Abraham Elton. Foolscap 8vo. 12s.

The Scotiad, or Wise Men of the North. A Serio-comic and Satirical Poem. 3s. 6d.

The Flowers at Court. By Mrs Reeve. 2s. 6d.

Poems by the Rev. William Macdonald. 12mo. 5s. boards.

Camilla de Florian, and other Poems. By an Officer's Wife. 12mo. 6s. boards.

POLITICS.

The Proceedings of a Court of Inquiry, held at Chelsea College, respecting the Convention in Portugal. Taken in Short Hand by a Barrister of the Inner Temple. 2s. 6d.

The whole Proceedings of the Court of Inquiry, upon the Conduct of Sir Hew Dalrymple, relative to the Convention of Cintra. With an Introductory Account of the Campaign, and the Circumstances which led to that memorable Convention; and a Sketch of the Life of Sir Hew Dalrymple. By W. E. Tomlins Esq. Barrister at Law. 2s. 6d.

The Exposé, or Napoleon Unmasked, in a condensed Statement of his Career and Atrocities. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Six Letters on the Subject of Dr Milner's Explanation, relating to the Proposal in the last Session of Parliament for admitting the King's Veto in the Election of Roman Catholic Bishops. 3s.

The Royal Veto, in the Appointment of the Irish Roman Catholic Prelacy, considered in Reply to the Right Rev. Dr Milner's Letter to a Parish Priest. 2s. 6d.

An Attempt to elucidate the pernicious Consequences of a Deviation from the Principles of the Orders in Council. 2s. 6d.

State of the Foreign Affairs of Great Britain for the Year 1809. By Gould Francis Leckie Esq. 2s.

A Letter to the Right Honourable Lord Henry Petry, by a Member of the University of Cambridge. 2s.

Hints to both Parties, or Observations on the Proceedings in Parliament, upon the Petitions against the Orders in Council, &c. 2s. 6d.

A Memoir on the Affairs of Spain. 1s. 6d.

The Incontrovertible Proofs of the Forgeries contained in Major Hogan's Appeal, which will be given in Evidence on the Trial of the Informations filed by the Attorney-General against Peter Finerty and a variety of others. 2s.

Detailed Substance of the late Overtures and Discussions between England, France, and Russia. 2s. 6d.

A Letter to Lord Viscount Castlereagh, on the Military Establishment of the Country. By Samuel Bridge Esq. 2s. 6d.

The Arcanum of National Defence. 1s. 6d.

POLITICS.

A Letter to Mrs Clarke, on her late Connexion with the Duke of Yorke, and the Charges brought against his Royal Highness in the House of Commons by G. L. Wardle Esq. 3s.

The Investigation of the Charges brought against his Royal Highness the Duke of York by G. L. Wardle Esq. M. P. for Oakhampton, Devon; with the Evidence at large, and the Remarks of the Members. In Numbers. 12mo. 6d. each.

A Summary Review of the Charges adduced against his Royal Highness the Duke of York. 1s.

A Circumstantial Report of the Evidence and Proceedings upon the Charges preferred against his Royal Highness the Duke of York, in the Capacity of Commander in Chief, by G. L. Wardle Esq. M. P. before the Honourable House of Commons: with Portraits. 8vo. 12s. 6d.

An Heroic Epistle to G. L. Wardle Esq. on his Charges preferred against his Royal Highness the Duke of York. 2s. 6d.

Observations on the Conduct of Mrs Clarke. By a Lady. 2s. 6d.

A Correct and Authentic Copy of the Evidence taken before the House of Commons on the Charges exhibited against his Royal Highness the Duke of York; in which are included several Documents that have not yet appeared before the Public, copied verbatim from the Minutes of the House. 8vo. 12s.

The Reign of Cythera, a Defence of his Royal Highness the Duke of York.

Substance of a Speech which ought to have been spoken upon the Motion made in the House of Commons, by the Right Honourable Henry Grattan, the 25th May 1808, 'That the Petition from the Roman Catholics of Ireland should be referred to a Committee of the whole House.'

Reflections on the State of Public Affairs, at the Commencement of 1800. By an Englishman of the old School. 2s.

A Letter to Lord Viscount Castlereagh, on the dangerous Tendency of the Assertion that there exists in the Country a Conspiracy for the Subversion of the Monarchy. 1s. 6d.

A Memoir upon the Affairs of Spain. 1s. 6d.

A Letter to S. Whitbread Esq. M. P. on the late Occurrences in Spain and Portugal.

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Debates in both Houses of Parliament, in the Months of May and June 1808, relative to the Agreement made by Government with Mr Palmer, for the Reform and Improvement of the Post Office and its Revenue. 5s.

A View of the Natural, Political, and Commercial Circumstances of Ireland. By Thomas Newenham Esq. 4to. 1l. 7s.

Strictures on the Present Government, Civil, Military and Political, of the British Possessions in India; including a View of the recent Transactions in that Country, which have tended to alienate the Affections of the Natives. 3s.

THEOLOGY.

Sermons on various Subjects and Occasions. By the Rev. John Nance, M. A., Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford. 8vo. 6s.

Practical and Familiar Sermons, designed for parochial and domestic Instruction. By the Rev. Edward Cooper. 5s.

Sunday Papers, addressed to Youth, on the importance of practical Religion. 3s.

Sunday Reflections. By the Author of Thoughts on Affectation. 8vo. 9s. boards.

Familiar Discourses on the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Litany. By a Dignitary of the Church. Crown 8vo. 6s.

A Sermon preached at Lambeth Chapel at the Consecration of the Right Rev. William Lord Mansel, Lord Bishop of Bristol. By John Barlow Seale, D. D.

A Sermon preached in the parish Church of Stillorgan, on Sunday, October 30. 1808, at the request of the Stillorgan Charitable Institution for promoting the Comfort of the Poor. By the Rev. Robert Dealtry, LL. D., Prebendary of Wicklow. 1s. 6d.

Sermons by the Rev. Sidney Smith. 2 vol. 18s.

The Alexandrian School; or a Narrative of the first Christian Professors in Alexandria; with Observations on the Influence they still maintain over the established Church. By M. Jerningham. 2s.

Hewlett's Bible, Part III. Royal 4to, 9s.; demy, 7s.

The Credibility of the Jewish Exodus defended against some Remarks of Edward Gibbon, Esq., and the Edinburgh Reviewers. By the Rev. W. Cockburn, A. M. 3s. 6d.

A Sermon on the Equity of Divine Providence, adapted to a General Fast, and preached February 17. 1808. By John Pring, B. A. 1s. 6d.

Intolerance the Disgrace of Christians, not the Fault of Religion. By the Rev. Christopher Wyvill. 2s. 6d.

Hints to the Public and the Legislature, on the Nature and Effect of Evangelical Preaching. By a Barrister. Part II. 4s. 6d.

A Sermon on the Roman Catholic Question, preached by the Rev. W. Boycott, M. A., at the Archdeacon's Visitation at Norwich, the 19th May, 1808. 1s.

Remarks on the Nature and Design of the Sufferings of Christ. By the Rev. J. Harris.

A Sermon preached before the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons of England, in the Parish Church of St Mary, Islington, on Monday, June 27. 1808, by the Rev. Edward Barry, M. D., Rector of St Mary's, Wallingford, Bucks, and Grand Chaplain to the Fraternity. 2s.

A Collection of Scripture Sentences for committing to Memory, intended as Sunday Exercises for Children. Carefully selected by C. E. Richardson. 12mo. 2s. 6d.

A Discourse preached in the Episcopal Chapel, Cowgate, Edinburgh, February 9. 1809, being the day appointed by His Majesty for a General Fast. By Archibald Alison, LL. B., Prebendary of Sarum, &c. and Senior Minister of the Chapel. Neatly printed in 8vo. 1s.

Considerations addressed to a young Clergyman, on some Trials of Principle and Character, which may arise in the Course of his Ministry. By Stevenson Macgill, D. D., Minister of the Tron Church, Glasgow. 12mo.

TOPOGRAPHY.

The History and Antiquities of Cleveland, in the North Riding of the County of York. By the Rev. John Graves. 4to. 17. 11s. 6d.; large paper, 2l. 2s.

Jones's History of Brecon. Vol. II. Royal 4to. 4l. 14s. 6d.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

Caledonian Sketches, or a Tour through Scotland in 1807. By Sir John Carr. 4to. 2l. 2s.

Travelling Sketches in Russia and Sweden, made during a Residence in those Countries in 1805, 6, 7, and 8. By Robert Ker Porter, S. K. J.; with forty-one Engravings, coloured. 2 vol. Royal 4to. 5l. 5s.

No. XXVIII. will be published in July 1809.

7661 28.7.75.

THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

JULY 1809.

N^o. XXVIII.

ART. I. *The Plan of Reform proposed by Sir Francis Burdett. Correctly reported in Two Speeches delivered in Parliament, recommending an Inquiry into the State of the Representation. To which are added, Mr Perceval's Objections to the Motion, and a List of the Minority.* 8vo. pp. 25. London. 1809.

A Letter addressed to John Cartwright, Esq., Chairman of the Committee at the Crown and Anchor, on the subject of Parliamentary Reform. By the Earl of Selkirk. 8vo. pp. 24. London. 1809.

IT cannot be doubted, we think, that there is at this moment, among the people of this country, a very strong spirit of discontent with their government, and a very general desire for a more radical reform than would be effected by a mere change of ministry. These, we humbly conceive, are facts which no candid or observing man will venture to call in question; and, like other facts, they must have causes, and causes adequate to their production.

Now, the only cause of discontent, is a sense or a fear of suffering; and all desire for reformation must originate in a conviction, that there are, somewhere, errors or abuses from which suffering is likely to result. We may conclude then with safety, that there are evils in the present political situation of the country, and that these are supposed to be owing to the misconduct of its governors, or to the defective constitution of the government itself. Taking all this, however, and much more than this, for granted, we shall still have many questions of the utmost moment and delicacy to determine. We shall still have to determine, whether the existing evils are *capable of any remedy*; whether the remedies which have been suggested are likely to prove

VOL. XIV. NO. 28. T effectual;

effectual; and whether they could be applied without the *hazard of greater evils* than those which they were expected to cure.

The great leading evils in our actual condition,—passing over such as arise from local circumstances or individual malversation, may be reduced perhaps to the three following heads; 1st, the burden of our taxes; 2d, the preponderating influence of the Crown, arising from the enormous extent of our establishments, and of the patronage consequently vested in the Sovereign; and, 3dly, the monopoly of political power which the very permanency and nature of the constitution has a tendency to create in the hands of a small part of the nation, and the growing jealousy and disaffection which this is likely to breed in the body of the people.

The real magnitude and danger of these various evils, is very far, as we conceive, from being in the direct ratio of their popular estimation. The most palpable and vexatious of them all, is far from being, in a political view at least, the most grievous or alarming. The actual burden of the taxes does not necessarily indicate any thing unsound or corrupt in the constitution or administration of the government. It may be ascribed, in a great degree, to the peculiar circumstances in which the country has recently been placed, and to the rash and sanguine temper of its inhabitants. The weight of our taxes is owing to the wars, in which the Government has always been seconded by a great majority of the people,—if, indeed, it would not be more correct to say, that it has engaged in them on their instigation. This is an evil, therefore, for which the people have really to blame themselves, and not the Government; and which, with a view to their political rights, may be considered as accidental, if it be not in reality symptomatic of their extent. The vast influence of the Crown, proceeding from our overgrown debt, and public establishments, is a distemper infinitely more formidable, and more deeply rooted in the very constitution of the Government. Though it excites much less clamour than the burden of the taxes, it too is pretty universally intelligible; and the dangers with which it is fraught are pretty familiar, even to the more superficial of our home politicians. It has a tendency, not only to subvert the independence of the Legislature, but to destroy the spirit of liberty in the body of the people, and to convert those into the willing tools of oppression, whose interest, as well as duty, it would otherwise have been to resist it. This evil also may be said to result spontaneously from the circumstances in which the country has been placed, and is the more to be dreaded, because it is not owing to any unwarranted usurpation which might be directly repressed, but has grown up from the exercise,
of

of those legitimate functions, with which, though conferred in very different circumstances, it must always be a matter of great delicacy to interfere. The last evil we have mentioned is the least understood, and, perhaps, for this very reason, the most formidable of all. It has arisen, like the former, not from any innovation upon established principles, but from a gradual change in the circumstances to which these principles are applied; and may be ascribed, rather to an obstinate adherence to old maxims and practices, than to their rash or wilful abandonment. We shall have occasion, in the sequel, to say a good deal more on the origin and consequences of this great derangement in our scheme of social polity.

For these, and for all the other disorders, which threaten our body politic, the popular prescription is parliamentary reform. An amendment in the representation of the Commons, we are assured, is to ease us of our taxes,—to reduce the influence of the Crown,—and to heal all breaches and heartburnings between the governors and the governed. We are rather partial to this medicine upon the whole; but it requires no ordinary skill and caution in the preparation and dosing; and, at all events, we are perfectly certain, is not capable of effecting half the wonders that are expected from it. No man of sense has any faith in universal specifics; and it is the part of an enemy, or a very pernicious friend, to degrade this useful medicine, by investing it with the attributes of a quack's *panacea*, and thus effectually to exclude it from all regular practice, as well as to discredit it in the eyes of the soberminded and judicious. While we are of opinion, therefore, that very serious and substantial good may be effected by a reform of Parliament, we think it our duty to say, that no *such* good, as seems to be in the contemplation of its present advocates, can possibly result from it; and that while the experiment itself is by no means free of danger, it would be altogether extravagant to hope, that it could deliver us from any considerable part of the evils we have enumerated.

With regard to the taxes, in the first place, it appears to us in the highest degree chimerical, to imagine that any change in the plan of representation should sensibly lessen their amount. The greater part are actually levied to pay the interest of the debts which have been contracted; and a vast proportion of the remainder is required for the maintenance of the war in which we are engaged. That war, and almost all the other wars by which our debt has been created, has hitherto been most unquestionably popular; and, it is reasonable therefore to presume, would have been carried on to at least as great an extent by a legislature more immediately under the influence of popular feelings. As to the

superior economy which it has been supposed that such a legislature would be inclined and enabled to observe, we will confess that we are unable to see any just grounds for such an expectation. We are perfectly aware, that the multiplication of offices and salaries tends to increase the influence of Government; and have no doubt that, in former times, they were occasionally multiplied for this purpose. Of late years, however, the quantity of influence already accumulated has been so great, and the burden of taxation so grievous, that every administration must have felt, that no slight accession of strength which could be gained by such corrupt profusion, could ever compensate the loss of popularity and of general credit which necessarily resulted from an increase of this burden. By far the most effectual bribe that a minister can now give, is a bribe to the nation itself, in the form of a remission, or an apparent remission, of the taxes: and though there may have been an undue tenaciousness in the case of certain old sinecures, and certain places, the emoluments of which have increased beyond all calculation, we are inclined to think, upon the whole, that the obvious policy of economical measures, in the present state of things, is to the full as good a security for their adoption as the warmer zeal and higher sense of duty that are expected from a reformed legislature.

We are very much confirmed in this opinion by the statement brought forward in the close of last session of Parliament, by one of the most zealous and able champions for economy and reform. In that extraordinary statement, Mr Wardle no doubt held out to the country, that a saving might be effected in their expenditure to the amount of no less than sixteen millions per annum; and came fairly forward with the items of his proposed deductions. On looking into these items, however, we find that they do not consist so much in the retrenchment of unnecessary expenditure, as in a radical alteration of many points of our general policy. There is an article of 200,000*l.*, indeed, set down for unnecessary pensions, and offices executed by deputy; another of 70,000*l.* for excessive allowances to commissioners and auditors of public accounts; and two or three trifling items of a similar description. But the main saving, and indeed all that, in a national point of view, is worth attending to, is to be effected by a reduction in the number or the allowances of our army and navy. A certain proportion of the infantry and cavalry, together with all the foreign troops, and the remains of the volunteers, are to be discharged. No more fortifications are to be constructed in the country; the allowances to the militia, &c. are to be reduced; and a third part of the whole sum destined for the support of the navy is at once to be withdrawn. Now these, we need scarcely observe, are not measures

asures of economy, but measures of state policy; and measures upon which we venture to conjecture, that a reformed Legislature would probably be as little likely to agree with Mr Wardle as their predecessors. For our own part, at least, we are clearly and decidedly of opinion, that, if the war is to be carried on at all, both the numbers and the pay of our army ought to be increased, instead of being diminished; and that any retrenchment of the funds appropriated for the navy, must be attended with the utmost hazard. But even if we thought otherwise, and agreed entirely with Mr Wardle that the whole of the sums he has mentioned might be retrenched without danger to the public, still, as it seems impossible to maintain that they have been hitherto expended from motives of corruption, it would by no means follow, that a reformed House of Commons would see the propriety of the retrenchment. It will scarcely be pretended, that the present, or any other administration, has kept up our establishment of dragoons and foreign regiments; or has allowed unnecessary clothing to the militia; or engaged in certain plans of fortifications, from a mere profligate desire to create employments and occasions of emolument to its own friends and dependants. No fair and dispassionate man can seriously doubt, that those measures have been adopted from a sincere persuasion of their expediency or necessity; and that the money which they have cost, however injudiciously or unprofitably expended in point of fact, was set apart for services which have hitherto been thought material to the national prosperity. Although we were convinced, therefore, by Mr Wardle, of the folly of such an opinion, it could only follow from this, that we and Mr Wardle were wiser than the ministers and military men who had supposed there was a necessity for such expense, and wiser also than the successive Parliaments who had unanimously sanctioned that supposition. Now, though we were to admit that a reformed Parliament would be considerably *more honest* than an unreformed one, we are not exactly aware that it must also be considerably *wiser*. The same errors of policy, therefore, that give rise to unprofitable expense at present, may be expected to produce the same effects hereafter; nor is there any ground for thinking, that a Parliament chosen mainly on account of its good intentions, will commit fewer blunders than one selected in a great degree from a regard to its skill and its habits of business.

With regard, again, to the increasing zeal and vigilance with which a reformed Parliament may be expected to pursue those paltry peculations and base embezzlements which infect so many of our public establishments; desirable as the end is, we have great doubt if it could be compassed at all more readily by the employ-

ment of the means in question. There is already a very active spirit of scrutiny afoot against this class of offences; nor can any inducement be easily imagined more strong and effectual, than that which is now held out to perseverance. The shortest and the surest road by which a private individual can now ascend to popularity and influence, is to denounce some speculator to public justice, or to bring to light some instance of official abuse. Discoveries of this sort are now at a higher premium with us, than they ever were in the history of the world; and all the stirring principles of our nature, ambition, patriotism, party zeal, and self-interest, are already at work, to stimulate our activity, and to sharpen our sagacity, in detecting this class of offences. Nor can it be said with justice, that Parliament has thrown any great obstacle in the way of such investigations, since all the authentic and important instances of abuse have been brought to light by the labour of committees appointed with the full assent of the Legislature: and indeed it is obvious, that almost all the instances of detailed and systematic speculation, which are by far the most pernicious and extended, are of no sort of benefit to the Government, and do not tend, in any degree, to strengthen its influence. Nine tenths at least of the abuses which have recently been brought to light, were practised without its knowledge, and among a set of persons from whose attachment it could derive no kind of valuable support. Applauding, therefore, as we do most warmly, the exertions of those who would destroy these opprobrious and pestilential practices, which at once debase the character of the nation, and alienate its affections from the Government, we cannot see, in the facts or in the reason of the case, any ground for supposing that a change in our system of representation is necessary in order to repress them effectually. The Legislature, as it is now constituted, contains as many keen and experienced accusers as could well find employment in a task of this description; and there is even reason to doubt, whether the same zeal and activity would be displayed by those to whom it might be assigned in an assembly where exertions of this sort would operate less effectually as a passport to distinction.

Upon the whole, then, we are clearly of opinion, that whatever other benefits might result from a reform in Parliament, it could be of no sensible benefit to the people by lightening the burden of their taxation; and that no delusion can be greater, and in some respects more mischievous, than that which represents these two things as essentially connected with each other. To this false opinion, however, and to the pains which have been taken to disseminate it, we are perhaps indebted for a good part of the apparent zeal and activity which has lately been manifested on the subject

ject of reform, and for the dispersion of the last dregs of that degrading apathy in which the public mind appeared but a few years ago to be almost irrecoverably sunk. To this extent, erroneous as it is, the popular opinion has done good service, and prepared the way, we trust, for more just and more worthy sentiments; but mischief, and mischief of the most alarming nature, must result from the successful propagation of the doctrine itself, when pushed to the extent, and invested with the importance, which its adherents have lately assigned to it. The great body of the people never yet engaged eagerly in the pursuit of an *unattainable* object, without throwing the frame of society into disorder; though it would be mischief enough, in our apprehension, if the misguided hope were only to sink back into the base inactivity of despair.

We must observe too, before finally leaving this branch of the subject, that even if a greater retrenchment in the national expenditure could be effected, than we believe to be practicable, there would still be something unworthy in holding out this as the main object of all our political exertions, and the chief good to be expected from a parliamentary reform. Anxious as we are to cut off all that expense which is likely to minister to corruption, we are by no means partial to that sordid and illiberal economy which would grudge its gorgeousness and splendour to majesty, or even its trappings to vanity; which would mete out a meagre subsistence to the higher as well as the lower servants of the country, and calculate the value of the bodily and mental labour for which every salary was to be an equivalent. In a rich and luxurious society, a certain profuse and ostentatious expense is an indispensable part of official greatness. The means of supporting such expense, therefore, is always one of the objects of the purest and most exalted ambition; and the high functions of the state, to which that ambition, the mother and the sister of all great talent and energy, should always be directed, would be deserted and left as a roosting place for minds of a weaker wing, if they were not associated with such emoluments as to maintain their possessor in the place to which his office had exalted him. Two great evils, therefore, would result from such unwise parsimony. The most important offices in the state would be filled with persons of inferior talents; and those who were gifted with genius, despising the low and barren eminences which bounded their legal pretensions, would be apt to invade an order of things which might seem to withhold them from their rights, and employ their power in disturbing the government which might have been made instrumental to its support. The example of America illustrates both these consequences. The public func-

tionaries of that commonwealth are so poorly provided, that no prosperous counsellor, for instance, will accept of the office of judge; and few men of abilities will dedicate them to so unprofitable a task as the management of public affairs. Their legislature, therefore, is deficient both in talent and authority; and she has already experienced, if we are not misinformed, more than one shock, from the irregular impulse of that ambition and talent for which no adequate recompense has been provided within the pale of her constitution. If these principles are not admitted, it is impossible not to agree with Thomas Paine, that a discreet able-bodied man, equal to perform all the functions of royalty, may at any time be got for 500*l.* a year; or to deny to some later writers, that the emoluments of commanders in chief, governors and ambassadors, are far more than the just reward of their labour.

We would abolish sinecure offices, therefore, and that to a greater extent than is proposed even by Mr Wardle,—being satisfied that they are *now* not only useless, but pernicious, as well as unpopular; but we would increase the emoluments of almost all the great offices of the state, and of all those public situations to which it is for the common benefit that ambition should invite ability. These have not been raised at all in the proportion in which the expense of living, and the decent luxury of the higher orders has increased; and are, many of them, far below what is absolutely necessary to enable their possessors to live as those live with whom they are necessarily associated. It is in vain to say that the work can be got done for less money.—It will not be so well done; it will not be done with the same effect and authority; and no safe occupation will be left for those who could do it incomparably better than any less aspiring competitor. It is vain too, and worse than vain to say, that if the emoluments of high office be made considerable, men will seek such situations from a base love of these emoluments.—Men who could be actuated by such motives, would have no chance in the competition with those who were inspired with a more lofty ambition; but it is a vulgar and a gross error to suppose, that men in general seek for high office and political power from any sort of regard to the pitiful emoluments with which it is attended. This is the passion of underlings only, and the imputation which they justly seek to fasten on each other; but it can never attach to the masters of the state, nor to any who aspire to be ranked among its masters. There are loans and contracts, and ignoble sinecures for the lovers of wealth; but power and consequence and distinction are the only objects of those whose relish is for distinction and power. Unprincipled as many of our public men have been, we scarcely
remember

remember one, since the period of the Revolution, whose ambition was alloyed with so base a passion as avarice, or who was ever suspected of coveting the toils and the perils of office for the sake of the miserable pay which is generally attached to it. Last of all, it is in vain to say, that expenses of this sort can ever affect the finances of a great nation, or that any system of economy can ever save it from a great load of taxation, so long as it has a decided passion for war, and a taste for conquest and direction. While views of ambition, of avarice, or of passion, are popular, the more popular the Government is, the more rapidly will the public expenses be accumulated; and the only effect of a rigid system of economy will be, to enable the nation to indulge in this luxury a little longer and a little more frequently. In a country like England, there could be no debt, and no burden of taxes, if there were no war; and when the problem is, to reduce the taxes, the question is not, what Government is the most economical, but what is the most pacific? A more popular Government than we possess at present, we are quite satisfied, would not be more pacific; and therefore we are quite satisfied, that no diminution of the taxes would be produced by a reform which would make our Government more popular.

So much for the supposed operation of reform in diminishing the taxes. The next point to be considered is, its operation in diminishing the influence of the Government. This influence, it must be admitted, is enormous. The king and his ministers have the disposal of several hundred thousands of offices, in the army, the navy, the church, the law, and the colonies,—the emoluments of which cannot amount to much less than twenty millions a year. Now, when it is considered that the whole male adults of the kingdom are probably under five millions, it is easy to see to what an extent the possession or expectancy of these appointments must influence the political creed of the majority. The fact accordingly is, that almost every man above the rank of a labouring mechanic, has pretensions, more or less direct or immediate, to some such appointment; and that the sentiments and conduct of a very large proportion of the people are biassed more or less directly by such considerations. Such is the amount of the evil;—and it is unfortunately as radical as it is enormous. We have taxes to the amount of seventy millions a year, which must be collected by a whole host of diligent and trust-worthy tax-gatherers. We have a navy consisting of seven or eight hundred vessels, and an army of several hundreds of regiments, which must be commanded by officers of education and accomplishment; and we have colonies scattered over both hemispheres, and containing ten times the population of the mother country.

THE

These vast establishments are now a part of our existence, and cannot be either abandoned or diminished ;—and the consequence is, that the administration of them has transformed us into a nation of public functionaries, and placed a prodigious proportion of the whole national income in the gift of those who have the nomination of these functionaries. It is in vain to talk of abolishing the offices, or diminishing the salaries annexed to them. Almost all of the offices are now indispensably necessary ; and the salaries are perhaps more frequently inadequate, than excessive. The great grievance is in the patronage, and the dependence which that patronage encourages ;—and, before determining in what way this grievance is to be redressed, we must first endeavour to ascertain in what manner, and through what channels it operates.

It is a great mistake, in the first place, to suppose that it operates exclusively or even chiefly on the Legislature. Its most powerful action is upon the body of the people ; in whom it naturally begets a proclivity to side with the executive, and to acquiesce in all that is done by those to whom so many of them must unfortunately look up as their patrons. The evil would remain, therefore, very nearly where it is, although the legislature could be protected from its direct action ; or, rather, no regulation would substantially diminish its action on the legislature, which left those by whom the legislature is appointed subject to its full operation. In the second place, it is a still greater mistake to suppose that the danger of this influence consists in the power it gives the Sovereign, considered as an individual, and as a separate branch of the legislature, to act upon the other branches. The truth is, that this power does not belong to the king so properly, as to the majority of the House of Commons ; and that it is rather by the actual *exercise* of this power, than by being subjected to its operation, that the legislature is debased and corrupted. The King exercises his patronage through the mediation of his ministers ; and the definition of a minister, according to the practice of the constitution, is, not a person nominated by the King, but a person supported by two thirds of the House of Commons. The King, individually, neither is nor can be consulted in the greater part of the appointments which are made in his name ; nor is it to him or his personal favour that the nominees understand that they are indebted for such appointments. The patronage, therefore, is vested substantially in the majority of the House of Commons, who can make a minister, and by whom all ministers know that they are made and continued. Now, in whatever way we conceive this assembly to be constituted, and by whatever form of election its members

bers are supposed to be returned, still, as long as men are men, and while causes and effects maintain their usual relations in application to human conduct, it cannot fail to happen, that the persons in whom this patronage is vested will often be tempted to exercise it in their own favour, or in favour of their immediate connexions. Many will side with the majority, in order to profit by the exercise of this patronage; and the majority will always endeavour to maintain itself in strength and security, by holding out the promise of this patronage to those whom it wishes either to gain over or to retain.

This is the true shape and course of the evil; and, being persuaded that it is so, we confess we see no prospect of removing, or even alleviating it by any alteration in the constitution of the House of Commons. The mischief consists in the *existence* of such a multitude of offices, and of a consequent power of appointing to them. This power, we think, is obviously vested in the majority of the House of Commons; and the whole evil consists in this, that a most powerful temptation is thus held out to the members of that House to place and to keep themselves at any rate in a majority, and to all the people out of the House, to recommend themselves to those who compose it. Now this is an evil which a change in the plan of representation would not only fail to cure, but would not, in any degree, touch or alleviate. Such a change could have no other effect but to make the House of Commons a more faithful representative of the feelings and sense of the people: But the people themselves are infected with this love of place and emolument; and the House, however elected, would still be liable to the same temptations as at present. Highly as we are disposed to estimate those qualities which confer popularity, we see no reason to think that a reformed Parliament would consist of more stern and incorruptible individuals than the present Parliament; and must be forgiven for distrusting the efficacy of all remedies, which, instead of removing the temptation, profess only to ensure the virtue which is to be exposed to them. In a large assembly of persons of a certain rank and education, if the temptations and opportunities of corruption be the same, the average amount of the corruption itself may be safely assumed as the same also. Nor does any rational person ever think of diminishing it in any other way than by diminishing the temptations and opportunities. Now, a change in the manner of electing members of Parliament could have no effect of this kind, so long as there were the same number of offices to be filled up in the country, and so long as the majority of that House had virtually the power of filling them up.

Is this great evil, then, actually without remedy? and can no

means be devised of vesting this patronage in such a way as not to throw the whole machine of the Government off the poise by its enormous weight and impetus? While our wars and difficulties continue, we do think that there is no effectual remedy. The only radical cure is by the gradual alterative of a reduction of our debt and establishments; and the only palliative in the mean time, is in the increasing intelligence and spirit of the people. The difficulty of the case consists in this, that if Parliament has a controul over those public appointments, it must be corrupted by the perversion of this power; and if it has no such controul, then there must be lodged, in some quarter, a power paramount to all other powers in the Government, and yet subject to no responsibility or constitutional check whatsoever. The only remedy that has occurred to us, is to break down this patronage, as much as possible, into separate and detached portions, and to vest these in local assemblies,—to let counties and parishes, in short, choose their own tax-gatherers, clergy, and magistrates,—and thus to diminish the mass and quantity of the patronage in the disposal of the general administration. The remedy, we are aware, is extremely inadequate, both because it would not at all diminish that general scramble for office which strikes at the root of independence throughout the country, and because no part of the naval, military, or colonial appointments, could possibly be filled up in this manner. It would also be attended with great inconvenience from the local prejudices and partialities to which it might give occasion; but still the evil arising from the monstrous patronage of the Government is so great and alarming, that we should be well pleased to see this remedy applied to it, with such precautions and limitations, as would readily suggest themselves in digesting any practical scheme.

Before leaving this subject, it is necessary to observe, that *there is* an actual corrective to this cardinal vice of our constitution, which palliates its pernicious consequences, in so far, as to make it consistent with a great degree of liberty. If this enormous patronage were vested in any permanent and distinct branch of the Government, which always retained the same interests and inclinations, it is impossible, we conceive, that it should not, long ago, have destroyed the whole liberties of the nation, and established itself into an absolute and uncontrollable authority. The fact is, however, that it is vested in the majority of a divided assembly; and that while the patronage itself remains undiminished and unaltered, there is another division of that assembly, into whose hands it is constantly liable to be transferred. Now, among the considerations which are able to transmute a minority into a majority of that house, the most important and operative,

no doubt, is an apprehension of resistance or disorder among the people; and accordingly, when the leaders of an existing majority are tempted to employ their influence to do any thing very unjust or oppressive, a considerable part of their followers will naturally go over to the other side, and the opposition will be converted into an administration, and obtain possession of the whole vast influence of their predecessors, with an impressive warning as to the hazard of relying too far upon it. It is thus that the existence of a strong opposition, which is sure to be recruited by every unpopular act of the Government, serves to keep the administration under a salutary restraint; and that the vast weight of national patronage, though it does render the machine of Government topheavy and unmanageable, is prevented, by the constant fluctuation of its pressure, from oversetting it altogether, or crushing the liberties of the people under its perpetual obliquity.

In addition to this constitutional fragility of ministerial power, the natural mortality of the Sovereign may be regarded as a further security against the preponderating weight of state patronage. Though the efficient power be evidently lodged in the House of Commons, the personal inclination or dispositions of the reigning Monarch are by no means without their influence. From natural and obvious causes, it almost always happens, that the heir-apparent belongs to a different party in politics from that which is habitually trusted by the Sovereign on the throne; and the constant hazard of a demise serves still further to restrain the existing administration in the exercise of the vast influence, which they hold by a tenure so precarious. If it were not for the constant operation of these two internal correctives, we conceive that the constitution could not long sustain the pressure of this grievous and growing infirmity. If an administration were to be formed so popular and commanding, as, after a long course of successful contentions, to annihilate, or very greatly to reduce, the strength of opposition,—and if, along with this unnatural *flexity* in the state of Parliamentary power, the reigning Monarch and the heir apparent were to concur cordially in their choice of men and measures,—it is scarcely possible to imagine, how the liberties and independence of the people should be enabled to withstand the constant mining and insidious action of the vast influence which would then flow, in one steady and undeviating current, against the foundations of their freedom. In such a situation, a rebellion might be excited among the lower people, by open oppression; and a violent revolution might throw off the heavy load of corruption and tyranny: but the constitution itself would be lost and overthrown, and the overgrown power of the government would have extinguished the last sparks of legitimate freedom.

Thus

Thus much it may suffice to say as to the two most imminent and palpable evils, which some sanguine patriots have expected to remove by a reform in the Commons' House of Parliament. There remains a third, and a more fundamental, though less conspicuous evil, as to which there may be room perhaps for a different prognosis. This we have already described, in a general way, as consisting in the monopoly of political power which the course of events had thrown into the hands of an inadequate part of the people, and the consequent jealousy and disaffection of the remainder. It is necessary, however, to explain, more particularly, our impression as to the origin, magnitude, and probable effects of this disorder.

In doing this, we must beg leave to refer our readers to certain general remarks which we formerly * took occasion to make on the distinctive characters of new and of old governments, and the advantages and disadvantages of each respectively. In all new governments, superior fitness and ability are the sole recommendations to office and employments. In old governments, hereditary wealth and rank are apt to have too great an influence. The former, therefore, are commonly administered with more vigour and ability; but the latter are, for the most part, more stable and secure. This advantage they derive from the natural tendency of the influence derived from wealth, to settle and consolidate into a sort of patriarchal chieftainship, which gains strength by descent and duration; while the influence derived from mere personal talents or accomplishments, necessarily perishes with the individual by whom they were possessed. An old government is a mass made up of a congeries of little circles, each of which has its own fixed centre and point of radiation. Every county, and district, and parish and village, has its settled heads and leaders, through whom, as their natural organ, their sentiments and wishes are made known, and by whose influence they may be generally impressed with the wishes and sentiments of others. All the little springs and fountains of political power, have worn themselves deep and permanent channels; and are reunited into certain great currents, which hold their course with undeviating regularity, and maintain the freshness and fertility of the land without danger or disturbance. Such is the state of things, in a certain stage, of all free governments; but it is easy to see, even without the aid of experience, that the very foundations of this tranquillity are liable to be completely subverted.

There are only two sources of influence in society—personal
gifts

* See vol. X. p. 11, 12, &c.

gifts and accomplishments—and property. The first, of course, affords in itself the best title to preeminence; but wealth can be transmitted to a successor, and can be accumulated—while virtue and talents cannot. In the progress of society, therefore, the one kind of influence is constantly acquiring strength, while the other is necessarily stationary;—and thus the aristocracy of personal merit is gradually supplanted, or at least overtopped, by the aristocracy of hereditary wealth. This is the first step in the history of civilized society. Crowns become hereditary; Generals do not fight their way up from the ranks; and men succeed to certain honours and privileges, without the pretext of having earned them by their own exertions.

In rude and simple times, when the duties of rulers and statesmen are easy, and when luxury holds out no temptation to inaction, men who are thus born to command are usually sufficiently fitted for it. They monopolize almost all the instruction and education of the age; and having no other objects of ambition or enjoyment but those which are set before them by their duty, they generally unite both the influence of wealth and of merit, and maintain a tranquil and unquestioned supremacy over their natural inferiors. Such was the state of things in the main, during the prevalence of the feudal system, in modern Europe; and it was in this state that all those usages and prejudices and habitual notions took their rise, the clash of which with another form of society, is at this moment holding that quarter of the world in convulsions. It is to this point that we wish particularly to direct the attention of our readers.

After the whole people of Europe had thus been separated into the two great classes of the gentry or nobility, who engrossed the whole political power—and the peasantry or common people, who had no share in that power—two great changes were gradually and silently effected in the interior structure of society. In the first place, the privileged orders were seduced by luxurious inventions into a very general neglect of the accomplishments which alone could fit them for the situations, now become more important than ever, which they still continued to monopolize; and, in the second place, the common people, by a great improvement in their education and circumstances, came to acquire a large share of that intelligence, and skill and ambition, which was formerly engrossed by their chieftains. Being infinitely superior in numbers, it will easily be understood, that when their education and opportunities came to be nearly alike, they should produce a greater number of able and distinguished persons than the class of the nobility; and thus a new aristocracy of merit arose, which was opposed in a good degree to the old aristocracy of wealth or rank, and threatened to supplant or eclipse it.

This

This is the true history of the French revolution; and of all the other revolutions, by which such of the nations of the Continent, as escape the yoke of a military despotism, are obviously destined (though, we hope, without bloodshed or dissension) to be regenerated. One of their own writers, in speaking of the former event, says, with some quaintness, and much truth, that its true cause is to be found in the ‘*plenitude du mérite de Tiers Etat.*’ The genius and ambition of those who were excluded from the exercise of political power, had come to be so much greater than that of those who monopolized it, that, at last, it burst forcibly through the barriers which had been set up to confine it, and overthrew the whole frame of the Government by which it had been so long and so unwisely neglected. The sum, then, of the whole general doctrine is this,—that all governments are virtually of the nature of aristocracies; and that aristocracies are of two sorts,—that of personal merit, and that of rank or hereditary wealth. In order to make any Government secure and peaceful, these two aristocracies must be *united*; and as, in former times, this was effected by the superior skill, valour, and accomplishment of the hereditary chieftains, so it seems as if it could only be accomplished, now that this superiority has ceased, by their yielding up a large share of political power to those who have become their equals in all kinds of personal endowments.

These observations apply, in all their extent, to the nations of the Continent only; and our business is chiefly with England. Yet we have chosen to state them in this broad and general manner, in order to convey to our readers a more clear and simple idea of that great European distemper, with which, it appears to us, that this country also is afflicted, though in a much slighter degree than its neighbours. With us, too, the people are getting as wise as their rulers; and, ceasing already to recognize any real superiority in those to whom they had been accustomed to look up with implicit confidence, they begin to feel that distrust and dissatisfaction with the actual aristocracy which has burst out into such fatal disorders in some other countries. The old leaders of the nation, on the other hand, are by no means sufficiently aware, either of the intelligence, the discontent, or the ambition of the lower and middling orders; and are disposed to repress, what they consider as accidental turbulence or ill humour, by a high and haughty assertion of their own power and authority. Though men of low birth are not systematically excluded from any situation in this country, it is perfectly well known, not only that there is a very narrow and jealous monopoly of all posts of importance, but that there is a very great want of sympathy between the people and their rulers; and that little
deference

deference is paid to public opinion, except when it threatens to indicate itself in tumult and disorder.

The nature of this monopoly was explained at some length on a former occasion ; * and may be stated in a very few words. The nomination to all high offices is substantially in the majority of the House of Commons ; and this majority can only be maintained, by using this patronage, among other things, in such a way as to give satisfaction to those of whom it is composed. In consequence of long hereditary connexion, and other causes which need not be explained, certain individuals have obtained the power, not only of securing their own election as members of this assembly, but of securing the election of several of their friends also. When the ministry, therefore, is confronted, as it almost always is, by a pretty strong minority, it is obviously in the power of a very small number of their adherents to make what terms they please as to the filling up of any of the great appointments in the nation. If two or three of these powerful individuals concur in recommending any person, however slenderly qualified, to any situation, however important, and that under the condition of deserting the ministry if their recommendation be not attended to,—it is obvious that in almost all cases it must be attended to, and that there can be no free choice or competition either to the government or the people. The fact is, accordingly, that almost all the great offices of the state are monopolized by a few great families ; and that, if there be any member of them possessed of talents to discharge their duties with any tolerable degree of decency, a claim is sure to be made in his behalf, which, from the nature of the government, has almost the force of a command.

With regard, again, to the obvious want of sympathy and communication between the people and their rulers, and the mingled discontent and contempt which naturally arises, on both sides, from this unconstitutional estrangement ; this is owing, we believe, in a very great degree, to the actual ignorance of the most forward and stirring part of our public functionaries with regard to the real sentiments, as well as the intelligence and temper, of the people. Living constantly in the metropolis,—engaged perpetually with their schemes and intrigues,—and communicating with the people only through those dangerous *middlemen* who pretend to dispose of elections, it is not wonderful that they should want leisure and opportunity to make themselves acquainted with the state of public opinion, or that they should regard its expression as an ungrateful interference with their peculiar privileges. When the public business of a country is much accumulated, and conte-

* Vol. X. p. 14, &c.

quently much subdivided, there is nothing perhaps which makes a man more shallow and arrogant, than to be wholly engaged in it; and it is, we believe, very much owing to the multiplication of those pert, practised, and narrow-minded politicians, that that repulsive tone of contempt has been adopted towards the people, which has been repaid, upon their side, with retorted scorn and resentment.

Such, we conceive, are a few of the general causes which have led, in the natural course of things, to that monopoly of power and that popular discontent which have been produced, by similar causes, to a much greater extent in some of the neighbouring nations. There are certain peculiarities, however, in our recent history, and in the aspect of the present times, which have prodigiously aided their natural operation in our case, and accelerated the effect which might otherwise have come upon us in a form less alarming. The causes of disunion which we have already noticed, are involved in the very nature of our government, and in some degree in the constitution of modern society. Those which we are about to enumerate may be considered, in some measure, as extrinsic and accidental.

There is, in the *first* place, the effect of the French revolution, which has had a twofold operation on the people and on the government of this country. In the first place, by exciting a great dread of popular insurrection, and a great zeal in favour of royalty and high birth, and all kinds of antient establishments and dignities, it encouraged the government to assume a higher tone, and to comport itself towards the people in a more imperious manner, than would either have been ventured upon, or endured, under other circumstances. Now, though the nation has got rid of the panic and the zeal which produced this innovation, the government is unwilling to abate of the jealous and commanding tone to which it had become accustomed during the prevalence of these feelings. The second effect of this great event has been, to render hereditary rank and pretension less imposing and respectable than formerly in the eyes of the people. The diadem of Bonaparte has dimmed the lustre of all the antient crowns of Europe; and her nobles have been outshone, and outgeneralled, and outnegotiated, by men raised by their own exertions from the common level of the populace. The antient and hereditary rulers of states, in short, have made but a poor figure in the contest with their plebeian antagonists; and it is impossible that the people of this country should have been spectators of the struggle, without feeling an abatement of that habitual veneration for rank and dignity, which is still a considerable ingredient in their loyalty and submissiion. Their apprehension of this effect, has led the inju-
dicious

ditions part of our aristocracy, and the base and more numerous herd of their underlings, to attempt to counteract it, by a more than ordinary share of arrogance and presumption.

The *second* aggravation of this constitutional disorder, may be referred to the unusual duration of Mr Pitt's administration, and to the circumstances under which the present ministry assumed and have maintained their situations. We conceive it to be essential to the purity of the English constitution, that no ministry should remain very long in office. For the time they are in, they degrade their opponents throughout the nation to the condition of the plebeian orders in the old tyrannical governments of the Continent, by a systematical exclusion from all posts of honour and dignity; and are only prevented, by the precariousness of their tenure, from adopting towards them in common society all those insolent airs of superiority which the noblesse of old France used to practise towards such as were not noble. If an administration last very long, something of this kind must infallibly grow up even in this country; and some of our readers may remember, that there was an approach to it during the time of Mr Pitt's greatest popularity. Lord Sidmouth's administration, and the shortlived ministry of Lord Grenville, gave a check to this tone of proscription; but the sudden conversion of the most insignificant minority which has existed since the Revolution, into the most confident and imperious ministry that ever existed in England, has renewed the alarms of all who look beyond the hour that lies before them. The present administration is evidently a continuation of that which was directed by Mr Pitt; and the result of the two short attempts to supplant it, almost authorises us to conclude, that it is *impossible* to keep out a ministry which has been long in power, and has retained the personal favour of the Sovereign. Though driven repeatedly from their posts by the public scorn or indignation, they have only to wait till some blunder or disaster shake the popularity of their successors, and may reckon upon being brought back in triumph with the whole train of their dependants. Whatever evils and inconveniences, therefore, attend a very long administration, either from the greater narrowness of their monopoly, the increased insolence of their tone, or their more habitual alienation from the sentiments of the people, may be expected to become apparent in our actual circumstances, and to aggravate those discontents which spring from causes still more radical.

The *third* accidental source of our dissensions, may be traced to the sudden disappearance of most of the great and popular characters by whom the nation had been long accustomed to be guided; and the succession of a race of men who are generally

acknowledged to be unequal to the mighty tasks which have been assigned to them. With all the growing intelligence and discontent and presumption of the lower and middling orders, they were still held in awe by the genius and established superiority of those men. The body of the nation relied implicitly on their wisdom; and their very errors were respected even by those who had the courage to expose them. Of late, however, the government has fallen into the hands of persons who are less known and less respected;—whose names carry nothing venerable with them to enoble submission, and nothing commanding to overawe turbulence. Though their gifts and their popular qualities are far inferior to those of their predecessors, their pretensions are at least as lofty, and expressed in a manner still more haughty and revolting. Nor is it a thing to be wondered at, if a people, disposed at any rate to call in question the authority of its rulers, should feel more than usual discontent when delivered into the hands of men who have no place in *either* aristocracy—of rank or of talents; and who, without the aid of general popularity, or the support of extensive connexions, have taken possession of the government on the strength of a certain clerk-like alacrity and thoroughgoing confidence—of accommodating consciences, and habits of courtly compliance. The great complication and increase of the national business, has given rise, in our times, to this new generation of public men. But they have hitherto been subservient to the actual rulers of the state; and the era of their accession to immediate power, could scarcely fail to be marked with the symptoms of popular dissatisfaction.

The *last* peculiar or temporary cause of our national disunion, is the extraordinary peril of the times in which we live, and the signal want of success with which almost all our public measures have been attended. In ordinary times, it is little more than a labour of honour to administer public affairs, and a matter nearly of indifference by whom they are administered. In such times, a polished and intelligent nation in reality governs itself; and the office of prime minister may be fairly sought by, and safely yielded to any man of popular manners, and ordinary skill in business. But, when the state of a people comes to be full of hazard and difficulty—when every blunder is big with incalculable danger, and the want of consummate judgment threatens to involve every individual in ruin—it then becomes utterly intolerable that a post of such responsibility should be given up to presumptuous mediocrity,—or the imminent peril of twenty millions of men be made a stake for conceited selfishness, or low party passion, to play for. Even those who are most inclined, by nature and habit, to acquiesce in established systems, and to trust to official wisdom, are roused,

ed, at such a season, to inquire a little into the qualifications of their rulers, and to murmur against that most atrocious of all abuses, by which incapacity is allowed to drive in the place where genius herself might falter and grow pale. When the people look to the condition to which they are now brought, and the lamentable issue of the many proud promises which their rulers have made to them in the course of the contest;—when they look back upon the whole foreign policy of England for these last twenty years—upon that strange and humiliating scene of improvidence, inconsistency, insolence, and paltry rapacity—that sad series of preposterous hopes and discreditable disappointments—that sickening alternation of boasting and disgrace, of blustering apologies, rash councils, and tardy performance;—when they look back upon all these things, and recollect that their affairs are still in the guidance of the remnant of these unprosperous counsellors, by whom they have been so often deceived;—is it not reasonable to expect, that their incredible credulity should at last be exhausted, and that they should begin to ask, whether there is not in the nation some better judgment, and cooler temper, to save them in the crisis of their fate? It is needless, for our present purpose, to speak of the policy which has been pursued as to Ireland, or of the melancholy mixture of rashness and irresolution, of dread and of defiance of public opinion, which has been exhibited in some late proceedings of the Government. Enough has been said to show, that the dangers of the country, and the long train of disappointments which she has purchased at so great a price, must have excited a pretty general distrust and disrespect for its rulers, even if there had not been causes of a more general nature to produce this alienation.

Such, as it appears to us, are the leading circumstances, both general and particular, which have led to the great political malady under which we now labour—the monopoly of political power by too small a part of the nation, and the consequent discontent of the greater number. Two miserable consequences result from this evil. In the first place, affairs are administered with much less wisdom and judgment, than if the public servants were chosen, on account of their serviceable qualities, from the whole body of the nation. In the second place, there is evident danger of disorder among the people themselves, and a certainty of their being lukewarm in the service of Government, even where the national security may call on them for the greatest exertions. The evil, therefore, which we have spent so much time in describing, is such as calls imperiously for a remedy.

There can be little doubt, we humbly conceive, that the governing part of the nation is, upon the whole, worse qualified

for the task it has to perform, than any other description of persons within it. In all other departments of intellectual exertion, we have among us instances of unrivalled talent, dexterity and success; and the body of the people, we verily believe, contains a greater mass of sound judgment, varied intelligence, and original genius, than any other people that ever existed. Our political artificers, however, are by no means of the same degree of excellence; and, in spite of the great demand which the circumstances of the times have created for this kind of talent, it is obvious that the supply has recently been very inadequate. When this is the case, political economists tell us, we may conclude at once that there is some undue monopoly of the sources from which it should be derived; and the investigation in which we have just been engaged, seems to justify the conclusion in this instance. The true cure, then, for this part of the evil—to describe it in general terms—is to put an end to this monopoly; to multiply the points of contact between the wisdom which is in the people, and that which is actually employed in the conduct of their affairs; to enlarge the intellectual communication between the nation and its rulers; and thus to enable the knowledge and the talent that are in the country to act upon the mechanism by which its business is performed. For the other part of the evil, it is equally easy to indicate the general description of the remedy. It must consist in a change of tone in the government, and in the greater part of those who aim at political influence in the country,—such a change only as may show that there is a sincere desire to conciliate, and to act along with the great body of the people; that they are not looked upon either with contempt or distrust; and that their right to think and to feel for the situation of the country is seriously and cordially recognized.

All this, we admit, is very vague:—and yet, if there were a general and sincere disposition to reduce it to practice, very little difficulty, we believe, would be experienced. Our popular reformers are undoubtedly far more specific. They are for cutting off the rotten boroughs, enlarging the elective franchise, and shortening the duration of parliament; by which operations, they contend, that the people will at once be reconciled to the government, and the government be rendered cordial to the people. Now, though we are infinitely less sanguine as to the effects of such measures, and are satisfied, indeed, that the whole of what is now proposed could not be attempted without the greatest danger, we are still ready to admit, that the expectations of benefit from a parliamentary reform, are much less chimerical with a view to the great evil of which we have been speaking, than as to any of the other effects which have been anticipated from it.

We

We have always professed to be on the whole friendly to such a reform; and if the people be generally desirous of it, we think the time is come when it ought to be no longer withheld. We do not think that it will produce a parliament materially different in its character or composition from that which now exists; and we shall state, in the sequel, the reasons why we should dread the idea of any material difference. But it will do good, we think, in two important particulars. In the first place, it will tend to raise the importance of the people in general, and to maintain and exercise in them that feeling of citizenship and political duty, which is so apt to be lost in a commercial country; although it is upon it *alone* that all rational freedom must ultimately repose. In the second place, the mere granting of a boon to which so much importance has been (perhaps foolishly) attached, will be a pledge of the confidence and cordiality with which they are regarded by their superiors, and will go far to dispel the jealous and hostile feelings which so many other causes have lately gendered between them.

As to the kind or the quantity of reform which we think may be safely granted for those purposes, it will scarcely be expected that we should presume to lay any specific proposition before our readers. The most obvious fault in our present system of representation, is its great and glaring *inequality*. In some places, five men returning two members,—in others fifty thousand: Here, a burgh of twenty hovels having its full share of representation,—there, two or three large and prosperous towns not represented at all. Now, though we would not altogether destroy this inequality, which produces good as well as bad effects on the whole, we certainly think that it ought to be diminished, and a certain approach made to uniformity in the exercise of so valuable a right. We would not scruple, therefore, to take away the right of electing from several close and several decayed burghs, and to give more members to several populous districts. The pecuniary qualification of the electors ought, at the same time, to be somewhat raised, especially in the open burghs; but to compensate this, it ought to be estimated in the counties, as well as elsewhere, not merely by property or interest *in land*, but by property of all sorts, or rather, perhaps, by the payment of taxes to a certain amount,—paying a due tribute to the superior weight and respectability of the landed interest, by making the qualification lower for them than for other proprietors. Some regulations should also be adopted for avoiding the tumult and disorder which now disgrace our most popular elections, and which have inspired many worthy people with a general horror at the very name of a popular reform. Something may be learned in this respect from

the practice of America, where, by means of *written* votes, collected and authenticated by a very simple process, the elections are conducted, in that country of universal suffrage and ferocious faction; without the smallest tendency to disorder. If this could be accomplished with us, it would certainly remove one very strong objection to shortening the duration of parliament.

Such a reform as this, we are convinced, might be effected with perfect safety; and, we make no doubt, with considerable benefit to the country. Its beneficial effects, however, we are persuaded; would be confined to the points we have just mentioned. It would not materially touch the state of taxation or of influence:— and as for altering the composition of the House of Commons, by excluding from it all who are sent there by the interest of the ministry or of noble families, we can only say, that if we believed it at all likely to produce such an effect, we should think it our duty to strive against it, as against a measure which would deprive us of all the practical blessings of our constitution.

We took the liberty, on a former occasion,* to say a good deal upon this subject; and after observing that the whole substantial power of the Government was now manifestly vested in the House of Commons, we proceeded to show that the balance of the constitution was preserved, and could only be preserved, by being transferred into that House; where a certain proportion of the influence of the Crown and of the great families of the land, was advantageously, though somewhat irregularly, mingled with the proper representation of the people. The expediency, and indeed the necessity of this arrangement, we should humbly conceive, must be manifest to all who will but consider the distractions and dreadful convulsions that would ensue, if the three branches of the Legislature were really to be kept apart in their practical operations, and to check and controul each other, not by an infusion of their elementary principles into all the measures of each, but by working separately to thwart or undo what had been undertaken by the other, without any means of concert or cooperation.

In the first place, it is perfectly obvious, that if the House of Commons, with its absolute power over the supplies, and its connexion with the physical force of the nation, were to be composed entirely of the representatives of the yeomanry of the counties and the tradesmen of the burghs, and were to be actuated solely by the feelings and interests which are peculiar to that class of men, it would infallibly convert the government into a mere democracy, and speedily sweep away the incumbrance of Lords and Commons, who could not exist at all therefore, if they had

* Vol. X. p. 411, 412, &c.

had not an influence in this assembly. But even supposing that this consequence would not immediately follow, is it not obvious, in the second place, that if the House of Lords and the Sovereign had no means of influencing the determination of the Commons within their own walls, they could only controul them in the exercise of their legislative function, by throwing out or negating the bills which had been passed by the unanimous assent of that House?—Now, there is no man, we believe, who can hesitate as to the consequences of such a mode of controul as this. If the House of Commons were to send up a series of popular bills which were successively negated by the Sovereign, the consequence would *infallibly* be, an insurrection and a civil war:—and if, on the other hand, he were to pass, as a matter of course, every bill which had been voted by a great majority of that House, at the same time that he and his servants had no influence over their deliberations, the controul of the executive would be utterly lost and abandoned; and the government, as we have already said, would be changed into a virtual republic. It seems to us to be a matter of necessity, therefore, that the Crown should have a certain influence in the House of Commons. That of the nobility is still less irregular. In point of fact, indeed, the nobility of England are no longer distinguishable, as to their *interests*, from her opulent commoners; nor is there any intelligible ground for excluding the influence of the one, more than that of the other. If it be true, indeed, that the whole force of the government actually resides in the House of Commons, which we take to be obvious to every one who will take the pains to reflect upon it; it follows, that the Nobility, as well as the Crown, must either have something to say in its deliberations, or must have nothing to say in the government. Their separate functions serve other purposes indeed; but, acting in these, they could exercise no effectual controul over the Commons, though they might provoke them to their destruction.

These propositions might be copiously illustrated by the whole history of the English government, ever since the increasing weight and consequence of the Commons gave them an effective power in the proceedings of the Legislature. While the Sovereign lived on his Royal demesnes, and wars were supported by knights' service;—while there were scarcely any taxes, and the business of legislation was settled in a few days in each year, the House of Commons had little to do but to vote a scanty supply, and sometimes to accompany it by a remonstrance of no terror nor authority. The Sovereign, in the first place, could do without the supply, if it should be actually withheld; in the second place, he could levy what he pleased, in a variety of ways, without the consent of that assembly; and, finally, he and his nobles and their retainers, for whose equipment it

was

was wanted, could at any time easily overbear the whole House of Commons and their constituents, and compel them to yield whatever was demanded. This state of things lasted till the time of Henry the Eighth, or Elizabeth; down to which period the constitution of England actually consisted of the separate and uncompounded elements of King, Lords, and Commons, each acting upon a view of its peculiar interest. The growing importance of the Commons, and the wants of the Government, made a practical change necessary in the reign of the Stewarts; and the attempt to adhere to the theory of the constitution produced the destruction of the monarchy and the death of the King. Mr Laing, in his late accurate and profound history, has pointed out this distinctly as the cause of these unhappy convulsions. The King, he observes, ruined himself and the country, by standing on his prerogative, and neglecting the means of influencing the Parliament. He made various efforts, indeed, to seduce and gain over the most formidable of the popular leaders in that assembly; but he chose, most absurdly, to proclaim his triumph, by making them immediately desist from that occupation, and enlisting them as the open advocates of his prerogative. Instead of submitting to receive the popular leaders as his ministers, and in this way bringing all the weight of the Royal influence to bear through that commanding channel upon the Parliament, he never promoted them to office till they had lost all power and popularity by an avowed desertion to the separate party of the King; and thus, by allowing the Commons to carry every thing before them in their own House, and then opposing the naked walls of his prerogative to the full shock of that unbridled current, he invited a contest, that, even in those days, proved ruinous to himself and to the constitution. The same principle of misgovernment, aided indeed by baser practices on a baser generation, lasted down till the Revolution; when, as is universally acknowledged, the true principles of the constitution were first recognized, and the reign of *influence* and regular freedom began.

With these impressions, then, not only of the harmlessness, but of the vital necessity of a certain infusion of Royal and aristocratical influence in that assembly which virtually engrosses the whole power of the Legislature, it will easily be understood, that we have no great indulgence for those notions of reform, which seem to be uppermost in the minds of some of its warmest supporters; and that we should consider such a change in the constitution of that House, as Sir Francis Burdett and Mr Cobbett appear to think essential to its purity, as by far the greatest calamity which could be inflicted upon us by our own hands. These very able and eloquent persons, too, we observe, are fully aware of the consequences which we have endeavoured to connect with
such

such an alteration; and, indeed, it is very remarkable, that both of them regard the revival or active development of the King's prerogative, as an important part of that beneficial reform, which they think would be effected by purging the Commons' House of all admixture of Royal or aristocratical influence. Mr Cobbett talks repeatedly of the irregularity of Parliament interfering with the King's choice of his ministers, with which, he says, they have no more to do, than with the choice of his running footmen; and Sir Francis Burdett, in the speech which is before us, is reported, we observe, to have insisted very largely upon the benefits to be derived from restoring to the Sovereign the prerogative of determining what burghs should be allowed to return members to Parliament, and which should be deprived of that privilege. It is obvious, therefore, that they see clearly, that if this influence is to be destroyed in the House of Commons, it *must* either be renewed in the shape of prerogative, or the kingly and aristocratical elements must be altogether discharged from the constitution. It does strike us, we will confess, with astonishment, to find persons, of the force of mind and the knowledge of the gentlemen in question, seriously inculcating such strange and tremendous doctrine. To set the Sovereign of this country again to stand upon his prerogative, and to meet the encroachments of a democratical House of Commons, with no other aid than a set of ministers appointed without any connexion with that House, would be to expose the monarchy and the constitution to a fate infinitely more certain and terrible than that which fell upon them in the time of King Charles; while to allow *him* or his ministers to say, at every election, from what places members should or should not be sent, would evidently be to make *all* the burghs in the kingdom treasury burghs,—and, in fact, to place the whole body of the legislature under the absolute power of the executive. We find it difficult to believe that men of distinguished talents should be actually imposed upon by absurdities so glaring:—but it is yet more difficult and more painful to believe, that without being imposed upon, they should be capable of maintaining them to the public, even for the purpose of forwarding what they consider to be a patriotic object.

If we apprehended, therefore, that the House of Commons would be freed from all but popular influence, by making the scheme of representation more comprehensive and more consistent, we should certainly be vehement against any such change in its present constitution. We have no fears, however, on this head; and are perfectly satisfied, that so long as the administration retains any considerable share of its present patronage, and so long as the great families retain their popularity and riches,
there

there will always be a due proportion of their influence to prevent that omnipotent assembly from being guided by the feelings of only one class of the community. There is a very tolerable proportion of that influence even among the *county* members of the Parliament as it now stands,—such a proportion, perhaps, as would be sufficient for the average of the whole House:—and by raising the qualification of an elector, both in the counties and in the burghs, this aristocratical influence would be made rather greater over the whole kingdom, than it now is in the counties.

The only difficulty with which it appears to us that this great question is attended, arises from the circumstance of this interference of the Crown and the Nobility in the representation of the Commons, not being *avowed* or *regulated* by the public law of the land. It is practised in a sort of covert and underhand manner; and this gives an appearance of guiltiness to the thing itself, which naturally embarrasses those who are called on to defend it, and excites a natural apprehension of its danger and illegality. If the thing, however, be proved to be actually beneficial, the argument drawn from appearances and presumptions must be admitted to be sufficiently answered. But the truth is, that there is a twofold reason for those appearances—one drawn from history, the other from a feeling of expediency. The exercise of this influence was gradually resorted to by the King and the nobles, as their only defence against the annihilation with which they were threatened by the formidable increase of the popular power; and it was naturally practised in secret, that it might not be defeated by the interference of that great rival. Even after it came to be universally known and recognized in practice, it was not thought either necessary or safe to subject it to any formal regulation, both because this could not be done without distinctly acknowledging it as a legal and constitutional practice in itself, and because it was of such a nature that no limitation, which admitted at all of its existence, could possibly be effectual. To have attempted to limit the amount of this influence, therefore, would really have been to increase and encourage it beyond the bounds which necessity had assigned to it. If the King were allowed openly to return ten members, and the nobility as many, the only consequence would be, that they would obtain those twenty members *beyond* what they now have, and get the present number more easily elected into the bargain. It would be like a permission to smuggle a certain quantity of any commodity, or to publish a certain number of libels in the year; the infallible consequence of which would be, to increase the average quantity of smuggling and of defamation by all that quantity. If there be a contraband, therefore, that is necessary to the comfort of the country, or a certain quantity of reviling that must have

have vent, the wiser policy is, to keep up the law, and connive at its violation within certain limits. It is a breach of privilege to publish the speeches of members of Parliament; yet it is highly proper, and, we will say, necessary to the freedom of the country, that they should generally be published. It has not been thought necessary, however, to recognize this right in a formal manner; but the practice is commonly connived at,—at the same time that a power is retained of repressing it, when it may appear to be tending to any abuse; the reason is, as in the case before us, that it might be dangerous to grant an unlimited sanction, and that it is impossible to fix on a just limitation. It is equally criminal, in a political point of view, to give a seat or a vote out of gratitude for personal favours, or out of deference to a parent, or affection for a son, as it is to give them for a sum of money. The gradations by which motives of this kind slide into mere subserviency or venality, are too fine to be made the subject of regulation; and a tacit permission of what is inevitable, is found to be the best way of retaining the power of checking what may be prevented.

It is not easy to resolve to conclude, on a theme so copious and so interesting; but there is one remark, which is a necessary qualification, and key, and conclusion, to all that we have said, or should wish to say on the subject. The people must be the keepers of their own freedom. Nobody else either can or will keep it for them. All governments have a tendency to become arbitrary; and all legislative assemblies, whether elected or hereditary, have a similar propensity. The *only* check to the encroachments of power, and the oppressions of inceptive tyranny, is the spirit, the intelligence, the vigilance, the prepared *resistance*, of the people. A king with a single regiment of body-guards, might, and most certainly would, make himself absolute, if he did not know that, on the first or the second instance of oppression, his thousand men would be set upon and torn to pieces by many thousands of his irritated people. It is the same feeling which prevents all parliaments from declaring themselves perpetual, and all ministers from making themselves vizirs. The main point, then, is to keep alive this spirit, this intelligence, this alacrity of observation, this determination to resist oppression by force, if necessary: and the chief constitutional use of parliaments and elections, and all the machinery and apparatus of Government, is to afford occasions and incitements for the exercise and display of all these qualities. While the nation retains its curiosity and interest about public events—while there are men of all parties and all sorts of opinions in Parliament—while there is publicity and freedom of speech there and throughout the country, we have no fear of losing our liberties;

ties; or even of any serious attempt being made to infringe them. However constituted, and even however corrupt, no Parliament would dare to rouse the indignation of the people. We have had recent and comfortable examples of the terrible force of their opinion; and, while we would eagerly patronize every scheme of reform which has a tendency to increase their spirit, their knowledge and their self-estimation, we must consider every thing that has not this tendency as of very subordinate importance.

ART. II. *An Account of the Empire of Morocco, and the District of Suse. Compiled from Miscellaneous Observations made during a long residence in, and various Journeys through these Countries. To which is added, an accurate and interesting Account of Tombuctoo, the great Emporium of Central Africa.* By James Grey Jackson, Esq. Illustrated with Engravings. London. 4to. pp. 303. Printed for the Author. Nicols. 1809.

ALTHOUGH this volume can by no means be viewed as a systematic description of West Barbary, and though its title-page, in this respect, as well as in the mention of Tombuctoo, is calculated to raise expectations which the work itself does not fulfil, we nevertheless accept very thankfully of Mr Jackson's contribution to geographical science; and should be glad to see so good an example followed by other mercantile men, who may have similar opportunities of obtaining information.

In the prosecution of his business he has resided for a long time among a people less known to Europeans than any other with whom we have, during so many ages, had such constant intercourse: and he has travelled all over a country within sight of Gibraltar, but only less unknown to us than Paragonia and Soudan. The observations which he has himself made upon those parts, and the notices which he has collected respecting the interior from native travellers, form a work of considerable value, both in a commercial and a literary view; and lead us to rejoice, that merchants who have resided in foreign countries are beginning more and more to communicate information upon their return home. Had this practice prevailed in former times, the labours of the African Association would have been incalculably assisted; and Africa, as well as other countries known to us almost by name alone, would have been, before this time, explored with success.

Mr Jackson's book sets out with various details, strictly geographical, upon the divisions, rivers, and mountains of West Barbary. We shall not make any abstract of these, nor do they call

call for observation ;—only we must remark, that, in his anxiety to correct the common orthography of African names, our author has fallen into a piece of pedantry. We do not greatly object to *Bled-el-jerrède* for *Biledulgerid* ; or *Fas* for *Fez* ; or even *Timbuctoo* for *Tombuctoo* ; but *Marocco* for *Morocco* is a little too much. This word is completely naturalized in our language ; and to think of changing it, is about as ridiculous an affectation of correctness as it would be to call *Germany*, *Deutschland* ; or *Spain*, *Espana*.

In treating of the vegetable productions of this empire, Mr Jackson gives many statements which illustrate its various and extreme fertility. Notwithstanding its miserable state of cultivation, nay, we may say almost without culture, its crops of fruit, vegetables and grain, are prodigious. Domestic animals abound in proportion. The climate is in general favourable to life, having only three months of great heat, and from one to three weeks of the hot wind from the desert, which precedes the rainy season, and is intolerable.

In a long chapter upon the zoology of this part of Africa, we meet with some particulars that deserve notice. The account of the Heirie, or Desert Camel, is very singular, and we should suspect it of exaggeration.

‘ Nature, ever provident, and seeing the difficulty of communication, from the immense tracts of desert country in Sahara, has afforded the Saharawans a means, upon any emergency, of crossing the great African desert in a few days. Mounted upon the (Heirie) desert camel (which is in figure similar to the camel of burden, but more elegantly formed), the Arab, with his loins, breast, and ears bound round, to prevent the percussion of air proceeding from a quick motion, rapidly traverses, upon the back of this abstemious animal, the scorching desert, the fiery atmosphere of which, parches and impedes respiration, so as almost to produce suffocation. The motion of the heirie is violent, and can be endured only by those patient, abstemious, and hardy Arabs, who are accustomed to it. The most inferior kind of heirie are called Talatayee, a term expressive of their going the distance of three days journey in one: the next kind is called Sebayee, a term appropriated to that which goes seven days journey in one, and this is the general character ; there is also one called Tasayee, or the heirie of nine days ; these are extremely rare.’ p. 39, 40.

The swiftness of this useful animal is thus described by the Arabs, in their figurative manner. ‘ When thou shalt meet a heirie, and say to the rider, “ *Salem Alick*,” * ere he shall have answered thee, “ *Alick Salem*,” † he will be afar off, and nearly out

* The common salutation, ‘ peace be between us.’

† The answer, ‘ there is peace between us.’

out of sight; for his swiftness is like the wind.' Now all this is very well for general description, or rather metaphor; but Mr Jackson comes to specific facts in illustration of it;—and here, we own, he does rather startle us. One of these animals, it seems, came from the Senegal river to Mogador in seven days, having travelled through fourteen degrees of latitude, and performed a journey, in all probability, of nearly 1100 miles, or 160 miles a day. Nay, a lover of Mogador one morning mounted his heirie at dawn, went to Morocco, and brought back some oranges, which his mistress had a longing for, late the same night,—having performed a journey of two hundred miles! Our author anticipates the incredulity of his readers, and reminds them, that Bruce 'was lampooned by Munchausen' for many things which afterwards turned out to be correct. But we apprehend that this anecdote of the lover and his heirie is in greater danger of being taken for a story of Munchausen himself, than one of those which he lampooned in Bruce's work.

Our author makes some curious observations on the colour of the camelion. From a variety of experiments, he infers, that it assumes the colour of the bodies over which it passes, to a certain degree; but of none so well as green. These changes of colour require a certain time,—generally two or three minutes; the camelion's body becoming covered with small spots of the given colour, which gradually enlarge, until the whole surface is changed. When the animal is irritated, it gradually assumes a dirty blackish hue, which lasts until the irritation ceases: and while he is asleep, or in a state of complete repose, his colour is whitish. If the accuracy of these observations is to be trusted (which, in the case of an unlearned experimentalist, we cannot safely do), they are of considerable value; for they show that the change of colour is not merely an optical effect of the configuration of the animal's surface, but is owing to a change in the state of that surface. Whether this change is owing to the *perception* of the colour, or to any other sympathetic affection, might have been determined by passing the animal blindfolded over different coloured substances.

The account of ostrich hunting is curious. A party of about twenty Arabs set out upon desert horses, an animal which bears the same relation to the common horse that the heirie does to the camel. They ride against the wind, find the track of the ostrich, and, distributing themselves at distances of half a mile one after another, pursue the bird at full speed. She finding her wings an impediment, turns round, and runs towards the hunters, who fire at her successively until they bring her down. The swiftness of the ostrich is such, that, without this stratagem, she
never

never could be taken; and as her stupidity alone enables it to succeed, thereby rendering her swiftness of no avail, Mr Jackson pauses, somewhat needlessly, to moralize, which he does, we must confess, rather in an awkward manner. 'Thus we see' (he exclaims) 'that Providence, whenever it gives any extraordinary quality to an animal, gives also another to neutralize that quality, and thereby to bring it under the power of man.' A proposition quite unfounded in fact; but which, if it were just, would amount simply to the assertion, that Providence is constantly working in vain. The account which our author gives of the two chief plagues of this country, the locust and the pestilence, is exceedingly striking. We have only room, however, for one passage relating to the latter. It contains some very remarkable particulars respecting the effects of the last great plague upon the general condition of the empire.

* The destruction of the human species in the province of Suse was considerably greater than elsewhere. Terodant, formerly the metropolis of a kingdom, but now that of Suse, lost, when the infection was at its height, about eight hundred each day. The ruined, but still extensive and populous city of Marocco, lost one thousand each day. The populous cities of Old and New Fas diminished in population twelve or fifteen hundred each day; * insomuch, that in these extensive cities, the mortality was so great, that the living having not time to bury the dead, the bodies were deposited or thrown altogether into large holes, which, when nearly full, were covered over with earth. Young, healthy, and robust persons of full stamina, were for the most part attacked first, then women and children, and lastly, thin, sickly, emaciated, and old people.

† After this deadly calamity had subsided, we beheld a general alteration in the fortunes and circumstances of men. We saw persons who, before the plague, were common labourers, now in possession of thousands, and keeping horses, without knowing how to ride them. Parties of this description were met wherever we went, and the men of family called them in derision (*el wurata*) the inheritors. † Provisions also became extremely cheap and abundant. The flocks and herds had been left in the fields, and there was now no one to own them; and the propensity to plunder, so notoriously attached to the character of the Arab, as well as to the Shelluh and Moor, was superseded by a conscientious regard to justice, originating from a continual apprehension of dissolution; and that the El khere, as the plague was now called, was a judgment of the Omnipotent on the disobedience of man, and that it behoved every indi-

VOL. XIV. NO. 28.

X

vidual

* 'There died, during the whole of the above periods, in Marocco, 50,000; in Fas, 65,000; in Mogodor, 4500; and in Saffy 5000: in all, 124,500 souls!'

† 'Des gens parvenues, as the French express it, or upstarts.'

vidual to amend his conduct, as a preparation to his departure for Paradise.

‘ The expense of labour, at the same time, increased enormously ; and never was equality in the human species more conspicuous than at this time. When corn was to be ground, or bread baked, both were performed in the houses of the affluent, and prepared by themselves ; for the very few people whom the plague had spared, were insufficient to administer to the wants of the rich and independent ; and they were accordingly compelled to work for themselves, performing personally the menial offices of their respective families.

‘ The country being now depopulated, and much of the territory without owners, vast tribes of Arabs emigrated from their abodes in the interior of Sahara, and took possession of the country contiguous to the river Draha, as well as many districts in Suse ; and, in short, settling themselves, and pitching their tents wherever they found a fertile country with little or no population.’ p. 272, 273.

Our author calculates the population of the whole empire, including Tafilelt, at 14,886,600 inhabitants. Of these, he allows nearly 900,000 to the towns ; upwards of 10,300,000 to the empire of Morocco west of Atlas ; three millions to the tribes of North Atlas ; and 650,000 to Tafilelt. The computations are formed, he says, upon accounts collected from various quarters, and, among others, from the Imperial registers ; and he appears to place much confidence in their accuracy. We are afraid, however, that he is somewhat above the mark in many particulars. The city of Morocco, for instance, can scarcely contain 270,000 inhabitants ; and still less is it possible to suppose that Fez contains so large a population as 380,000.

In the following passage, we have some striking particulars respecting the state of the government, and its influence upon the character of the people.

‘ The people of this empire, being born subjects of an arbitrary despot, they may be said to have no established laws. They know no other than the will of the prince ; and if this should deviate, as it sometimes does, from the moral principles laid down in the Koran, it must be obeyed. Where the Emperor resides, he administers justice, in person, generally twice, and sometimes four times a week, in the (M’shoire) place of audience, whither all complaints are carried. Here access is easy ; he listens to every one, foreigners or subjects, men or women, rich or poor. There is no distinction ; every one has a right to appear before him, and boldly to explain the nature of his case ; and although his person is considered as sacred, and established custom obliges the subject to prostrate himself, and to pay him rather adoration than respect, yet every complainant may tell his story without the least hesitation or timidity. Indeed, if any one is abashed, or appears diffident, his cause is weakened in proportion. Judgment is always prompt, decisive, plausible, and generally correct.

‘ In places remote from the Emperor’s court, the (Kalif) vice-regent, or bashaw, has his M’shoire, * where he administers justice, sometimes according to the laws of the Koran, and, at others, as his caprice dictates; for the same imperious despotism which the Emperor too frequently exercises over his bashaws and alkaidas, is exercised by them over those who fall under their government; and the same is done again by their subalterns, when they have it in their power. Thus tyranny proceeds progressively from the prince to the lowest of his officers. These petty tyrants are dispersed over the whole empire, and often give sanction to their extortions, by effecting them in the name of their master. The accumulation of wealth is the grand object of all their desires. When they learn from their emissaries or spies that an individual has acquired considerable property, they contrive to find out some cause of accusation against him, and by that means extort money from him. It often happens, however, that those who amass the greatest sums in this way enjoy them but a very short time. Some unexpected order from the Emperor, accusing them of crimes or misdemeanors, is made a pretext for depriving them, in their turn, of their ill-gotten wealth, which his majesty never fails to inform them can be of no use to them, being more than sufficient to procure the necessaries of life, and ought therefore to belong to the (Biet el Mel el Mooselmin) Muhammedan treasury, into which it is accordingly delivered, never more to return to its former possessor !

‘ The influence of this mode of government upon the people, is such as might naturally be expected. They are suspicious, deceitful, and cruel. They have no respect for their neighbours, but will plunder one another whenever it is in their power. They are strangers to every social tie and affection; for their hearts are scarcely susceptible of one tender impression. The father fears the son, the son the father; and this lamentable mistrust and want of confidence diffuses itself throughout the whole community.’ p. 142-144.

The wretched condition of these people does not prevent them from being proud and insolent beyond all other nations. The people of ancient Greece did not more profoundly condemn all foreigners, than the Moors do the most enlightened Europeans. The word, indeed, which signifies European, is synonymous with *Barbarian* (*Again*); nevertheless, they despise Christian renegades more than even the unconverted. A change of religion, whether to or from Islamism, is, in their eyes, beyond every thing contemptible.

X 2

* ‘ In the city of Fas, the governor regulates the police, and decides all military disputes. Justice is administered by the cadi, or chief judge, who is guided by the laws of the Koran. He has under him several (Pukil) attorneys, some of whom manage civil controversies, others misdemeanours, and others matters relating to religion, marriages, and divorces.’

tible. It is singular to find so considerable a degree of toleration among such a people. The Emperor of Morocco, it seems, will allow any sect not worshipping a plurality of gods, to have in his dominions places of public worship. There are, in consequence of this permission, Roman Catholic establishments at Morocco, Mequinez, Tangiers, and Mogador. The maxim even of the most ignorant and bigotted of the people is, that every man should be allowed to worship God according to his own conscience, or agreeably to the religion of his ancestors. Certainly these Mussulmans have a good right, in one particular at least, to consider some Europeans—some followers of the religion of peace—nay, some of the most enlightened among them, as barbarians.

Mr Jackson, though far from being partial to the Moors, allows that they have 'one noble trait of character, (fortitude under misfortune).'

'This,' says he, 'the Moor possesses in an eminent degree; he never despairs: no bodily suffering, no calamity, however great, will make him complain: he is resigned in all things to the will God, and waits in patient hope for an amelioration of his condition. In illustration of this, I will take the liberty to relate the following anecdote, as it will also tend to show the great risks to which merchants are exposed in traversing this country.'

"A Fas merchant (with whom I had considerable transactions) went, with all his property, on a commercial speculation from Fas to Timbuctoo; and after remaining at the latter place a sufficient time to dispose of and barter his effects for gold dust and gum of Soudan, he set out on his return to Fas. After passing the Desert, he began to congratulate himself on his good fortune and great success, when suddenly a party of Arabs attacked the (cafila) caravan, and plundered all who belonged to it, leaving the Fas merchant destitute of every thing but what clothes he had on his back. During the interregnum, between the death of the Sultan Yezid and the proclamation of the present Sultan Soliman, this man was plundered again on his way to Mogodor, whither he was going to discharge some debts, and to dispose of gum and other Soudanic produce. Four wives and a numerous family of children rendered his case peculiarly distressing; yet, when condoling with him a few days after his misfortunes had happened, he very patiently observed (*Ash men doua, Allah bra; u la illah, ila Allah*), What remedy is there? God willed it so, and there is none but God. This man afterwards collected together what merchandize he could procure on credit, and proceeded again to Timbuctoo, where he realized much property; and travelling therewith through Wangara and Houssa to Egypt, he was plundered a third time of all he possessed, near Cairo, and reduced to the greatest distress: this last misfortune he bore with the same fortitude as the former. He is now, however, one of the principal merchants established at Timbuctoo," p. 145.

We have already noticed the state of the government, and may now add, that the Moors are all equal by birth, knowing no distinctions of rank, except such as office bestows; and all office flows from the Emperor, and is held at his will. His pleasure may thus raise a person from the dust to the highest rank in the state; and, in a moment, sink the first man in the country to the lowest level. Our author mentions a peculiar etiquette of the emperor's court, which we do not remember to have met with in the history of other despotic countries. The word death, it seems, may not be pronounced in the imperial presence; so that, if it is necessary to inform the Prince that any one is dead, it is done by a circumlocution—'He has completed his destiny,' to which the reply is, 'God be merciful to him.'* An example is, however, given by Mr Jackson, of the subordination in which even the Emperor is held by the religious feelings of the people. Persons bearing the name of Mohammed (which is generally given to the eldest son), are always addressed by the title of *Seedy* (answering to *Signor*); and by this the Emperor himself addresses the meanest of his subjects who happens to bear that honoured appellation.

The two chapters of this work, which treat of the religion and languages of Morocco, are of little or no value. They contain a number of desultory remarks on the Mahometan creed, and on the Arabic tongue; topics, which are not peculiar to West Barbary, and are much better discussed every where else than in these pages. The specimens of other languages spoken in the north of Africa, as Mandingo, Shelluh, &c. are scanty and unsatisfactory. A very minute account is given of the foreign trade of Mogador, and a more general notice of the demands and produce of the country. This cannot fail to prove highly useful to mercantile adventurers. The exports from Morocco, as might be expected, consist almost entirely of raw produce, gums, fruits, bees-wax, ivory, &c. Of these, the value exported from Mogador in 1804, did not exceed 128,000*l.*, freight and duty included. The imports are manufactures, as woollen and cotton cloths, hardware, and some colonial produce. In the same year, there were imported into Mogador about 150,000*l.* worth of such articles. The traffic of the other ports is very trifling. Ceuta and Tangiers export provisions to Gibraltar; and these, as well as a few other towns on the coast, used to carry on a considerable corn trade before the accession of the present Emperor, who has prohibited the exportation of grain. The whole

* Moors, in announcing to each other a Jew's death, say, *Maat bel Karan*, 'the son of a cuckold is dead.' Of a Christian, who bore a good character, they say, *Maat Mesquin*, 'the inoffensive, or negative man is dead;' if he was disliked, *Maat el Kaffer*, 'the infidel is dead.'

foreign trade of the empire, therefore, is very limited; and Mr Jackson, who seems greatly to overrate the importance of a more intimate connexion with West Barbary, ascribes the declining state of the commerce to the mismanagement of the English government in its intercourse with that of Morocco. Our consuls never understand Arabic; they must converse with the Emperor, or his ministers, through the medium of an ignorant Jew interpreter, who is always an object of contempt, and for the most part, deserves no confidence. To such negotiators, it cannot be expected that the Moorish court should communicate freely. There is, moreover, a marked inattention to this subject on the part of our Government, which Mr Jackson complains of with some appearance of justice; for he relates, that when the Emperor of Morocco lately wrote a most friendly letter to the King of England, it was suffered to lie in the Secretary of State's office for some months, without any notice being taken of its contents, to the great indignation of his Imperial Majesty. At last, the circumstance having come to the knowledge of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he applied to Mr Jackson to translate the letter. The result is not mentioned; but, we trust, that after a further time shall have been allowed to the foreign office for laughing at the Moorman, making a due portion of puns and squibs upon his titles, turning his epistle into doggerel, and going through the other routine of that pleasant department of the state, the facetious minister who presides over it may find time to transmit a few lines in reply; the sneers and sarcasms of which, being mistaken by the slave of Ali for pure foolishness, will greatly contribute to raise the character of our nation in the eyes of the Moorish court. In truth, there never was a period when so favourable an opportunity offered of cultivating the goodwill of the Barbary powers. There is something peculiarly striking in the similarity between our rulers and theirs. Our vigorous statesmen have a turn for piracy which would do honour to the privy council of Morocco, or Tunis. The admiralty of Salee must view with astonishment and envy the large scale on which its favourite system hath of late been carried into effect, by our naval power. What boon could be refused to an envoy, who described, at his first audience, the wonders of Copenhagen? Could any prince, with a drop of Algerine blood in his veins, hear unmoved the suit of those who speak of the Spanish dollar ships? To those who believe that fools enjoy the special favour of heaven, there is every reason to think that our cabinet could not apply in vain. And as for the difference of religion, nothing will be easier than to persuade the Moor, that our Government has rejected the abominations of Christianity, by laying before him a history of the pashalick

pashalick of Ireland, or the correspondence with the Beys of Calcutta and Madras. From a negotiation commenced under such happy auspices, by powers so congenial, the happiest result may be expected. The Moor has only to take care that his vessels do not find their way into our ports, and to keep our *residents* out of his towns; and there is no intimacy of union, in peace or in war, for which both parties are not fully prepared.

Another neglect of the British Government, arising in a great measure out of the former, is pointed out in a striking manner by Mr Jackson. The crews of the vessels wrecked on the Barbary coast, are, as is well known, after being plundered, carried away and sold as slaves by the Arabs. In sixteen years, ending 1806, seventeen English vessels are known to have been lost, and their crews, amounting probably to 200 persons, have been either killed in the plunder of the wrecks, or dispersed in captivity in the interior. There must, besides, have been many more, of which no notice ever reached Mogador. Now, we extract the following passages upon the fate of these unhappy persons, in the serious and earnest hope that they may yet excite attention in the quarter where the defect can be supplied.

'The Arabs going nearly in a state of nature, wearing nothing but a cloth or rag to cover their nakedness, immediately strip their unhappy victims, and march them up the country barefooted, like themselves. The feet of Europeans, from their not being accustomed, like the Arabs, to this mode of travelling, soon begin to swell with the heat of the burning sand over which they pass; the Arab considering only his booty, does not give himself the trouble to inquire into the cause of this, but, abstemious and unexhausted himself, he conceives his unfortunate captive will, by dint of fatigue and travelling, become so too. In these marches the Europeans suffer the pains of fatigue and hunger in a most dreadful degree; for the Arab will go 50 miles a day without tasting food, and at night will content himself with a little barley meal mixed with cold water; miserable fare for an English seaman, who (to use the term that is applied to the richest men among the Arabs) eats meat every day!

'They carry the Christian captives about the Desert, to the different markets to sell them, for they very soon discover that their habits of life render them altogether unserviceable, or very inferior to the black slaves, which they procure from Timbuctoo. After travelling three days to one market, five to another, nay sometimes fourteen, they at length become objects of commercial speculation, and the itinerant Jew traders, who wander about from Wedinooon to sell their wares, find means to barter for them tobacco, salt, a cloth garment, or any other thing, just as a combination of circumstances may offer, and then return to Wedinooon with the purchase. If the Jew have a correspondent at Mogodor, he writes to him, that a ship had

been wrecked, mentioning the flag or nation she belonged to, and requests him to inform the agent, or consul, of the nation of which the captain is a subject; in the mean time flattering the poor men, that they will shortly be liberated and sent to Mogodor, where they will meet their countrymen: a long and tedious servitude, however, generally follows, for want of a regular fund at Mogodor for the redemption of these people. The agent can do nothing but write to the consul-general at Tangier; this takes up nearly a month, before an answer is received, and the merchants at Mogodor being so little protected by their respective governments, and having various immediate uses for their money, are very unwilling to advance for the European interest of 5 *per cent.*: so that the time lost in writing to the government of the country to whom the unfortunate captives belong, the necessity of procuring the money for their purchase previous to their emancipation, and various other circumstances, form impediments to their liberation. I knew an instance where a merchant had advanced the money for one of these captives, who, had his ransom not been paid, would have been obliged to return to the south, where he would have been sold, or compelled to embrace the Mohammedan religion; for the British Vice-Consul had not the purchase-money, nor any orders to redeem him, having previously sent to the Consul-General an account of the purchase of the rest of the crew. This man was delivered up by the merchant who had redeemed him, to the British Vice-Consul, to whom he looked for payment. Various applications were made to the Consul-General; but the money was not paid two years afterwards, all applications to government having failed. A representation of the case was next made to a society in London, which has been established ever since the year 1724,* for the redemption of British slaves in Turkey and Barbary, which, after deliberating on the matter, agreed to pay the merchant the money he had advanced. The purchase-money, in this case, was, including the cost of clothes, (for the man was naked when purchased), did not amount altogether to forty pounds. There was, however, so much trouble attending the accomplishment of the business, that no individual merchant has since ventured to make an advance on a similar security; for, not to mention the difficulty of recovering the principal at the expiration of a long period, the value of money is such at Mogodor, that merchants are unwilling to advance it at a low interest, 6 *per cent. per month* being often paid for it. p. 228—231.

Of

* ' Mr Thomas Betton, a Turkey merchant, by will, in 1724, devised to the Ironmonger's Company, in trust, about 26,000*l.*; one moiety of the profits thereof to be perpetually employed in the redemption of British captives from Moorish slavery; and the other half to be equally distributed between the poor of the Company, and the several charity schools within the city and liberty thereof. See Maitland's History of London.'

Of the 200 persons above mentioned, as composing the crews of shipwrecked vessels, our author estimates, that 40 continued unredeemed among the Arabs, in consequence of no offers having been made for them by the Consuls; and that 80 were redeemed, after a tedious captivity, sometimes of five years. The remaining 80 were either killed at first, or induced to embrace the Mahometan religion. The remedy for this great evil is pointed out by Mr Jackson as follows.

‘ If any nation of Europe ought to inquire into the mode of remedying this evil, it is certainly Great Britain, whose influence at the court of Morocco might be made very considerable and advantageous to the country. A trifling sum would be sufficient at Mogodor, if deposited in the hands of the Vice-Consul, or any merchant of respectability, where it might remain ready to be employed in the purchase of these unfortunate people; and, by allowing a sum rather above the price of a black slave, the Arabs would immediately bring them to Mogodor, knowing they could depend on an adequate price. By this means, they might be procured for half what they now cost; and it would be an infinitely better plan, than that of soliciting the Emperor to procure them through the Bashaw of Suse; for, besides the delay, and consequent protracted sufferings of the captives, the favour is considered by the Emperor as incalculably more than the cost and charges of their purchase.*

‘ It is generally a month or two before the news of a shipwreck reaches Mogodor, at which time, if a fund were there deposited, a hundred and fifty dollars would be sufficient to purchase each man; yet, often from the scarcity of specie, and the various demands which the merchants have for their money, they have it not in their power (however charitably disposed) to redeem these poor men; and if they do, it is at their own risk; and they must wait to know if the government chooses to reimburse their expenses.’ p. 235-6.

The most valuable part of this volume consists of the information which it gives respecting the trade of the interior of Africa. It is well known, that from Tonibuctoo, the great emporium of the central parts of this vast Continent, to the coasts frequented by foreign merchants, as Egypt, the Mediterranean states, and West Barbary, regular caravans carry on an extensive commerce. These caravans, or bodies of travelling merchants, assemble at stated times, for the most part between the months of September and April, in certain places of rendezvous; and, accumulating there

* ‘ As a further proof of the practicability of establishing an advantageous alliance with the present Emperor, it should be here observed, that his predecessors often obliged the English to send an ambassador with presents, &c. to solicit the liberation of British seamen; but Muley Soliman gives them up to the British Consul, without exacting such kind of remuneration.’

there in larger bodies, called *Akkabaahs*, they proceed across *Sahara*, or the great desert. In the course of this journey, they frequently turn aside towards the *oases*, or fertile spots, which afford them fodder, water, and repose, in their toilsome progress. At each oasis, the *akkabah* remains about a week, and then steers for the next spot of the same description. In the intermediate spaces, they suffer incredible hardships. The *shume*, or hot wind, carrying the sand along with it in vast quantities, sometimes suffocates by its heat,—sometimes obliges them to strike their tents for fear of being overwhelmed by the sand—sometimes evaporates the water carried in skins, to such a degree, that 500 dollars are said to have been given for a single draught; and when a partial exhalation only has taken place, the price very frequently rises to ten or twenty dollars. It now and then happens, that the *akkabah*, arriving at an oasis, finds the water dried up; and its own stock being exhausted, the whole caravan must perish. In 1805, a caravan of 2000 persons and 1800 camels, travelling from Tombuctoo to Tafillet, perished utterly from this cause; and, as our author observes, the collections of bones to be met with in different parts of the desert, must be ascribed to the recurrence of a similar calamity. These caravans travel under convoy of the Arabs, through whose territories they pass. Two horsemen of the tribe are accounted a sufficient protection, or rather guarantee; and any insult offered to the company, while under their safeguard, would be resented by the whole tribe to which they belong.

The chief caravan from West Barbary sets out from Fez (or as our author denominates it *Fas*), and proceeds to Akka, which it reaches in eighteen days, at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour, travelling seven hours a day. At Akka it remains about thirty days, as the other caravans assemble here, and form the *akkabah* or accumulated caravan. From Akka to Tagassa this large body travels in sixteen days, and stops at the latter place about a fortnight; it then proceeds towards the oasis of Taudeny, which it reaches in seven days; and, after another halt of a fortnight, sets out for Arawan, another oasis, where it arrives in seven days. Here, too, it rests a fortnight, and then proceeds to Tombuctoo, which it reaches in six days, performing the whole journey in about ninety days. Thus from Fez to Tombuctoo is a journey of 129 days, of which 54 are spent in travelling, and 75 in repose. Another caravan takes the direction of West Tagassa, near the coast, and making an angle by the White Mountains towards Cape Blanco, touches at a place called Agadeer, (in the common maps Arguin), and then turns nearly due east to Tombuctoo. This route being much longer and more interrupted by stopping places than

than the other, requires five or six months. The shorter journey by East Tagassa and Taudeny, which is regularly performed in 129 days, including a month spent in collecting the different caravans at Akka, is frequently accomplished in a much shorter time. Our author, when residing as a merchant at Agadeer and Santa Cruz, on the Western Coast, once received a caravan of gum Soudan from Tombuctoo in eighty-two days. Of the mode of living in these long and melancholy journeys, Mr Jackson has given the following interesting description.

‘ Those who have philosophy enough to confine their wants solely to what nature requires, would view the individual happiness of the people who compose the caravans, with approbation. Their food, dress, and accommodation, are simple and natural. Proscribed from the use of wine and intoxicating liquors, by their religion, and exhorted by its principles to temperance, they are commonly satisfied with a few nourishing dates, and a draft of water; and they will travel for weeks successively without any other food. At other times, a little barley meal and cold water is the extent of their provision, when they undertake a journey of a few weeks across the Desert; living in this abstemious manner, they never complain, but solace themselves with a hope of reaching their native country, singing occasionally during the journey, whenever they approach any habitation, or whenever the camels appear fatigued; these songs are usually sung in trio, and in the chorus all the camel drivers, who have a musical voice, join. It is worthy observation, how much these songs renovate the camels; and the symphony and time they keep, surpasses what any one would imagine, who had not heard them. In traversing the Desert, they generally contrive to terminate the day’s journey at l’Asaw, a term which they appropriate to our four o’clock P. M.; so that between that period and the setting sun, the tents are pitched, prayers said, and the (Lashaw) supper got ready; after which they sit round in a circle, and talk till sleep overcomes them; and next morning, at break of day, they proceed again on their journey.

‘ The Arabic language, as spoken by the camel-drivers, is peculiarly sweet and soft; the guttural and harsh letters are softened, and with all its energy and perspicuity, when pronounced by them, is as soft, and more sonorous, than the Italian: it approaches the ancient Korannick language, and has suffered but little alteration these twelve hundred years. The Arabs of Moraffra, and those of Woled Abbusebah, frequently hold an extempore conversation in poetry, at which the women are adepts, and never fail to show attention to those young Arabs who excel in this intellectual and refined amusement. * p. 243, 244.

The

* ‘ During my visit to the Viceroy of Suse, Mohammed ben Delemy, he introduced me to four Arabs of the Woled Abbusebah tribe, who

The articles of trade chiefly conveyed from Barbary to Tombuctoo in these caravans, are German and Irish linens, Indian raw silk, refined sugar, beads, salt, spices and the manufactures of Morocco and Tafillet. The returns are principally made in gold dust, gold rings and bars, ivory, gums and slaves, which are purchased at Tombuctoo, from Wangaree, Houssa and other slave merchants. These slaves in Barbary fetch commonly about 100 ducats, or somewhat more than 18*l.* a-head; but 400 ducats, or above 72*l.*, have been given for a young female slave from Houssa, of exquisite beauty. The treatment of those slaves is described by Mr Jackson in a manner so perfectly corroborative of all the statements of the abolitionists on this head, that we have much satisfaction in extracting the passage; and it is with a singular pleasure that we find, for the first time, except in a discussion of the particular subject, the African slave trade mentioned, as it here is, in the past tense.

‘ These slaves are treated very differently from the unhappy victims *who used to be transported* from the coast of Guinea, and our settlements on the Gambia, to the West India islands. After suffering those privations which all who traverse the African Desert must necessarily and equally submit to, masters, as well as servants and slaves, they are conveyed to Fas and Morocco; and after being exhibited in the sock, or public market-place, they are sold to the highest bidder, who carries them to his home, where, if found faithful, they are considered as members of the family, and allowed an intercourse with the (horraht) free-born women of the household. Being in the daily habit of hearing the Arabic language spoken, they soon acquire a partial knowledge of it; and the Mohammedan religion teaching the unity of God, they readily reject paganism, and embrace Mohammedanism. Their Mooselmin masters then instil into their vacant minds, ready to receive the first impression, the fundamental principles of the Mooselmin doctrine. The more intelligent learn to read and write, and afterwards acquire a partial knowledge of the Koran; and such as can read and understand one chapter, from that time procure their emancipation from slavery; and the master exults in having converted an infidel, and in full faith expects favour from Heaven for the action, and for having liberated a slave. When these people do not turn their minds to reading, and learning the principles of Mohammedanism, they generally

who conversed in our presence on various subjects, in this poetic manner; and it is astonishing what accuracy in measure and expression is acquired by a long habit in this mode of entertainment. The old Emperor Seedy Mohammed, encouraged this poetic conversation; and when any one excelled, he never failed to reward him munificently; for, although no scholar himself, he encouraged every one who contributed to diffuse a knowledge of the Arabic language.

nerally obtain their freedom after eight or ten years servitude; for the more conscientious Mooselmin consider them as servants, and purchase them for about the same sum that they would pay in wages to a servant during the above period; at the expiration of which term, by giving them their liberty, they, according to their religious opinions, acquire a blessing from God, for having done an act which a Mooselman considers more meritorious in the sight of Heaven, than the sacrifice of a goat, or even of a camel. 'This liberation is entirely voluntary on the part of the owner; and I have known some slaves so attached to their masters from good treatment, that when they have been offered their liberty, they have actually refused it, preferring to continue in servitude.' p. 247—249.

Mr Jackson has collected, from the accounts of travellers with whom he had an opportunity of conversing, a variety of particulars respecting the city of Tombuctoo. We are unwilling to make any extract or abridgment of this part of his work, lest it should prevent our readers from perusing the account at large. Our object has been, in the passages which we have just noticed, to lay the foundation of a suggestion here forcibly presenting itself to every one who reads this book, or, indeed, any of the details respecting the caravans, of which we were formerly in possession. Is it not manifest, that the great object of all our African travellers, a journey to Tombuctoo, may best be obtained by joining the Fez caravan? There are many Europeans who could not only undergo the fatigues of this journey, but could wear the disguise of Islamism in order to facilitate their progress. But this is by no means necessary. A single native merchant may surely be prevailed upon, by bribes, to take a European with him as his slave; a condition which, in the journeys of the Desert, must evidently be as nearly as possible the same with that of the master. The accounts already alluded to, of the numbers of Christians in a state of slavery, in different parts of Barbary and the Interior, prove clearly that the circumstance of a man possessing an European slave, could be no ground of suspicion. It requires, then, only to find an hardy person, well skilled in the language, and to gain a native caravan traveller; both of which objects may without difficulty be attained at Mogador. If the European should even be reduced to pass for a renegado, while in the caravan, or at Tombuctoo, (and that is the worst fate he can have to dread, in a country where such renegadoes are not not uncommon), it does not appear that any irreparable injury would be done, either to his own character, or to the religion of the country which patronized his attempts. This is a deduction obviously pointed out by every part of our author's details respecting the interior of Africa; and we do most earnestly recommend it to the attention of those enlightened and virtuous men

who are occupied with plans of discovery in that vast and unexplored continent.

It is impossible to approach this subject, without reflecting on the establishment of an Association which has within the last three years succeeded to the celebrated Society instituted for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. We upbraid ourselves when we reflect, that this most praiseworthy institution has now existed for above two years, without our having taken any notice of its labours. In extenuation of this neglect, we may indeed state, that it is only of late that any account of its proceedings has been published. We have now before us the laws and lists of the Association,* and three very able Reports of the Board of Directors to the general yearly meeting; containing, besides an history of the establishment, various curious and important articles of information relating to Africa. In our next Number, we purpose calling the attention of our readers particularly to this subject; for as this Journal has, from the very beginning, gloried in being ranked among the humblest of the labourers in the great cause of the Abolition, we hold ourselves directly interested in whatever relates to its effects.

Before taking leave of Mr Jackson, we must remark, that his book, though written without any affectation of authorship, is certainly too bulky, and too much ornamented, in proportion to the quantity of its materials. It is eked out with some useless chapters (already hinted at), with broad margins, and wide spaces, and with exceeding bad daubs of aquatinta, until that which should have been a small octavo, has assumed the imposing shape of a quarto with plates. We hope Mr Jackson may not have cause to repent of this species of ambition. In every other respect, we owe him thanks for the entertainment and instruction which he has afforded us.

ART. III. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Library of the late Tippoo Sultan of Mysore: To which are prefixed, Memoirs of Hyder Ali Khan, and his Son Tippoo Sultan. By Charles Stewart, Esq. M. A. S. &c. 4to. Cambridge. 1809.*

THE frequent and sudden vicissitudes of fortune, by which the Asiatic thrones are raised and subverted, offer a career to the

* It is entitled the *African Institution*. It was founded in 1807, under the patronage of the Duke of Gloucester, Mr Wilberforce, and the other distinguished friends of the abolition. Its plan, and the

the military adventurer, defended by no claims of hereditary rank, and faintly guarded by attachment to the falling dynasty. In some countries, the popular superstitions have for a time confined the succession to a particular family; but where these do not interfere, the possession of military talent, and the influence accruing from it with the army, is the usual passport to the throne, after each revolution.

' Le premier qui fut roi, fut un soldat heureux. '

In France, the subversion not only of all the political institutions, but a total revolution in public opinion, was necessary to pave the way for that ascendancy of military genius, of which Asia has seen so many examples, and of which, in the last century, Nadir Shah and Hyder Ali were the most remarkable instances.

The establishment of the Mohamedan superstition in Mysor, was completed in the year 1760. All the political events of which Hyder and his son were the authors, fall within the reign of his present Majesty, and form no unimportant part of the history of that eventful period. In the publication before us, Major Stewart, with commendable industry, has collected the obscure traces of Hyder's early ambition, furnished a connected account of his subsequent operations, and subjoined from official documents a narrative of the unprovoked hostilities of his son, terminating in his own destruction. The latter are too well known, to require greater publicity from us; but the former may deserve some attention, as illustrative of the state of society.

Since the decline of the Mogul empire, the armies of the native powers have been in a considerable degree composed of auxiliaries, who, owing no permanent allegiance to the prince who employs them, are ready to transfer their mercenary services, at the command of their leader, to any other chief. The condition of these leaders is in all respects similar to that of the Condottieri, who some centuries ago fought the battles of the Italian princes and republics, and were frequently seen ranged under different standards, as the views or the finances of their employers varied. Such a band was led by Hyder's father, in the year 1727, into the service of the regent of Mysor. On the death of the father, Hyder and his brother, though then minors, succeeded to the command, and remained ever after, with the exception of a very short period, attached to the Mysor government.

From this statement it is obvious, that Hyder entered life in a situation well adapted for the display of his natural intrepidity, and

the annual reports of the Directors, are to be had at Mr Hatchard's, bookseller, Piccadilly. All we can do at present, is earnestly to recommend them to the attention of our readers.

and for the acquisition of military experience. To his own talents must undoubtedly be attributed the principal share in his subsequent elevation; yet fortune had early placed him in the post most favourable to their successful exertion. It may be worth while to trace the progressive aggrandisement of Mysor, under the hands of this enterprising leader. Whilst still an officer in the pay of the regent, he added Bangalor to that state, and obtained it as a military appanage for himself. Balapur, with its fertile territory, was invaded and reduced in 1758. But the means adopted by Hyder to secure these acquisitions, disclosed to the regent the extent of his general's ambition. In an original memoir, translated by the writer of this article, and published in the *Asiatic Annual Register*, there is contained a very copious account of the stratagem adopted by the regent to secure Hyder's person. This attempt terminated in the destruction of the regent himself, to whose office Hyder was immediately appointed to succeed by the titular sovereign.

In the hands of an enterprising chief, Mysor was at that time situated in the most favourable position for an extension of empire. Neither the character nor circumstances of Mohamed Ali were calculated to inspire any apprehensions from the side of the Carnatic. The posterity of Asaf Jah already began to slumber on the throne of Hyderabad. The dissensions of the Mahrattas, and their ambitious views in the northern provinces of India, combined to remove any immediate fears from that quarter. But Hyder's newly acquired dominion was surrounded by petty princes, whose states, dislevered from the fallen monarchies of Vijayanagar and Vijayapur, must fall an easy prey to his veteran armies, accustomed to oppose European battalions. Bednor and Sitaldurga were successively reduced. To these important acquisitions were speedily added the extensive districts of Gutti and Cudapa, in the north; whilst the subjection of the Nair chiefs in the south contributed still more to the security, than to the aggrandisement of his territories, of which the kingdom of Mysor was now no very considerable portion.

Instead of retracing a series of exploits already well known to the majority of our readers, we prefer offering a few remarks deducible from the eventful history of the two Mohamedan rulers of Mysor.

The conduct of statesmen, even of the great ones, and those accounted successful, is so frequently at variance with the obvious suggestions of common prudence, that we should be apt to conclude that they followed some higher guide, did not the fatal result demonstrate that no other can be followed with safety. In the posture of affairs at the accession of Hyder, his policy should manifestly

manifestly have been, to conciliate the great powers,—to cultivate the alliance of the English on his eastern, and of the Mahrattas on his northern frontier; whilst he gradually extended his dominion over the whole of the western peninsula of the Dekhyn. Instead of steadily pursuing measures adapted to this end, many years of his reign had not elapsed, before we find him engaged in hostilities with both these powers,—though outflanked by many petty, but independent princes, on the coasts of his kingdom, and the extensive principality of Travancor, on the south. The natural consequence of this error, was, to cement an alliance between all these states and the English government; and thus oppose an insurmountable barrier to the consolidation and security of his own dominions.

But if it might be permitted *Hyder* to doubt of the solidity or duration of an authority so recently established in his neighbourhood, it is clear at least that *Tippu* had not the same apology. The maritime superiority of England had been decisively established before *he* began his reign; her extensive territories had long quietly submitted to a jurisdiction to which they were now accustomed; and no indication appeared of a desire to enlarge them at his expense. Her force was easy to be ascertained, and in the vicinity. In throwing himself into the arms of France, he trusted to a remote and precarious aid, against an imminent and certain danger. Yet, though these reflections be obvious, and be confirmed by the event during the whole course of his reign, so little effect does experience produce in changing the politics of courts, that he never deviated from the same fatal policy, till the catastrophe which put a period to his existence.

Both these chiefs, attentive only to the aggrandisement of their dominion, seem to have been indifferent to, or ignorant of, the means of their improvement. Yet their revenues, like those of all the sovereigns of Asia, were solely derived from the produce of agriculture. In Mysor, that produce is dependent on artificial irrigation, and requires a liberal and intelligent appropriation of a part of the public resources for its support. But the funds which a judicious government would have destined to this purpose, were squandered in military expeditions; and, far from adding to the real riches of the state, the canals, aqueducts, and reservoirs, constructed by the munificence of the antient Hindu sovereigns, were suffered to fall into ruin, involving the cultivation of the interjacent districts in their decay. We are aware, that the conduct of *Hyder* was in this respect less censurable than that of his successor. It is still evident, that the rapidly accelerating ruin under *Tippu* was already begun under the former reign. The desolating march of successive invading armies, swept off the means of future increase.

If we compare the successful warfare of Hyder with the misfortunes which awaited his successor, it is not difficult to perceive one cause which materially operated to produce those opposite results. Availing himself of his superiority in cavalry, the former, instead of waiting for the enemy, constantly carried fire and sword into his country. Secure of never fighting to disadvantage, from the rapid movements which the nature of his strength admitted, he extended his depredations to the walls of Madras; and thus obliged his antagonist to detain, for his protection at home, that force, which, had it penetrated into his territories, must ultimately have subdued them. On the other hand, Tippu injudiciously attempted to rival the European armies in that which constituted their strength. A numerous infantry, encumbered with an unwieldy, and altogether disproportionate train of artillery, impeded the only mode of warfare in which he was really superior. But these, however formidable they might prove to other native powers, never attained that state of skill and discipline, which could place them on an equality with the enemy with whom he chose to contend.

But whatever might be the errors of this unhappy prince, they were certainly equalled by the impolicy of the French; who, in order to occasion a momentary inconvenience to their enemy, stimulated their ally to hostilities, contrary to every probability of success. The consequence was, as might have been anticipated,—the annihilation of a power on whom they might have relied for strenuous and efficient assistance, and for a secure footing in Hindustan, when future circumstances might direct their attention to that quarter.

Tippu Sultan enjoyed the advantages, or experienced the inconveniences of a regular education, in the manner of the Moslems. Much of his time was unavoidably engrossed by the details of business, into which he appears to have entered personally. But much was also spent in reading; and there is abundant proof of his having intended to increase the list of royal authors. Might we venture to conjecture the extent of this Prince's literary attainments, we should suppose that the Persic language was habitual to him, and that he had read the most esteemed writers who have composed in it, both in prose and verse. The Coran was probably familiar with some of the best commentators; but it is not likely his knowledge of Arabic enabled him to read works in that language for his amusement. His character for bigotry is established; and he certainly aspired to the reputation of a saint amongst his Moslem subjects. But these form a greater proportion of the general population in his states, than in most parts of Hindustan; and it is doubtful how far policy might induce him

to assume the character of superior sanctity in order to attach them still more to his person. It has often been asserted, that he meditated some change in the doctrines of Islamism. His introduction of a new era on his coins, by substituting the birth, instead of the flight of Mohamed, might either proceed from caprice, or be intended as a prelude to more important innovations. The mild and benevolent spirit of the Hindu institutions and manners, seems to have softened in Hindustan the turbulent intolerance of Islamism. The Indian Moslems condescend to pity and regret the blindness of the idolaters who cannot discern the proofs of Mohamed's divine mission, and the sublimity of his doctrine; but they do justice to their gentle and inoffensive conduct, unite with them in the bonds of cordial and mutual friendship, and partake with alacrity in the sportive festivities of their annual rites. Since the first conquerors, most of the Mohamedan emperors have exercised an impartial sway over the votaries of both faiths. But Aurungzebe mounted the throne by alarming the fanaticism of the Mohamedans, with the suspicion that his elder brother intended to subvert their religion; and Tippu seems to have adopted the policy of securing the attachment of the Moslems by the oppression of his Hindu subjects. His plan, indeed, appears to have embraced a general combination of the Mohamedans for the expulsion of the Christians, and the total subjugation of the Hindus. The former, though a small, certainly constitute the most warlike population of India; but the talents of Tippu were inadequate to a design of this magnitude, and circumstances at the time unfavourable to such a league.

The catalogue of Tippu's library here presented to the public, possesses considerable interest, by exhibiting the sort of learning actually cultivated by the Mohamedans of India at this day, and the principal works now circulating through that country. Without some knowledge of their literature we should form a very incompetent idea of the individuals composing the higher and middle classes amongst civilized nations; and although a mere catalogue is more likely to excite than to gratify such a curiosity, it nevertheless supplies us with the topics which occupy the minds, exert the understandings, or captivate the imaginations of a large portion of mankind.

"The library" says Major Stewart "consisted of nearly 2000 volumes of Arabic, Persic, or Hindustani manuscripts, in all the various branches of Mohamedan literature. Very few of these books had been purchased either by Tippu or his father. They were part of the plunder brought from Sanur, Cudapa, and the Carnatic: some of them had formerly belonged to the Mohamedan kings of Vijayapur and Golkonda. But the greater number had been the property

of the Nuab Ali Vahib Khan, brother of Mohamed Ali of the Carnatic, and were taken by Hyder in the fort of Chitor, during the year 1780.

' All the volumes that had been rebound at Seringapatnam have the names of God, Mohamed, his daughter Fatima, and her sons Hasan and Hasain, stamped in a médallion on the middle of the cover; and the names of the first four khalifs, Abubeker, Omar, Osman, and Ali, on the four corners. At the top is, "The government given by God;" and at the bottom, "God is sufficient." A few were impressed with the private signet, "Tippu Sultan." The topics of these were in general either theology or Sufyism, which were his favourite studies. But the Sultan was ambitious of being an author; and although we have not discovered any complete work of his composition, not less than forty-five books on different subjects, were either composed, or translated from other languages, under his immediate patronage or inspection. In most of these, his intolerance and aversion to all Christians and Hindus are strongly marked.'

From a general view of their literature it is apparent, that none of the sciences or the arts which have contributed to enlighten and refine the minds of men in other countries, have been altogether overlooked by the modern Persians: and it is scarcely necessary to remind our readers, that the library of a Mohamedan, whether born in India or Persia, consists of books in the Persic and Arabic languages. But although they embrace every topic which can engage the attention of the studious, they are calculated to inspire very different degrees of interest. Their theology will be found to consist in prolix and abstruse commentaries on the *Coran*; in legendary tales of the miracles performed at the tombs of holy Shaikhs; and in the enthusiastic rhapsodies of the Sufis. In the history of human opinions, those held by so considerable a portion of mankind, by no means deficient in natural sagacity, are doubtless entitled to a place; but it is only in this point of view they can be deserving of attention. In science, the Asiatics appear to be retrogressive. To experimental philosophy they have at no time devoted themselves. In dialectics, on which they have written voluminously, they still submit to be implicitly guided by the preceptor of their Macedonian conqueror. Their reasoning faculties have never been judiciously applied to the observation of the phenomena of mind; nor have their researches been directed, in a comprehensive manner, to a consideration of the circumstances which influence the prosperity or decline of nations.

Their works of imagination must not be estimated by the rules of criticism derived from the writers of Greece and Rome. The exuberant fancy of an Eastern poet acknowledges no check, and spurns the controul of correct taste. From this circumstance,
few

few Persic poems admit of literal or entire translation; though the fire of genius, the novelty of the manners, and the unaccustomed ornaments of the oriental muses, render them abundantly attractive to those whose tastes are not too exclusively formed on higher models, but are capable of relishing the sublime and beautiful, though arrayed in an unusual costume. Classical antiquity has furnished models to the people of Europe. Its modern productions are all, to a certain degree, cast in the same moulds. The same ideas of excellence are universally prevalent; and in appreciating the comparative merits of different writers, the same standards of ideal perfection are universally though tacitly referred to. By these standards, however, the compositions of Asia cannot with justice be measured. To term, therefore, the sublime work of Ferdusi, which is a history of Persia in verse, an epic poem, or a series of epic poems, does not appear to us calculated to furnish a correct idea of that composition; but, by causing the reader to expect an unity of action, which the poet never thought of, to detract from the innumerable beauties of detail which it really possesses.

But whatever merit we may be disposed to assign to the poetical productions of the East, we cannot refuse to the Persian historians the praise of having transmitted to posterity copious and accurate records of the mighty revolutions of which Middle Asia was the theatre, from the commencement of the Khalifat to the decline of the house of Sofi. Unfortunately for the inquisitive student, who may attempt to explore the ancient history of the East through this medium, it is within these limits only, that the merit of accuracy can be assigned. The mighty revolution, which fixes the beginning of this era, sweeping before it, not the thrones only, but the religion, the literature, and even the language of a great portion of the world, has left to posterity only the scanty and uncertain traditions which survived the general wreck, or the partial and prejudiced notices which have fallen from writers of distant and hostile nations.

It is not easy to assign the precise notion which the early Greeks annexed to the term 'Barbarian,' unless we consider it as synonymous with stranger or foreigner. To the *barbarous* nations of Egypt, Phœnicia, and the East, they were indebted, according to their own traditions, for the first elements of refinement, and the introduction of science into Greece. Were we to collect from Grecian writers the characteristic distinctions of the great nations of antiquity, we should consider the Persians as a people immersed in luxury and effeminacy; the Phœnicians as entirely devoted to commercial pursuits, and the acquisition of riches; and the Egyptians as a people contaminated with an abject and grovelling superstition. But it is difficult to perceive how these different

qualities should entitle those nations to be classed under one general epithet.

"A state of luxury appears of necessity to imply a considerable progress in the arts, with which that of science is usually commensurate. As a reproach, it appears not to be confined to the palace of the Great King, nor to the provincial courts of his Satraps. It included all ranks, and involved the whole Persian nation. In the details of this luxury afforded by the Grecian historians, it required for its gratification, a great variety of articles of consumption, transported from distant regions, at a proportionate labour and expense. In this particular, Persic luxury has been far surpassed by the nations of modern Europe, and so differently do we estimate its consequences, that we consider the fact as at once the proof and the effect of prosperity and refinement. Still less does it appear, that the necessary result of such a condition is to enervate the people among whom it subsists. The English and French nations are at this day those, amongst whom the superfluities of life are most generally consumed and enjoyed: but can it be affirmed that valour, intrepidity, and contempt of death is less conspicuous amongst them, than with the rude and half civilized people of Russia and Poland? The Persians, luxurious and effeminate as they were, subdued, and retained in subjection, not only the polished inhabitants of the plains, from the Oxus and Indus to the shores of the Mediterranean, but held under their authority many a rude and warlike tribe, inhabitants of Caucasus and Taurus. It is not difficult to discover, in the fatal security induced by such a state of prosperity; in the disorders and disaffection incidental to so extensive an empire; and, above all, in the superior talents of his adversary, the causes of the fall of Dara. But after his death, the Persians were amongst the first to throw off the yoke, and, under the descendants of Arshac, to erect a power, which disputed with Rome herself the supremacy of Asia, and, when governed by a subsequent dynasty, resumed possession of most of the countries formerly occupied by her arms.

To the work before us, Major Stewart has subjoined extracts from a number of Persian historians, accompanied by English translations, which will prove useful to the student of that language. Instead of furnishing our readers with a specimen of them, we prefer exhibiting a succinct, but comprehensive statement, of the information supplied by the perusal of Persian history, and thus enabling him, in some degree, to appreciate its value.

In their account of ancient Persia, the Mohamedan historians appear to have servilely copied the scanty traditions collected by Ferdusi. This poet was a native of Tus, in the north of Khorasan, and was in possession of the materials procured by Dakiki, who also
lived

lived at the court of Gazna, and preceded him in arranging those traditions for a poetical narrative. But although their materials are expressly declared to be derived from oral tradition, it does not appear that they had recourse to the documents of the Magi, who, at that time, still kept alive the sacred fire in the temples of Kirman, and might possess ancient records of undoubted authority. On the contrary, they appear to have contented themselves with such traditions as were extant in the north-east part of Persia, where the geography and revolutions of the western provinces of that mighty empire were imperfectly known, and excited little interest. To this circumstance it is probably owing, that little notice is taken of the western conquests and expeditions of the ancient monarchs, which are only slightly mentioned; whilst their wars with the Scythians, of which the native country of these poets was frequently the theatre, are related with much minuteness. Unsatisfactory as this partial narrative must prove to the explorer of antiquity, the Mohamedan historians have without necessity perverted Ferdusi, and, from superstitious motives, encumbered his narrative with extraneous difficulties, by altering the chronology to reconcile it with that of the Jewish history, of which their ideas are extremely incorrect.

Of the period which elapsed between the Macedonian conquest and the accession of the house of Sasan, the accounts are vague and unsatisfactory. Ferdusi professedly omits it, for want of documents. The prose writers supply a slight biography of some of the Arsacides, under the appellation of Malec al Tuaeif, Persia being at that time governed by several independent princes.

From the accession of the Sasanides, a tolerably distinct narration is deduced, until the period of its extinction by the Mohamedan conquest. During much of this period, the history of Persia is intimately blended with that of the lower empire; and the records of the East and West reflect mutual light on the state of both countries.

With the Mohamedan conquest, the antient history of Persia terminates. But in this place is usually introduced a genealogical account of the Taba, or antient sovereigns of the Homerites, on the coasts of Arabia Felix. This country, rendered interesting by the account of Diodorus, is celebrated by the Moslem historians as the seat of an extensive and flourishing empire, whose antient sovereigns carried their conquests to the Oxus, and subdued Abyssinia and Western Africa to the shores of the ocean. To these princes they manifestly attribute the wars and conquests of the Assyrians, of whom no mention occurs in the Persian records by that name, but frequently under that of Arabians. The history of the Taba is followed by that of some contemporaneous dy-

nafties of princes, who ruled adjacent countries wrested from the successors of Alexander. The appellation by which the ancient Persians distinguished the Arabians, was 'Tazi;' but they obviously included under it the inhabitants of other countries than Arabia Proper. The latter, with the exception of the polished people of Arabia Felix, contained a scanty and almost savage population. Some account of its division into tribes, and particularly of the most distinguished, to whom the charge of the temple of Mecca was entrusted, introduces, in the Moslem records, the biography of the prophet, and the conversion and conquests of his immediate successors.

In the fourth century of the Mohamedan era, the language and literature of modern Persia were cultivated and fixed. Little change in either has since occurred. A variety of historians who flourished about that period, still live in their works, or are quoted by their successors. A regular series of authentic history includes the commencement of the khalifat, and continues till the decline of the house of Sofi. The reign of Shahrokh (son of Tamerlane) and of the princes of the same family who succeeded him, appears to have been the most flourishing period of the literature of modern Persia. The city of Herat, during that period, was the seat of science and of the fine arts.

The tyranny of the Sofi family, and the anarchy which followed their extinction, seems to have been equally fatal to the prosperity and to the genius of that unhappy country; and no work of celebrity is mentioned as composed in it during the last century and a half. It may be proper to add, in order to leave nothing untouched which Persian history comprehends, that the invasion of Chenghis is preceded by a genealogical account of the Tartar tribes, which is continued to the last of the descendants of Timur, who reigned in Tartary.

The history of the Mohamedan princes who ruled in India, has been ably and amply elucidated by writers who were natives of that country, though their works are composed in the Persian language, which was adopted at all the Indian courts. But although these historians may rival in merit the contemporary writers of Persia, their productions do not fall within the scope of our present inquiry.

ART. IV. *The Geographical, Natural, and Civil History of Chili, by Abbé Don J. Ignatius Molina; with Notes from the Spanish and French Versions; and an Appendix, containing copious Extracts from the Araucana of Don Alonzo de Ercilla. Translated from the Original Italian, by an American Gentleman.* 2 vol. 8vo. Middletown (Conn.) 1808.

WE are particularly glad at the present moment to be able to direct our readers to the works of Molina, in their own language. Whatever is calculated to increase our knowledge of South America, is now of the greatest importance; and the region which is the subject of the work before us, is certainly among the most interesting of that neglected world. It occupies the space between the Andes and the Pacific Ocean; and, stretching from the 24th to the 45th degree of south latitude, is universally described as a terrestrial paradise, being blessed beyond any other country with a delicious climate, and a fertile soil; and exhibiting, in its varied scenes, at once the most grand and magnificent, as well as the most soft and engaging features of nature.

The translation with which we are now favoured, the production of an American pen, and an American press, presents us with two works of Molina, which, in the original, were published separately; the first entitled, *Saggio sulla Storia Naturale del Chili*, del Signor Abate Giovanni Ignazio Molina, printed at Bologna 1782; the other entitled, *Saggio sulla Storia Civile del Chili*, printed at Bologna 1787. The first of these is well known, even in this country, and is highly esteemed by all the naturalists of Europe.* The latter is rarely to be met with in England, though it has been translated into Spanish, and we believe into French. Of the *Storia Naturale* a translation in French now lies before us.

Of the American publication which we have now received, the first volume contains the translation of the *Storia Naturale*, the second, that of the *Storia Civile*, with the Appendix noticed in the title. It is not our intention to enlarge upon the contents of these works: the *Storia Naturale* is too well known to require it; and, of the *Storia Civile* it may suffice to say, that it is a succinct and intelligent account of the state of the natives, when first discovered by

* Even Mr Pinkerton, whom it is not easy to please, says, "Molina does honour to the Creol race; for, a more clear, scientific, and intelligent account of any country was never written by any author, of any age or climate." *Modern Geography*, v. iii. p. 701.—and at p. 665, 'The works of Molina concerning this interesting country, may be regarded as excellent models of chorography; and scarcely of any distant region a description exists so exact and complete.'

by the Spaniards; of the transactions, whether warlike or peaceful, which have since taken place; and of the present state, diversities, and character of the population. There are few, we are inclined to think, among those who take an interest in such questions, who will not be disposed to look for themselves into this interesting and satisfactory performance.*

Of the author it may be requisite to say, that he was a native of the country which he has described. He was one of those Jesuits, who were so cruelly driven from their country, when the court of Spain embraced the resolution of extinguishing the order within all its dominions; and was one of those, who, on that occasion, as we mentioned in a former article, took refuge in the dominions of the Pope in Italy. Clavigero, who has presented us with the celebrated history of his native country, Mexico; Molina the historian of Chili; and Viscardo, a native of Peru, from whose pen we lately presented an interesting tract to the notice of our readers, and who left behind him various manuscripts on the state of his country, which we have reason to believe were highly worthy of seeing the light, are three natives of Spanish America, and three of that handful of persecuted ecclesiastics, whom, in an equal number of any order of men, it will not be easy to parallel.

The great political questions which regard Spanish America, have

* As far as we know, very few copies have been sent to this country from America. But we have no doubt that the book will speedily be reprinted here. When this is done, however, we recommend that the translation be carefully compared with the original; for, though the task of the American translator appears to us respectably done, yet he has evidently leaned too much to the French version. We may quote one instance from a passage which lies before us. Speaking of the language of the Chilese, Molina says, (*Stor. Natur.* l. iv. p. 331.) ‘Questa lingua è dolce, armoniosa, espressiva, regolare, e copiosissima di termini atti ad enunciare non solo le cose fisiche generali o particolari, ma anche le cose morali e astratte.’ The French translator says, ‘Cette langue est douce, harmonieuse, expressive, régulière, et possède un grand nombre de mots, non seulement pour les choses physiques, mais aussi pour les choses morales et métaphysiques.’ In tracing the state of society among a rude people, the invention of *abstract terms* is regarded by philosophers as marking an era. Molina, accordingly, is careful to express distinctly this circumstance, ‘ma anche le cose morali e astratte’ (abstract). This the French renders ‘métaphysiques,’ which means nothing: and the American transcribes the whole passage from the French. * This language is soft, harmonious, expressive, and regular, and possesses a great number of words, not only expressive of natural objects, but also of moral and metaphysical ideas.’

have not diminished—they have augmented in interest since the occasion which we lately embraced, of laying before our countrymen some of those statements and views which we conceived it important for them, at this juncture, to have present to their minds.* The appearance of the publication before us, and, still more, our deep conviction of the value of the critical moment in bringing good or evil out of such a state of affairs as just now presents itself in South America, have induced us once more to direct our pen to this interesting subject.

There is no former period of our history at which the emancipation of Spanish America, the removal of that dark, and jealous, and excluding government—which watched over its colonies as an Asiatic tyrant does over his seraglio—which feared the approach of a trader as an enemy, and shut out the world from all intercourse with so great and so fair a portion of the globe—would not have appeared an event to be numbered among the greatest which the course of human affairs could bring forth. Witness the efforts which this nation has never ceased to make, to obtain even a diminutive share of the advantages which the intercourse with that country seemed calculated to ensure,—from the date of the romantic adventures of Sir Walter Raleigh, to the recent transactions of Sir Home Popham and General Whitelocke. Witness the importance which, throughout the history of British commerce, we shall find attached to the contraband trade with the Spanish Main;—the contract, on which so much stress was laid in the treaty of Utrecht;—the interest which has been so often excited by the question relative to the British right of cutting logwood in the Bay of Campeachy. Witness too the South-Sea Company, which absorbed to such a degree the attention of the nation. Witness even the importance which was so recently attached to the dispute about the wretched spot of Nootka Sound; the still greater importance which was, about half a century ago, attached to the possession of the Falkland Islands; and the weight which was ascribed to Trinidad, in arranging the treaty of Amiens.

But if ever the intercourse with South America was justly regarded as of importance to this country, that importance must be allowed to be augmented in a tenfold ratio, by the extraordinary circumstances in which the extraordinary events of the last twenty years have involved the nations of Europe.

Let us suppose that, in our present state of embarrassment and alarm, South America had presented a prospect as barren of hope to us as Europe itself; that, besotted with their bigotry to their exclusive religion, and their exclusive government, the inhabitants had rejected and abjured all intercourse with heretics and free men;
and

* Vide vol. XIII. p. 277.

and had driven us from their shores, as we have hitherto been driven by those who ruled over them; how deeply should we have deplored the misfortune! How highly should we have estimated the resources so vast, and the demand so appropriate of the new world, had access to it been withheld from our beneficent enterprises, at the moment when the continent of Europe seemed closing upon our hopes! Formerly, when the emancipation of Spanish America, from an oppressive and degrading government was contemplated by the beneficent spirits of this country, as in the number of desirable events, the bigotry of the inhabitants, their hatred of heretics, their blind attachment, even to the government that oppressed them; appeared to erect invincible obstacles, and were lamented as precluding the acceptance of aid, from the only government sufficiently liberal, and sufficiently powerful to hold it out. By the happy operation of knowledge and events, this bigotry has now given way; and a variety of causes have tended to weaken the chain which bound those colonies to the mother country; a chain which may now be regarded as broken, and impossible ever again to be joined. The inhabitants of the new world are holding out their arms to the inhabitants of the British isles, craving their assistance in the hour of need—and offering to them, in return, the most unbounded prospects of advantage which it ever was in the power of one nation to hold out to another.

How, then, it may be asked, does it happen, that a state of things, which, while it was unattainable, was the object of so many eager efforts, should excite so little interest, and produce so few exertions to take advantage of it, now that it has spontaneously occurred? The truth is, that our hatred and our fear of France leaves us no room for any other feeling; and that the proximity and immediate interest of our daily manœuvres against her, prevents us from desecrating the superior importance, even as a measure of defence or hostility, of the great and easy exploit to which we are invited in another hemisphere.

The importance of South America, as indicated even by its extent and situation on the map of the globe, strikes every eye. But the idea of this importance is still very imperfect, while the extent of its moral and physical resources remains unexplored. Among the papers of Viscardo, was one, unfortunately not now within our reach, containing a dissertation on the population of the Spanish dominions on the continent of America, in which, from a variety of interesting documents, and of rational deductions, he found himself authorised to state the number of inhabitants at not less than 18,000,000. We have in our hands a very curious document on the population of New Spain, which we think highly worthy of being communicated to the public,

not

not only on account of the direct information it contains, but for the *data* which it affords for drawing accurate conclusions respecting other parts of the American dominions. The document to which we allude, is a letter from Clavigero, the celebrated author of the History of Mexico, written from Italy to Viscardo, then in London, in answer to certain questions which that gentleman had addressed to Clavigero and the rest of his brethren in Italy. For the authenticity of the letter we are qualified to vouch. The following is a very literal translation.

‘ QUESTIONS.

‘ 1mo, What may be the number, more or less, of the Indians, vassals [*vassallos*] to the crown of Spain, in the three Audiencias of Mexico, Guathemala, and Guadalaxara?

‘ 2do, What may be the total number of the inhabitants of all classes in these three Audiencias?

‘ ANSWER.

‘ To these questions we cannot return an answer completely satisfactory, because we have no written document respecting the number of Indians, or other inhabitants in the district of Guathemala, nor any individual who can inform us, of his own knowledge. As to the Audiencia of Guadalaxara, there are details enough in writing respecting particular parts of it, but not enough to enable us to tread on surveyed ground with respect to the whole. The only thing we can pronounce with certainty is, that of the four dioceses, comprehended in the Audiencia of Guathemala,—two, those of Nicaragua and Honduras, are ill peopled; the archbishopric of Guathemala is extensive and populous, the Indians here being extremely numerous [*un numero exsivo de Indios*]; in the bishopric of Chiapa, although the population does not correspond with the extent, it is still very numerous [*contiene poblaciones mui numerosas*]. In the bishopric of Yucatan, the number of Indians is very great. The Audiencia of Guadalaxara, which is greater in territorial extent, contains likewise four ecclesiastical dioceses,—those of New Galicia, New Biscay, New Leon, and New Sonora, in which, though the population is very inferior to the vast extent, are nevertheless contained many hundred thousand souls. We are assured by the missionaries whom the Jesuits employed there, that there are about two hundred settlements [*poblaciones*] of Indians, besides 100,000 Neophytes. In the Audiencia of Mexico, are comprized the four dioceses of Mexico, Puebla, Mechoacan, and Nuaxaca, well peopled. Don Juan de Villa, receiver-general of the royal quicksilver, published at Mexico, in two volumes folio, in the years 1746 and 1748, a description of the countries belonging to the viceroyalty of Mexico; in which work, drawn up by order of Philip V., were exhibited the most minute details respecting the population. According to these statements, four millions of inhabitants nearly, of all classes, were found in the four bishoprics; but I have no doubt that they exceed, and
by

by not a little, that number; 1mo, because the said author, in various provinces, presents only the number of inhabitants assembled in communities or villages, not including those who live dispersed in the country, and who are very numerous [*numero infinito*]; 2do, because he gives us only the statements made to him by the Alcaldes Majores, whose interest it was to make the number of the tributaries appear as small as possible. It is true, that the Audiencia sends occasionally through the province certain commissioners, who are called *contadores de Indios* [sellers of Indians], because they are charged to count the tributaries, and to report whether the statements of the Alcaldes Majores be correct; but it is also certain that these have an understanding with the Contadores, and join hands in order to prevent detection; and therefore, we may without temerity conclude, that the true number of the tributaries exceeds, by one tenth at least, the number returned by the Alcaldes Majores. Doctor Eguiara affirms, in the first volume of the *Bibliotheca Mexicana*, printed at Mexico in 1775, that the diocese of la Puebla alone contains a million and a half of inhabitants. Those who are acquainted with that great man, know that he is incapable of such an affirmation, without good reasons to be assured of its truth. The diocese of Mexico contains, without doubt, as great a population as that of la Puebla; and consequently, we may believe, that these two dioceses, taken alone, contain upwards of three millions. Those of Mechoacan and Huaxaca are so well peopled, that no person who has travelled through them can doubt, but the population of both, taken together, considerably exceeds that of Mexico alone. From all this we may with moderation [*prudentemente*] infer, that the Audiencia of Mexico, by itself, contains from four and a half to five millions of inhabitants. With respect to the other two Audiencias, although we have not so much information as concerning that of Mexico, we are nevertheless persuaded that, within the territory of the three Audiencias, we cannot be mistaken in computing eight millions of Christians, subjects of the crown of Spain. Of this number, somewhat more than the third part are Spaniards, Creoles, Mestees and Mulattoes; the other two parts are Indians.

Mr Pinkerton, on the authority of a collection of voyages and travels, lately published at Madrid, entitled, *El Viagero Universal*, and of which he himself says, that *the only volumes* worthy of the attention of the intelligent reader, are those relating to *Spanish America*, though he gives us no reason for trusting the author, *Estalla*, more on that head than any other, exhibits a very different statement. 'The same author,' he says [*Estalla*], 'observes, that though he has not been able to acquire exact information concerning the population of New Spain, yet, by the most intelligent computations, there are, in the Intendancy of Mexico, one million two hundred thousand souls, including one hundred and forty thousand for the city. And by the proportion between this

this province and the others, as well as by the best founded calculations, it may be supposed that there are, in all the kingdom, three millions and a half of inhabitants.' (*Pinkerton's Mod. Geog. 2d edit. v. iii. p. 162.*) Let us make a few comparisons. By the official returns made to the receiver-general in 1748, of which Mr Pinkerton and his authority seem to have been equally ignorant, the population of the Audiencia of Mexico was nearly 4,000,000,—represented by Clavigero, on satisfactory grounds, as upwards of 4,500,000,—stated by Estalla, on we know not what authority, at 1,200,000. The city of Mexico is said, by Estalla, to contain 140,000 inhabitants. Yet he might have learned from Raynal, that 'en 1777, le nombre de naissances s'y eleva à 5915, et celui des morts à 5011; d'où l'on peut conclure que sa population ne s'éloigné de 200,000 ames.' (*Hist. Phil. liv. vi. § 20.*) This statement, too, relates only to the fourteen parishes within the city, without including the extensive suburbs, and the immense population which inhabits them. We have before us an almanack of Mexico for the year 1802, from which we shall transcribe the table of marriages, births and deaths, in the fourteen parishes within the city.

Parroquias.	Matrim.	Nac.	Muert.
Sagrario -	260	1493	920
S. Miguel -	60	403	276
Santa Catalina -	95	714	476
Santa Veracruz -	65	515	236
San Joseph -	53	374	162
Santa Ava -	78	351	230
Santa Cruz -	82	527	206
San Sebastian -	49	411	227
Santa Maria -	46	280	354
San Pablo -	96	603	262
Acatlan -	21	90	54
Salto del Agua -	24	187	97
La Palma -	10	116	58
S. Antonio -	9	61	43
Total,	948	6155	3581

The difference between the births and the deaths is here so great, the one being nearly double the other, that we may conclude Mexico to be one of the most healthy places in the world. According to Dr Price, in healthy places, the proportion of the births to the population varies from $\frac{1}{11}$ to $\frac{1}{5}$. Let us take the medium, which is probably below the mark, that is, $\frac{1}{11}$. This gives us, for the population of these 14 parishes, 295,440. Accordingly, Alcedo, a native of the country, and the author of one of

of the best books in geography, (*Dictionario Geographico Historico de las Indias Occidentales o America, ad verb. Mexico*), affirms, that the population, including the suburbs, exceeds 350,000. *'El vecindario se compone de mas 350,000 almas de todas clases y castas.*

From all these statements, there is every reason to believe, that the computation, at eight millions, by Clavigero, for the whole population of New Spain, is not overcharged. Let us then reflect, that the whole of this population lyes to the north of the Isthmus of Panama; and that we have yet to reckon the population of the whole of South America Proper—Peru, Chili, Santa Fe, Caraccas, Buenos Ayres, &c.; which, in point of territorial extent, so many times exceed the kingdom of New Spain. Although these vast countries, with some few exceptions, as the district of Quito, and perhaps Tucuman, are not so well peopled as New Spain, yet, it is altogether impossible to suppose, that all these immense regions, taken together, do not contain as many inhabitants as that one district. Even this supposition would carry the inhabitants of the Spanish dominions in America to 16,000,000. But this supposition may be reasonably presumed to be so far below the truth, that even the computation of Viscardo may be regarded as within the mark, rather than beyond it. We have seen a statement, drawn up from the best sources of information, by one of the commissioners from South America, who met with General Miranda at Paris in 1797, which brings the population to no less than 20,000,000.

It is then to be considered, and with that maturity of reflection which so great a subject demands, what twenty millions of people, a population nearly as great as that of Old France, in a country of such vast extent and fertility, are calculated to perform, both in the way of industry and of arms, were the all-powerful encouragements of a good government once bestowed upon them. Two thirds of these, it may perhaps be objected, are Indians; and the Indians are a listless and an inactive race. True;—they have been represented as listless and indolent by their hard taskmasters the Spaniards.* But, instead of trusting to the testimony of these suspicious witnesses, let us attend to

* This was the language of taskmasters, we find, in very old times. 'And Pharaoh commanded, saying, Ye shall no more give the people straw to make bricks; and the tale of the bricks which they did make heretofore, you shall lay upon them; you shall not diminish ought thereof; ~~for they be idle~~. . . . Then the officers of the children of Israel came, and cried unto Pharaoh, saying; Wherefore dealest thou thus with thy servants? But he said, ~~Ye are idle, ye are idle~~. Go therefore, now, and work.'

to that of a man, at-once neutral and intelligent,—Mons. Thiery de Menonville, who travelled in disguise in the kingdom of Mexico, to transplant to the French colonies the cochineal plant, and learn the concealed manner of cultivating it. ‘Les Indiens sont generalement grands et bien taillés, les femmes sont assez blanches et ont les traits fort doux, on peut meme dire qu’en general elles sont belles; *ils ne paroissent pas manquer d’industrie, mais ils n’ont ni la liberté, ni les facultés nécessaires pour l’exercer.* Je me suis attaché dans mon voyage à observer le caractere des Africains et celui des Americains, et j’y ai remarqué des differences bien à l’avantage de ces derniers, quoique leur sort soit à-peu-pres egal, sous la domination des Espagnols. L’Africain m’a toujours paru orgueilleux, emporté, vindicatif, effeminé, lache, et surtout paresseux: le Mexicain, au contraire, est phlegmatique, doux, soumis, fidele, et *laborieux*; sa soumission ne tient nullement de la bassesse: chez les negres elle est dûe à la crainte; chez eux à la raison, et souvent à l’attachement, car ils aiment réellement les castillans autant qu’ils abhorrent les negres. On leur voit contracter beaucoup d’alliances avec les premiers, aucune avec les derniers. Les Americains ont cette politesse du cœur qui les rend prevenans et hospitaliers envers tous. J’ai rencontré dans mes routes mille Indiens, le salut sortoit sans effort de leur bouche du plus loin qu’ils m’appercevoient; et combien n’ai-je pas eu à me louer de leur bonne reception! A peine les negres daignoient-ils se courber quand je passois devant eux, et j’ai éprouvé à mon dernier gîte, et ailleurs, combien ils sont peu complaisans pour les malheureux voyageurs. *Les premiers vont faire des corvées à dix et quinze lieues de leurs peuplades, ils y portent des fardeaux énormes, mais je n’ai pu rencontrer un seul negre portant le moindre paquet, ou meme voyageant à pied.*’ (*Traité de la culture du Nopal, et de l’éducation de la Cochénille, &c. precedé d’un voyage à Guaxaca, par M. Thiery de Menonville, Avocat en Parlement et Botaniste de sa Majesté Très-Christienne, v. 1. pp. 100, 182, 183.*)

In another point of view, it has been well remarked, by La Peyrouse, that the introduction of the useful animals has had a most decided effect on the character of the natives of South America. ‘Les Indiens du Chili,’ says he, ‘ne sont plus ces anciens Americains auxquels les armes des Européens inspiraient la terreur: la multiplication des chevaux qui se sont repandus dans l’interieur des deserts immenses de l’Amerique, celle des bœufs et des moutons, qui est aussi extrêmement considerable, ont fait de ces peuples de vrais Arabes, que l’on peut comparer en tout à ceux qui habitent les deserts de l’Arabie. Sans cesse à cheval, des courses de deux cents lieues sont pour eux de tres petits voy-

ages ; ils marchent avec leurs troupeaux ; ils se nourrissent de leur chair, de leur lait, et quelquefois de leur sang ; ils se couvrent de leur peau dont ils font des casques, des cuirasses et des boucliers. Ainsi l'introduction des deux animaux domestiques en Amerique a eu l'influence la plus marquée sur les mœurs de tous les peuples qui habitent depuis S. Iago jusqu'au detroit de Magellan ; ils ne suivent presque plus aucuns de leurs anciens usages ; ils ne se nourrissent plus des mêmes fruits ; ils n'ont plus les mêmes vêtemens, &c. Il est aisé de sentir combien de tels peuples doivent être redoutables aux Espagnoles,' &c. (*Voyage de La Peyrouse, ch. 3.*)

But we must cut short our notices respecting the population, that we may present to view some other indications of the extraordinary capabilities of this new, and as yet, in some sense, unknown world.

As the voyage of La Peyrouse is still before us, we are tempted to quote his testimony respecting the fertility of that part of South America which fell under his personal inspection. ' Il n'est point dans l'univers,' says he, ' de terrain plus fertile que celui de cette partie de Chili ; le blé y rapporte soixante pour un ; la vigne produit avec la même abondance ; les campagnes sont couvertes de troupeaux innombrables qui, sans aucun soin, y multiplient au delà de toute expression. Malgré tant d'avantages, cette colonie est bien loin d'avoir fait les progrès qu'on devoit attendre de sa situation, la plus propre à favoriser une grande population ; mais l'influence du gouvernement contrarie sans cesse celle du climat. Le regime prohibitif existe au Chili dans toute son etendue : ce royaume, dont les productions, si elles etaient à leur maximum, alimenteraient la moitié de l'Europe ; dont les laines suffiraient aux manufactures de France et d'Angleterre ; dont les bestiaux, employés en salaison, produiraient un revenu immense ; ce royaume, dis-je, ne fait aucun commerce.' (Ibid.)

There are one or two of the statements here which cannot fail to attract, and that in no ordinary degree, the attention of the commercial and manufacturing world. A country, the productions of which might be carried to that amount, as to feed the half of Europe, offers a field of extraordinary promise to the enterprise of the active nations of the globe. A country, of which the wools would supply the manufactures of both France and England, must be one of the most interesting regions on the face of the earth, to the country the most remarkable in the world for its woollen manufactures, at the moment when the great mart of the raw commodity is in danger of being cut off from her.

The navigation, too, of the isthmus of Panama brings Chili, as it were, to our door ; and the wools of Chili may reach us at
little

little more than the cost of Jamaica cotton. This circumstance renders the practicability of that navigation an object, if possible, of still higher importance. There are several circumstances in proof of its facility, which we are now enabled to add to the illustrations we presented in a former Number. The subject, indeed, is so interesting, and so little is known about it, that we are anxious to give all the information relative to it in our power.

In the year 1805, a spherical chart of the sea of the Antilles, and of the coast of Terra Firma, from the island of Trinidad to the gulph of Honduras, was constructed in the hydrographical department, by order of the Spanish government, from scientific surveys. By this chart an important discovery was made. The Bay of Mandinga, an immense inlet of the sea, commencing about ten leagues to the eastward of Porto Bello, penetrates into the isthmus to within five leagues of the Pacific Ocean. This prodigious bason, which is almost closed by a chain of islands, running close to one another at the mouth, has never been navigated by any Europeans except Spaniards; and was never supposed to run back, to any considerable extent, into the country, as all the old charts in which it is marked abundantly testify. A river, from the name of which the Bay is denominated, falls into the bottom of this gulph. This river is navigable; and, we know, comes very near a branch of the Chepo, a large river which falls into the gulph of Panama. We are not yet furnished with any satisfactory details on the navigable state or capabilities of these rivers; but from what Alcedo tells us, *—from the circumstance of their navigation being prohibited by the Spanish government under pain of death, on the express ground, that it might discover the facility of the passage to the South Sea,—and from the fact of the Buccaneers having actually penetrated from sea to sea in this direction, we are entitled to conclude, that extraordinary facilities for the great enterprise are here presented. The Bay has ten fathoms water at the entrance, which increase to eleven in the middle, and it has six fathoms to the very bottom.

Z 2

With

* The passage of Alcedo is worth transcribing.—‘El Rio referido (Mandinga) nace en las montanas de Chepo, y corre al E hasta desembocar en la Ensenada, á quien da nombre: su curso es de 4 leguas, y está prohibida su navegacion con pena de la vida, por la facilidad con que se puede internar por el á la mar del Sur, como lo hicieron el ano de 1679 los piratas Juan Guarlem, Edwardo Blomen, y Bartolomé Charps. La Ensenada dicha en la Costa de la Provincia y Gobierno del Darien y mar del Sur en el mismo Reyno, es grande, hermosa y abrigada,’ &c. *Alcedo, Diction. Geog. ad verb.* Mandinga.

With respect to the passage by the river Chagre to Panama, concerning which we, in a former article, presented some statements, Herrera, the famed historian of South America, informs us, that Captain Serna, Alvaro de Guijo, and Francisco Gonzalez, regidores of Panama, surveyed the isthmus for the purpose of ascertaining the facilities of transporting goods from the one sea to the other. 'They found that vessels might proceed up the river Grande three leagues from Panama with the tide; and that from this place to that part of the Chagre to which vessels would ascend, was only nine leagues, the greater part of the ground flat, and so free of all obstructions, that a good road for carriages of burthen could be formed at little expense. From the mouth of the Chagre the tide ascends ten leagues; and the river is deep, with the bottom clear. Even as high up as these surveyors proposed the navigation to extend, they say that lighters might proceed with sails, in the time of the breezes (*en tiempo de brisas*); at other times, the object was to be accomplished by rowing.' (*Herrera, vol. ii. decad. iv. lib. i. cap. 9.*). By this indubitable authority, then, it appears, that a canal of nine leagues, through a country mostly flat, is all that is wanting to complete the navigation across the isthmus of Panama; the rivers Chagre and Grande performing the rest.

Gonzalo Fernandes de Oviedo, *alias* de Valdès, addressing himself to Charles the Fifth, affirms, on his own knowledge, as a man who had seen the spot, and twice crossed the isthmus on his own feet (*por sus pies*) in the year 1521, that there are only four leagues, of very good road, fit for carriages of burthen, from Panama to the navigable part of the river Chagre, most of the way being flat, and the elevations, where they do occur, inconsiderable. 'Your Majesty,' continues the narrator 'perceives what a marvellous thing this is, and how great the adaptation to the end I propose; that the river Chagre has its source at only two leagues from the South Sea, and discharges itself into the North; a river, rapid, broad, large and deep, and so well adapted to the end proposed, that I could not mention, or imagine, or desire, any thing more so.' (See this curious address in *Barcia Historiadores Primitivos de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. lxxxvii.)

The following passage of De Pradt informs us of a very recent speculation on this most interesting subject:—'Enfin, sous Charles III, il y a à-peu-pres quinze ans, on a proposé d'effectuer ce grand plan, en travaillant sur le lac de Nicaragua. Il n'est séparé de la mer du Sud que par un espace de douze mille toises, et il verse dans le Golfe de Mexique par la riviere de Saint-Jean. Il paroît donc prêter beaucoup à l'exécution de ce plan, dont l'accomplissement feroit de ce lac et du Mexique, le centre du commerce du monde.

Là

Là s'éleveroient des villes rivales d'Amsterdam et de Cadix. Là en choisissant bien l'emplacement des nouvelles cités et des nouvelles habitations, en repetant ce que les Americains font chez eux, *on eleveroit aux arts, au commerce, à l'industrie, à la richesse, le plus beau monument qu'ils aient jamais fait naître.* (*Les Trois Ages de Colonies, par M. de Pradt, à Paris 1801, v. i. p. 224.*)

It is now high time for the people of Great Britain to view with courage and with wisdom those great interests of theirs which are involved in the fate of South America. The question is not about the destination of a sugar island, or the occupation of a barren rock in the Mediterranean;—it is about the fate of twenty millions of men, and of a country of such boundless extent and varied fertility, as to be capable, perhaps, of affording a luxurious subsistence to all the existing individuals of the human race.

The only satisfactory manner of discussing this question is, to consider all the ways in which the present crisis of South American affairs can possibly terminate; to fix the eye upon that issue by which the interests of our own country are most likely to be promoted; and to inquire what we can possibly do to bring it about. A few of the more obvious considerations is all that it falls within our province to suggest. To set our countrymen in the right track in a question of such magnitude as this, would be consolation and honour enough for a higher ambition than ours.

The possible modes in which the present crisis in the affairs of South America can terminate, may be conceived as follows.

I. Spain, the mother country, may remain independent.

II. Or, Spain may become subject to Bonaparte.

I. If Spain remains independent, South America may, 1. remain united with her in the state of vassalage in which she has hitherto been held. 2. It may remain united with her in her free association or union, as that of Ireland with Great Britain. 3. It may revolt from her by the assistance of Bonaparte. 4. It may revolt from her by the assistance of Great Britain. 5. It may revolt from her without any assistance.

II. If Spain becomes subject to Bonaparte, South America may, 1. remain united with her in the state of vassalage,—but not in a free association; because to a despotic crown there is no union of subjects otherwise than by vassalage. 2. South America may assert its independence with the assistance of Great Britain. 3. It may assert its independence without any assistance.

Let us consider these possibilities in their order.

I. 1. Spain remaining independent, South America may remain in her ancient state of vassalage. There is no human being, we believe, who professes to be of opinion that this would be the event

most desirable, in regard to the interests of Great Britain. This is that very condition of the Spanish colonies which has been in this country so long and so deeply deplored; which has rendered all the blessings showered by nature upon those vast regions of the globe, unfruitful both to the inhabitants and to the rest of the human species. In this moment of unexampled exigency for Great Britain, this is the state of things which would deprive her of those countervailing resources, to which the loss of her European resources gives so extraordinary a value.

In spite of all this, our Government, we find, has just entered into a treaty, guaranteeing the integrity of the whole Spanish dominions. If this mean any thing else, than that, while that treaty subsists, we shall not ourselves do any thing to detach any part of these dominions, it means something which it would both be impolitic and impossible for us to perform. These colonies are in reality of no use to Spain. They would be of no use even to Great Britain, who is so much better able to turn them to advantage; and no wise man, we are confident, would advise this country to accept of such a sovereignty, even if it were tendered to her by the free will of the inhabitants. But the stipulation, in this sense of it, is fortunately as impracticable as it is impolitic. If, by engaging to guarantee the integrity of the Spanish empire, we meant to bind ourselves to prevent the South Americans from becoming independent, by fighting against them, if they should attempt to become so—we shall only ask, whether, if we were to employ all the forces of Great Britain in such a conflict, they would be sufficient for the purpose? Could we, if we were mad enough to stake Great Britain upon the contest, prevent the independence of South America, if South America were resolved to be independent? But allowing that the forces of Great Britain were competent to the task, have we any to spare for it? Is not the business of Europe, at the present moment, nearly as much as we are competent to? Is not the concern of our own defence, one which the extraordinary circumstances of the times, and the exorbitant drains which we have so long sustained, render nearly commensurate with our resources? The stipulation, then, to guarantee the subjection of the Spanish colonies, is a stipulation which, if the Spanish colonies do not please to be subject, that is to say, if ever the event is to take place which can render the stipulation of any use, we cannot take a step to fulfil. But suppose the contrary; suppose we were actually in readiness to send a body of troops to resist the emancipation of South America; of all probable things the most probable—if we must not call it certain, is, that Bonaparte would offer his assistance to the South Americans, and that they would accept it. If so, we have abundant experience, that it is no im-
possible

possible thing for him to send troops to South America; and it will then be for us to consider in what manner, and to what degree a French army fighting in South America, on the side of the people, and against us, would be likely to promote the good, and prevent the evil of the British nation.

I. 2. Spain remaining independent, South America may continue joined to her in a free association. For this purpose it is indispensably necessary that Spain should give to herself a free government. A despotical government in Spain can never do otherwise than govern the colonies despotically. There is no free association of subjects with an arbitrary crown:—it is a contradiction in terms.

It is probably a conclusion already fixed in the breasts of most of our readers, that it is only by giving to herself a free government, that Spain has any chance either of regaining her independence, or, what is more, of keeping it long if it were regained. We hear of the national cortes, and of the establishment of a representative government, in which the colonies are to be invited to partake; a liberal, it will be said, and beneficial proposal this, in which the suffrages of all reasonable men will unite. A very little reflection will suffice to unveil its real character.

In forming a representative system for the different districts of a large country, the only safe and equitable rule perhaps is to follow the proportion of population, which always, on a large scale, gives you very exactly the proportion of property also. If you proceed on any other ground, you lay injustice at the foundation of your whole structure. On this principle, the representatives from South America in the cortes of Spain, must be nearly twice as numerous as those from Spain itself. The representatives from South America become then the governors of Spain, and South America is the metropolitan country; it ought therefore to be the seat of government, and would soon become so; for the preponderating representatives from South America would vote for the transfer. The consequence, however, would probably be, that the Spaniards would not submit,—and the union would be dissolved by a civil war nearly as soon as formed.

Suppose that the colonies would be satisfied by being put upon an equal footing with the mother country; and that the difference should be compromised, by agreeing that each should have an equal number of representatives. In this case, the interests of the two parties would be set so directly in opposition, and their powers so nearly balanced, that nothing but perpetual struggles and contention, with consequent misrule, and all its attendant miseries, would be the result; till this ill contrived association would speedily dissolve itself.

If the Spaniards should propose to form a representative system, in which the population of South America, so much greater than their own, should only have a small subordinate share; there is, in the first place, every probability that the people of South America would not submit to this inferiority; and, in the next place, their situation would be no otherwise changed, than that formerly they were governed by a number of leading Spaniards, assembled in what was called the Council of the Indies, and that then they would be governed by a somewhat larger number of leading Spaniards, assembled in what would probably be called the Cortez. The chance accordingly is, that they would be worse governed in the latter case than in the former:—Because the members of the Council of the Indies were men, in general, chosen expressly for their knowledge of American affairs; the representatives in the Cortez would not be expressly chosen for that knowledge. The members of the Council of the Indies were subject to some kind of responsibility; the representatives would be subject to none. The members of the Council of the Indies had no other duty assigned them but that of attending to the government of America; to the representatives in the Cortez, this would only be one among a great many duties, and one which, in the scale of importance, could never be expected to stand very high.

I. 3. Spain remaining independent, the colonies may become independent by the assistance of Bonaparte. If we mistake not, this is a contingency which, in this country, is not greatly apprehended. We trust to our fleets for keeping the transatlantic regions pure of the contamination of French armies. Of the possible combinations of circumstances, however, there are several, and these by no means very unlikely, in which this would be a danger worthy of any thing rather than of contempt. Suppose that Spain having fairly delivered herself from the arms of Bonaparte, and the colonies declaring their determination to be independent, Spain should, in pursuance of the treaty now existing, claim and receive the navy and army of Great Britain, to aid in subduing what she would call the rebellion; in these circumstances, is it any thing less than certain that Bonaparte would both desire, and would be able to send an army to the support of the colonies? If the colonies, thus supported, would without any doubt baffle Spain and England attacking them, we should then have South America independent, united in friendship with France, and standing in enmity with England. If any thing more is wanting to complete the cup of English misfortune, it would be this.

Another contingency, and one, we are afraid, still more probable,

bable, is, that Great Britain hanging off, in consequence of the present treaty, in a state something between active discouragement and mere neutrality, the South Americans becoming divided among themselves, one party may call in Bonaparte, and by its efficacy give him the means of acquiring the ascendancy in the country.

I. 4. Spain remaining independent, the colonies may become free by the assistance of Great Britain. Of all possible combinations in this interesting case, this, it is evident, would be, in every possible way, the most advantageous to our own country. The power of Bonaparte, not augmented, but baffled and impaired by the power of Spain, would cease to be formidable to us in Europe; while all the vast, and then rapidly improving, resources of South America, would become subservient to our aggrandisement and prosperity.

I. 5. Spain remaining independent, the colonies may erect a government for themselves, without any external assistance. This contingency is the less probable, because, in almost all possible cases, if these colonies do not obtain the assistance of England, they will be sure to get that of France. That they are fully competent, however, to set at nought the opposition of the mother country alone, there cannot remain a doubt: nay, that the interest of the mother country is so low, that scarcely would there be found adherents of her's in the country, sufficient even to form a party, is more than probable. But without some authority, to which all parties would look up, and Great Britain is admirably situated to perform the part of such a benefactor, there would be differences of views, which would be troublesome, and might prove mischievous. Yet they have the example of North America to guide them; and, very possibly, that example might guide them right. The course, too, they would have to steer, is so very plain, that two or three good heads, under the strong influence of good intention, would be sufficient to retain them in the salutary track.

Such is a slight, and, for that reason, an imperfect, analysis of the prospect presented by South America, in the contingency of the mother country remaining independent. We now come to a similar analysis of the prospect presented, if the mother country loses her independence. This is the side of the alternative on which we lay by far the greatest stress, because it is to be considered as by far the most probable; but so much of what we have stated on the former side of the case is applicable to this, that we hope to be able to say what remains in few words.

II. 1. If Spain loses her independence, the colonies may remain united to her, under a subjection resembling that to which she has hitherto submitted. That this is the result, above all others, which every British mind must join in deprecating, needs not be mentioned.

mentioned. It is a result which, among the possible contingencies of the case, we think is not one of the most likely to happen. Yet no trifling powers would be set in operation to accomplish it. If Bonaparte succeeds in all his present schemes, of which the subjugation of Spain must form the last part, his power will be terrible indeed; and the motives he will be capable of holding out—motives of formidable efficacy. Those natives of Spain, in whose hands the government of South America is now placed, will have potent inducements for looking still to Spain; and by leaving the channel of interest still open to them in that country, their cooperation in behalf of its government, in whose hands soever that government may be placed, can easily be raised to any pitch of zeal and activity. That Bonaparte, in the case of the final subjugation of Spain, will have the Spanish viceroys, the audiencias, and the great functionaries of all descriptions, on his side, is an event that ought to be calculated upon, with very few exceptions, as absolutely certain. How important the influence which the powers of government impart to those who wield them, needs not to be insisted on; nor the weight which this primary circumstance must add to all the other means which it would then be in the power of our enemy to employ. One of the circumstances, the most powerful of all in giving efficacy to the seductive means of Bonaparte, would be, hatred of Great Britain, if the refusal on her part to take an interest in the fate of the South Americans, or an invidious preference of the interests of their old and hated oppressor, should rouse among that people sentiments of aversion and hostility. That these sentiments, calculated to be very fatal to the interests of this country, will be excited, the conduct hitherto pursued by our ministers, and the conduct which, from their character, we may foresee they will continue to pursue, give us the strongest reason to apprehend.

Nothing, if Bonaparte becomes master of Old Spain, seems capable of preventing his becoming, at the same time, master of America, but the strong and irresistible determination of the American people to be no longer dependent. If that determination be, as we suppose it to be, already come to maturity, then will it triumph over all the obstacles which the power of Bonaparte can oppose to it. If it be, as many people among us seem to imagine, sufficiently weak to permit the colonies still to remain quietly under their ancient oppressors, what force will remain in a supposed antipathy to the mere name of Frenchman, (and which will not be found to exist, *) in resisting the efficacious means of Bonaparte?

* The history of Liniers at Buenos Ayres affords, without any thing more, abundant proof, that to the authority of Frenchmen, as *Frenchmen*, the people of South America have no antipathy.

naparte? In the contingency of Spanish subjugation, now, alas! by far the most probable contingency, the determination of the South Americans to be independent is the only bulwark on which we have to rely, against one of the most calamitous events that can befall our country. The light which this throws upon the treaty under which we now act, is strong and instructive.

II. 2. Spain being subdued, the colonies may acquire independence by the assistance of Great Britain. That is the event which, above all others, it remains for us, in such a case, to desire, and which, we have the consolation of thinking, will be equally popular as desirable. By this assistance, the progress of that great revolution might be so guided, as to produce the greatest possible good at once to us, to the Spaniards, and to the people principally concerned. How much, or how little, probable the subjugation of Spain, was a point that seriously deserved the consideration of those who framed the treaty so often alluded to; for, if the chance of Bonaparte's success did not approach to impossibility,—to tie up our hands, by a treaty, from taking measures to prevent the extension of his influence to South America, was an instance of misconduct among the grossest to be found in the huge library of ministerial imbecilities. Never did a great event offer greater facilities in the execution, than the regeneration of South America by the helping hand of the British government. Little more, in fact, is necessary, than to go and offer to the people a rallying point, and to employ that wisdom and coolness which a third party might so easily possess, in preventing an inexperienced people, in the heat of a great change, from running into confusion. With what rapidity would the fruits of so noble a conduct begin to be felt! How sublime the distinction of having once again set an example of such beneficent interference in the affairs of nations! The revolt of the Dutch from the misgovernment of Spain—a revolt so fruitful in benefits to the human race—was rendered triumphant, in a great measure, through British means. The wisdom of Queen Elizabeth and her ministers saw the magnitude of the occasion, and did not let it slip. But what were the advantages immediately offered to Great Britain by the freedom of Holland, compared with those promised by the freedom of South America? Great, too, as were at that time the dangers to this country from the enmity and power of a Philip the Second, the enmity and power of a Bonaparte are infinitely more formidable. In its wise and beneficent acts, it is happy for a country to emulate itself. For there are precedents which it is useful to follow; as well as others, the offspring of folly and sinister interest—which it is no less useful to avoid.

II. 3. Spain becoming subject to Bonaparte, South America may assert her independence without any assistance. If the alarming treaty so often alluded to, acting upon a correspondent state of mind in the rulers of Great Britain, shall so tie up the hands of this country, as to make her defer her interference till it be too late, it then remains for us to desire, and to desire with inexpressible earnestness, that the South Americans may erect an independence for themselves; otherwise subjection under Bonaparte is the only remaining alternative. * Many, however, are the difficulties with which the people of South America will have to contend, in performing the work of regeneration for themselves; difficulties which it would be so easy for the hand of Great Britain to remove. The influence, for example, so dangerous, of all the agents of the Spanish government, the influence of Great Britain would immediately annihilate. All these sudden and irregular impulses which are so apt to hurry into dangerous situations in a moment of great change, the gentle influence of a moderating and friendly power, would be most salutary in allaying. All those dissensions which the passions of disagreeing parties are so apt, in similar situations, to inflame into open resistance and bloodshed, a protecting power, cultivating and deserving the esteem of all parties, might easily temper and guide. Who can contemplate the delightful results of such an interference as this, without lamenting the chances that it will yet

* We are happy at last to be able to say, that ours is not the only voice which has been lifted up to impress these salutary considerations on the public. On the 31st of May, Mr Ponsonby said, in the House of Commons, ' His opinion was, that the cause of Spain and Portugal would fail; and that, before long, the power of France would be as great in those countries as in the rest of the Continent. The conduct of our government, therefore, ought to be to secure their insular and foreign settlements. He meant, that we should hold out to South America, &c. to become independent; that Joseph Bonaparte might not in reality, as he already was in name, be king of the Indies. To hold out the idea of Ferdinand the Seventh, as the head of an American government, would be the height of folly. If the people of South America chose that he should be their king, that altered the case. But he hoped there was nothing to entangle this country with him, contrary to the inclination of those who had been his subjects. If this country, however, chose to put off the matter too long, he much apprehended, when the power of France was fully settled in Old Spain, it would be able to draw a great part of New Spain along with it. He stated this now, because next Session it might be too late.'—*See Parliamentary Report for June 1st, 1809.*

yet be defeated? If so, if the people of South America must be left to themselves, it would be presumption in any one to pretend to foresee what may be the consequences. So firmly are we convinced that the minds of the South Americans are matured for a revolution, that we think the crisis still would end well. Yet, when the seeds of evil, which in such a situation can never be wanting, are allowed to spring and vegetate, without any exterminating hand; above all, with such a cultivating and fostering hand as that of Bonaparte to promote their growth; it is impossible not to dread what such a mixture of elements may bring forth. One thing is abundantly certain, that the people of South America, beholding themselves abandoned to all the hazards of a revolution, by a people who had the power, by little more than an act of volition, to save them from a peril so tremendous, must conceive an antipathy to that people, which ages may not suffice to eradicate.

ART. V. *Characters of the late Charles James Fox.* By Philopatris Varvicensis. 2 vol. 8vo.

THIS singular work consists of a collection of all the panegyrics passed upon Mr Fox, after his decease, in periodical publications, speeches, sermons, or elsewhere,—in a panegyric upon Mr Fox by Philopatris himself,—and in a volume of notes by the said Philopatris upon the said panegyric.

Of the panegyrics, that by Sir James Macintosh appears to us to be by far the best. It is remarkable for good sense, acting upon a perfect knowledge of his subject, for simplicity, and for feeling. Amid the languid or turgid efforts of mediocrity, it is delightful to notice the skill, attention and resources, of a superior man,—of a man, too, who seems to feel what he writes,—who does not aim at conveying his meaning in rhetorical and ornamented phrases, but who uses plain words to express strong sensations. We cannot help wishing, indeed, that Sir James Macintosh had been more diffuse upon the political character of Mr Fox; the great feature of whose life, was the long and unwearied opposition which he made to the low cunning, the profligate extravagance, the sycophant mediocrity, and the stupid obstinacy of the English court.

To estimate the merit, and the difficulty of this opposition, we must remember the enormous influence which the Crown, through the medium of its patronage, exercises in the remotest corners of the kingdom,—the number of subjects whom it pays,—the much greater number whom it keeps in a state of expectation,—and the ferocious turpitude of those mercenaries, whose present profits,

fits, and future hopes, are threatened by honest, and exposed by eloquent men. It is the easiest of all things, too, in this country, to make Englishmen believe, that those who oppose the Government wish to ruin the country. The English are a very busy people; and, with all the faults of their governors, they are still a very happy people. They have, as they ought to have, a perfect confidence in the administration of justice. The rights which the different classes of mankind exercise the one over the other, are arranged upon equitable principles. Life, liberty and property, are protected from the violence and caprice of power. The visible and immediate stake, therefore, for which English politicians play, is not large enough to attract the notice of the people, and to call them off from their daily occupations, to investigate thoroughly the characters and motives of men engaged in the business of legislation. The people can only understand, and attend to the last results of a long series of measures. They are impatient of the details which lead to these results; and it is the easiest of all things to make them believe, that those who insist upon such details, are actuated only by factious motives. We are all now groaning under the weight of taxes: but how often was Mr Fox followed by the curses of his country, for protesting against the two wars which have loaded us with these taxes?—the one of which wars has made America independent, and the other rendered France omnipotent. The case is the same with all the branches of public liberty. If the broad and palpable question were, whether every book which issues from the press should be subjected to the license of a general censor, it would be impossible to blacken the character of any man who, so called upon, defended the liberty of publishing opinions. But, when the Attorney-General for the time being, ingratiates himself with the court, by nibbling at this valuable privilege of the people, it is very easy to treat hostility to his measures, as a minute and frivolous opposition to the Government, and to persuade the mass of mankind that it is so. In fact, when a nation has become free, it is extremely difficult to persuade them, that their freedom is only to be preserved by perpetual and minute jealousy. They do not observe that there is a constant, perhaps an unconscious effort on the part of their governors, to diminish, and so ultimately to destroy that freedom. They stupidly imagine that what is, will always be; and, contented with the good they have already gained, are easily persuaded to suspect and vilify those friends—the object of whose life it is to preserve that good, and to increase it.

It was the lot of Mr Fox to fight this battle for the greater part of his life; in the course of which time, he never was seduced by the love of power, wealth, nor popularity, to sacrifice

face the happiness of the many to the interests of the few. He rightly thought, that kings, and all public officers, were instituted only for the good of those over whom they preside; and he acted as if this conviction was always present to his mind; disdaining and withstanding that idolatrous tendency of mankind, by which they so often not only suffer, but invite ruin from that power which they themselves have wisely created for their own happiness. He loved, too, the happiness of his countrymen more than their favour; and while others were exhausting the resources, by flattering the ignorant prejudices and foolish passions of the country, Mr Fox was content to be odious to the people, so long as he could be useful also. It will be long before we witness again such pertinacious opposition to the alarming power of the Crown, and to the follies of our public measures, the necessary consequence of that power. That such opposition should ever be united again with such extraordinary talents, it is perhaps in vain to hope.

One little exception to the eulogium of Sir James Mackintosh upon Mr Fox, we cannot help making. We are no admirers of Mr Fox's poetry. His *Vers de Société* appear to us flat and insipid. To write verses was the only thing which Mr Fox ever attempted to do, without doing it well. In that single instance he seems to have mistaken his talent.

Immediately after the collection of Panegyrics which these volumes contain, follows the Eulogium of Mr Fox by Philopatri himself; and then a volume of notes upon a variety of topics which this eulogium has suggested. Of the laudatory talents of this Warwickshire patriot, we shall present our readers with a specimen.

‘ Mr Fox, though not an adept in the use of political wiles, was very unlikely to be the dupe of them.—He was conversant in the ways of man, as well as in the contents of books.—He was acquainted with the peculiar language of states, their peculiar forms, and the grounds and effects of their peculiar usages.—From his earliest youth, he had investigated the science of politics in the greater and the smaller scale; he had studied it in the records of history, both popular and rare, in the conferences of ambassadors, in the archives of royal cabinets, in the minuter detail of memoirs, and in collected or straggling anecdotes of the wrangles, intrigues, and cabals, which, springing up in the secret recesses of courts, shed their baneful influence on the determinations of sovereigns, the fortune of favourites, and the tranquillity of kingdoms.—But that statesmen of all ages, like priests of all religions, are in all respects alike, is a doctrine the propagation of which he left, as an inglorious privilege, to the misanthrope, to the recluse, to the factious incendiary, and to the unlettered multitude. For himself, he thought it

no

no very extraordinary stretch of penetration or charity, to admit that human nature is every where nearly as capable of emulation in good, as in evil.—He boasted of no very exalted heroism, in opposing the calmness and firmness of conscious integrity, to the shuffling and slippery movements, the feints in retreat, and feints in advance, the dread of being overreached, or detected in attempts to overreach, and all the other humiliating and mortifying anxieties of the most accomplished proficients in the art of diplomacy.—He reproached himself for no guilt, when he endeavoured to obtain that respect and confidence, which the human heart unavoidably feels in its intercourse with persons, who neither wound our pride, nor take aim at our happiness, in a war of hollow and ambiguous words.—He was sensible of no weakness in believing that politicians, who, after all, “know only as they are known,” may, like other human beings, be at first the involuntary creatures of circumstances, and seem incorrigible from the want of opportunities or incitements to correct themselves; that, bereft of the pleas usually urged in vindication of deceit, by men who are fearful of being deceived, they, in their official dealings with him, would not wantonly lavish the stores they had laid up for huckstering in a traffic, which, ceasing to be profitable, would begin to be infamous; and that, possibly, here and there, if encouraged by example, they might learn to prefer the shorter process, and surer results of plain-dealing, to the delays, the vexations, and the uncertain or transient success, both of old-fashioned and newfangled chicanery.’ I. 209–211.

It is impossible to read this singular book, without being everywhere struck with the lofty and honourable feelings, the enlightened benevolence, and sterling honesty with which it abounds. Its author is everywhere the circumspect friend of those moral and religious principles, upon which the happiness of society rests. Though he is never timid, nor prejudiced, nor bigotted, his piety, not prudish and full of antiquated and affected tricks, presents itself with an earnest aspect, and in a manly form; obedient to reason, prone to investigation, and dedicated to honest purposes. The writer, a clergyman, speaks of himself as a very independent man, who has always expressed his opinions without any fear of consequences, or any hope of bettering his condition. We sincerely believe he speaks the truth; and revere him for the life which he has led. Political independence—discouraged enough in these times among all classes of men—is sure, in the timid profession of the church, to doom a man to eternal poverty and obscurity.

There are occasionally, in *Philopatris*, a great vigour of style, and felicity of expression. His display of classical learning is quite unrivalled—his reading various and good; and we may observe, at intervals, a talent for wit, of which he might have availed himself to excellent purpose, had it been compatible with

the

the dignified style in which he generally conveys his sentiments. With all these excellent qualities of head and heart, we have seldom met with a writer more full of faults than Philopatris. There is an event recorded in the Bible, which men who write books should keep constantly in their remembrance. It is there set forth, that many centuries ago, the earth was covered with a great flood, by which the whole of the human race, with the exception of one family, were destroyed. It appears also, that, from thence, a great alteration was made in the longevity of mankind, who, from a range of seven or eight hundred years, which they enjoyed before the flood, were confined to their present period of seventy or eighty years. This epoch in the history of man, gave birth to the twofold division of the antediluvian and the postdiluvian style of writing; the latter of which naturally contracted itself into these inferior limits, which were better accommodated to the abridged duration of human life and literary labour. Now, to forget this event,—to write without the fear of the deluge before his eyes, and to handle a subject as if mankind could lounge over a pamphlet for ten years, as before their submersion, is to be guilty of the most grievous error into which a writer can possibly fall. The author of this book should call in the aid of some brilliant pencil, and cause the distressing scenes of the deluge to be portrayed in the most lively colours for his use. He should gaze at Noah, and be brief. The ark should constantly remind him of the little time there is left for reading; and he should learn, as they did in the ark, to crowd a great deal of matter into a very little compass.

Philopatris must not only condense what he says in a narrower compass, but he must say it in a more natural manner. Some persons can neither stir hand nor foot, without making it clear, that they are thinking of themselves, and laying little traps for approbation. In the course of two long volumes, the Patriot of Warwick is perpetually studying modes and postures:—the subject is the second consideration, and the mode of expression the first. Indeed, whole pages together seem to be mere exercises upon the English language, to evince the copiousness of our synonyms, and to show the various methods in which the parts of speech can be marshalled and arrayed. This, which would be tiresome in the ephemeral productions of a newspaper, is intolerable in two closely printed volumes.

Again, strange as it may appear to this author to say so, he must not fall into the frequent mistake of rural politicians, by supposing that the understandings of all Europe are occupied with him and his opinions. His ludicrous self-importance is perpetually destroying the effect of virtuous feeling and just observation, leaving

his readers with a disposition to laugh, where they might otherwise learn and admire.

‘ I have been asked, why, after pointing out by name the persons who seemed to me most qualified for reforming our Penal Code, I declined mentioning such ecclesiastics as might with propriety be employed in preparing for the use of churches a grave and impressive discourse on the authority of human laws; and as other men may ask the same question which my friend did, I have determined, after some deliberation, to insert the substance of my answer in this place.

‘ If the public service of our church should ever be directly employed in giving effect to the sanctions of our Penal Code, the office of drawing up such a discourse as I have ventured to recommend, would, I suppose, be assigned to more than one person. My ecclesiastical superiors will, I am sure, make a wise choice. But they will hardly condemn me for saying, that the best sense expressed in the best language, may be expected from the Bishops of Landaff, Lincoln, St Davids, Cloyne, and Norwich, the Dean of Christ Church, and the President of Magdalen College, Oxford. I mean not to throw the slightest reproach upon other dignitaries whom I have not mentioned. But I should imagine that few of my enlightened contemporaries hold an opinion different from my own, upon the masculine understanding of a Watson, the sound judgment of a Tomlin, the extensive erudition of a Burgess, the exquisite taste and goodnature of a Bennet, the calm and enlightened benevolence of a Bathurst, the various and valuable attainments of a Cyril Jackson, or the learning, wisdom, integrity, and piety of a Martin Routh.’ p. 524-5.

In the name of common modesty, what could it have signified, whether this author had given a list of ecclesiastics whom he thought qualified to preach about human laws? what is his opinion worth? who called for it? who wanted it? how many millions will be influenced by it?—And who, oh gracious Heaven! who are *a Burgess*,—*a Tomlin*,—*a Bennet*,—*a Cyril Jackson*,—*a Martin Routh*?—*A Tom*,—*a Jack*,—*a Harry*,—*a Peter*? All good men enough in their generation doubtless they are. But what have they done for the broad *a*? what has any one of them perpetrated which will make him be remembered, out of the sphere of his private virtues, six months after his decease? Surely, scholars and gentlemen can drink tea with each other, and eat bread and butter, without all this laudatory cackling.

Philopatris has employed a great deal of time upon the subject of capital punishments, and has evinced a great deal of very laudable tenderness and humanity in discussing it. We are scarcely, however, converts to that system which would totally abolish the punishment of death. That it is much too frequently inflicted in this country, we readily admit; but we suspect it will be always necessary to reserve it for the most pernicious crimes. Death is the most
terrible

terrible punishment to the common people, and therefore the most preventive. It does not perpetually outrage the feelings of those who are innocent, and likely to remain innocent, as would be the case from the spectacle of convicts working in the high-roads, and public places. Death is the most economical punishment; and it is, of course, the most irrevocable punishment, which is in some sense a good; for, however necessary it might be to inflict labour and imprisonment for life, it would never be done. Kings and Legislatures would take pity after a great lapse of years; the punishment would be remitted, and its preventive efficacy, therefore, destroyed. We agree with Philopatrius, that the executions should be more solemn; but still the English are not of a very dramatic turn, and the thing must not be got up too finely. Philopatrius, and Mr Jeremy Bentham before him, lay a vast stress upon the promulgation of laws, and treat the inattention of the English Government to this point, as a serious evil. It may be so—but we do not happen to remember any man punished for an offence which he did not know to be an offence; though he might not know exactly the degree in which it was punishable. Who are to read the laws to the people? who would listen to them if they were read? who would comprehend them if they listened? In a science like law there must be technical phrases, known only to professional men: business could not be carried on without them: and of what avail would it be to repeat such phrases to the people? Again, What laws are to be repeated, and in what places? Is a law respecting the number of threads on the shuttle of a Spitalfields weaver to be read to the cottagers of the Isle of Thanet? If not, who is to make the selection? If the law cannot be comprehended by listening to the *viva voce* repetition, is the reader to explain it, and are there to be law lectures all over the kingdom? The fact is, that the evil does not exist. Those who are likely to commit the offence soon scent out the newly devised punishments, and have been long thoroughly acquainted with the old ones. Of the nice applications of the law they are indeed ignorant; but they purchase the requisite skill of some man whose business it is to acquire it; and so they get into less mischief by trusting to others, than they would do if they pretended to inform themselves. The people, it is true, are ignorant of the laws; but they are ignorant only of the laws which do not concern them. A poacher knows nothing of the penalties to which he exposes himself by stealing ten thousand pounds from the public. Commissioners of public boards are unacquainted with all the decretals of our ancestors respecting the wiring of hares; but the one pockets his extra percentage, and the other his leveret, with a perfect knowledge of the laws—the particular laws which it is his business to elude. Philopatrius will excuse us for differing from him

upon a subject where he seems to entertain such strong opinions. We have a real respect for all his opinions:—no man could form them who had not a good heart, and a sound understanding. If we have been severe upon his style of writing, it is because we know his weight in the commonwealth: and we wish that the many young persons who justly admire and imitate him, should be turned to the difficult task of imitating his many excellences, rather than the useless and easy one of copying his few defects.

ART. VI. *Memoirs of Sir Thomas More, with a new Translation of his Utopia, his History of King Richard III., and his Latin Poems.* By Arthur Cayley the Younger, Esq. 2 vol. 4to. London. Cadell & Davies, 1808.

'*A most pleasant, fruitful, and witty Work of the best State of a Public Weal, and of the New Isle called Utopia: written in Latin by the right worthy and famous Sir T. More, Knight, and translated into English by Raphe Robinson, A. D. 1551.*' *A New Edition, with copious Notes (including the whole of Dr Warner's), and a Biographical and Literary Introduction.* By the Rev. T. F. Dibdin, F. S. A. &c. 2 vol. 8vo. London. Miller, 1808.

THOUGH the unparalleled interest of the present crisis sinks all past history into comparative insignificance, yet, if there be any former period which may claim a share of our present attention, it is that which includes the life of Sir Thomas More, and the reigns of Henry the Seventh and his son. There is found, in this period, a greater number of striking characters and important events, than were ever brought together in the same space of time. The human mind, beginning by a sort of internal agitation to awake from the torpor of ages, received, at that period, an impulse from without, which has carried it forward ever since in the career of improvement. Recent occurrences, indeed, by suspending the social relations of Europe, may seem to have retarded this movement; but they have not broken the springs; and when certain disturbing influences cease to act, it will be resumed, we trust, with increased force and velocity. The biography of such a period ought to be particularly interesting. A revolution of opinions had been secretly, but rapidly preparing the way for a revolution of events; and (if we may be allowed to use a chemical analogy) the reaction of the various principles, old and new, upon each other, produced many singular compounds of character, the study of which may furnish a key to events in the history of those times, which would otherwise pass for unaccountable.

able. The most active ingredients were good sense and prejudice—the same, no doubt, that have gone to the composition of almost every character in every age; but they were united, in the distinguished minds of those days, in combinations more extraordinary, perhaps, than were ever witnessed, either before or since. In the first growth of science and philosophy, their progress was gradual; and barbarism slowly retreated, as they advanced. But it is so much easier to revive forgotten discoveries than to invent them anew, that, at the commencement of the 16th century, the re-appearance of learning was comparatively instantaneous; and the light of philosophy broke in, as it were, before the darkness of existing ignorance had time to disperse. Hence the contradictions which mark the whole of that important period—principles of political freedom combining with those of ecclesiastical servitude—an enlightened and admirable reformation of religion, carried into effect by the aid of persecution—and every possible absurdity co-existing with every excellence, not only in the same age, and under the same government, but often in the breast of the same individual. It is to this struggle of contending opinions, and not to the character of any particular king, emperor, or even sect, that we are to look for the causes of the religious inveteracy and bloodshed which disgraced the age of which we are speaking. It was, with little exception, an age of *mutual* persecution; and the mild Cranmer, himself, only expiated in the flames of martyrdom the kindred outrages he had committed on the opposite party.

It would be difficult to select a stronger example of these inconsistencies, than that which is found in the character of Sir Thomas More. The imposing ceremonies and doctrines of the Catholic faith had taken an early hold of his imagination and belief; and he cherished, as he grew up, a profound veneration for that hierarchy, which had existed so long, and spread its roots so wide, that men submitted to its oppression and absurdity, as if they had been parts of the order of nature. His youthful prepossessions were confirmed by his engaging in polemical disputes, which he suffered too often to narrow the range of his fine understanding, and alter the suavity of his temper. On the other hand, he was smitten with the novel charms of classical literature, of which, in his younger days, ‘*vix tenuis odor in Angliam demigrarat*’ (*Erasm. p. 605.*); and derived from those liberal and humanizing pursuits, a refinement of taste and sentiment which form a strong contrast with the gloom and asperity of the controversialist.

These reflections were suggested by the very title of Mr Cayley’s book; and after the many realms of anile anecdote through which we have lately been condemned to toil, we anticipated no

small pleasure from seeing biography once more ministering to history, and raised from the imbecility of *blue stocking* chit-chat, to the exercise of her more noble and legitimate occupations. An author, we conceived, who travels back to beaten ground, must feel confident of his ability to illustrate the subject, either by opening new sources of information, or by the charm of arrangement and style, and the importance of collateral disquisition. We are grieved to say, however, that we have encountered nothing but disappointment from a more intimate acquaintance with Mr Cayley. We were not indeed very sanguine in hoping for new materials or documents. The life of More has been frequently written already. Much information concerning him is to be found in the letters of Erasmus, and in the modern histories of that period; and Mr Cayley has added nothing new or recondite to the former stock. It is the life written by Roper, More's son-in-law, that he uses as his text-book; and his extracts from it, which are long and frequent, are the most amusing parts of his work. The quaint and minute details of a man, who was many years an inmate in More's house, could hardly fail to be interesting; and perhaps Mr Cayley would have judged wisely, if he had confined himself to the task of editing and illustrating the work of Roper, which is now a very scarce book. As it is, we conceive him to have failed completely in what was chiefly to be looked for—a luminous disposition of the various materials before him, so as to produce a pleasing and instructive narration. We have seldom seen a duller book on a more interesting subject. Much of its soporific virtue is owing to that want of unity and connexion which results from Mr Cayley's having loosely put together extracts from different authors, while no judgment presides over the arrangement—no '*Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.*'

The original composition of these volumes, lumbering and prolix as the style is, would occupy a very small space. The better half of the Memoirs, both as to quantity and quality, is marked with inverted commas; and even in that which professes to be original, the odds are always in favour of any given passage, being an extract from Roper, Burnet, or Jortin. His modes of acknowledging these obligations and of easing his conscience without betraying his secret, are ingenious enough. His general plan is, to transcribe what he wants, with the alteration of a word or two for the worse, that the offence may not be actionable; and then, by way of appeasing the *manes* of his predecessors, a simple reference is given to the word *Jortin* or *Burnet* on the margin; while the reader is left to believe, that these authorities have been consulted merely—and not, as the fact is, literally copied. Sometimes he takes the author to be plundered into the body of his text, and there robs him,

him, as it were, in broad daylight, by quoting his name for a fact in the beginning of a sentence, and strutting in his borrowed plumage through the rest. Thus (I. 263.) 'Our own correct and classical Jortin pronounces the poem on a lady, of whom More had been enamoured in his youth, the most pathetic and elegant in the collection. The reason is obvious,—his hand was secretary to his heart.' For the last observation, (though the property is certainly not worth contending for), the reader naturally gives Mr Cayley credit, till he finds it is taken *verbatim* from Jortin's life of Erasmus. Sometimes he grows bolder in iniquity, and copies extracts into his unhooked paragraphs, without any acknowledgement whatever. 'It is certainly disagreeable to be placed in the situation of Gil Blas, and connected with one who will take it in dudgeon if you do not smoke him with as much incense as would satisfy three, or thrice three goddesses.' We were preparing our critical lash to chastise this sally of bad taste, when we had the mortification to find the very passage in Jortin, and could not but wonder that it had charms to captivate even Mr Cayley's love of appropriation. These are some of our author's methods of furnishing a volume at a small expense of intellect. Another is the insertion of the whole of More's youthful rhimes (it were profanation to call them poetry), which 'flow in a slender streamlet, through a meadow of margin.' Of the margin we can give no idea in our confined and crowded pages; but the following is a fair specimen of the rhimes.

' Wise men alway
Affirm and say
That best 'tis for a man
Diligently
Eor to apply
The business that he can.'

We should exhaust the reader's patience, were we to detail the whole body of evidence which has gone to convince us, that Mr Cayley's object, in penning these Memoirs, was neither to vindicate his hero's fame, nor to accommodate, enlighten, or amuse the public—nor, even what is a more common motive than either, to put money in his pocket—but simply to *make a book*. Accordingly, having manufactured one goodly quarto out of materials which a man of less bibliographic powers would have foolishly compressed into a fourth part of the size;—having, moreover, by dint of republication and retranslation, contrived to fill up a second,—we conceive him to have fairly earned the appellation of *book-maker*, to which he seems to have aspired.

Of Mr Dibdin and his work we have very little to say. We never read the perpetually recurring notices of new books from

this indefatigable author, without being reminded of a passage in Herodotus, the scope of which is to prove, that Nature has uniformly made the weak and defenceless animals the most prolific. —Ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ψυχὴν τε δειλὰ καὶ ἰσχυρὰ *, ταῦτα μὲν πάντα πολὺν χρόνον πεποιμένη (το βῆτον). The lioness, he proceeds to observe, a noble and vigorous animal, produces one cub only in the course of her life —ἀπαξ ἐν τῷ βίῳ γίγνεται ἐν—but the weak and timid hare, not only brings forth more than one at a birth, but *alone*, of all animals, (Herodotus did not know the race of modern book-makers) conceives during gestation. Ἐκκεῖσιν οὖν γὰρ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῶν τῶν θηρίων. καὶ τὰ μὲν δαῖτον τῶν τέκνων ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ, ἡ δὲ, ψιλόν, ἡ δὲ, ἀπὸ ἐν τῇ μήτρῃ πλάσσειν, ἡ δὲ, ἀναίρειν. *Herod. lib. iii. § 108.*

The present work, which we judge to be in the *ψιλόν* state, consists principally of a translation of the *Utopia*, executed by one Raphe Robinson, ‘citizen and goldsmith’ (we quote the words of his title-page) ‘in London, at the procurement and earnest request of George Zadlowe, citizen and haberdasher in the same city.’ This translation is here republished,—not because it is the best, but because it is the oldest and scarcest; Mr Dibdin having adopted for his motto, in common with most collectors, the converse of the familiar apophthegm—*omnia præclara esse rara*. It is full of obsolete words, uncouth phrases, and bad grammar. These, no doubt, are in themselves great recommendations. But what endears it most of all to Mr Dibdin is, the being printed in *black letter*. This delights him so much, that he cannot refrain from giving us a *fac-simile* of the first page, as far as the degenerate types of the present day can imitate such venerable deformity. (p. clxxii. l.) Some further assistance is still deemed necessary, that we may accurately picture to our mind’s eye the external appearance of this precious relic; for alas! there seem to be but two copies in existence, (p. clxxiii. l.); and how few can aspire to the felicity of seeing them! We are told, therefore, that ‘it is neatly printed with a handsome margin.’ It has signatures and catchwords; but—‘the pages are not numbered!’ Mr Dibdin, we will venture to affirm, has counted them, and is now in possession of the secret; but, with inexcusable negligence, or parsimony, omits to fill up this desideratum in literature; and unless his book come to a second edition (which we dare not even hope for), *we*, at least, must for ever remain ignorant of the exact amount of Raphe Robinson’s labours. An approximation may indeed be expected, from the *datum* which immediately follows: ‘It ends on the leaf following

* This word evidently means, in its prophetic sense,—*food for reviewers*.

ing S iij ;' and we recommend to our mathematical readers to combine this element with the fact of its being an octavo, and so form an equation which may come near to the solution of this interesting problem.

We are utterly blind to the necessity of either reediting an *old*, or publishing a *new* translation of the Utopia. A few extracts from Robinson's, such as Mr Burnett has lately given, may be curious, by way of illustrating the history of our language ; but no man will go through it, who can either read the original, or the excellent version of Bishop Burnet. Mr Cayley's apology for his *new* translation, is a very lame one. The circumstance of Utopia being more known and admired abroad than at home, ' may justify ' says he ' its reappearance in an English dress of the present day, ' Does he mean to say, that Burnet's language is obsolete ? There would be no great difficulty in proving, that it is much more pure, popular, and intelligible, than his own. We should be sorry indeed to think, that the fashion of good English so quickly passeth away, that the lapse of little more than a century sufficed to make us cast off our noblest authors, as we do an old coat. The truth is, Mr Cayley is shy of alluding to the Bishop's translation, from a consciousness of the use he has made of it in his own. One has only to compare them together for a moment, to see that our translator has worked much more upon Burnet than on his original ; and, by some slight curtailings and transpositions, has afforded another strong proof of his inextinguishable love of appropriation.

It would be a most unprofitable task to follow Mr Dibdin through the mass of introductory matter, annotations, and ' supplemental notes, ' in which he enchases his jewel of antiquity. They consist almost entirely of a register of editions, first of books that relate in any way to the life of Sir T. More ; secondly, a list of his works, with their editions ; and, thirdly, of the Utopia, whether in Latin, Italian, French, or English ; with learned dissertations concerning the particular month of the particular year in which the respective editions were published ;—forming altogether a handsome assortment of title-pages. They are the spoils he has brought home from the charnel-house of literature,—where he has faithfully copied the birth, parentage, and title of many a book long since departed, or preserved only ' in cold obstruction ' in the cabinets of the curious. We are favoured too with a minute account of all the ' engraved portraits of Sir Thomas, ' whether ' in stroke, stippling, etching, or mezzotint, ' preceded by this eloquent appeal to the feelings of the public—

' Never, perhaps, has it fallen to the lot of a human being to have his features so tortured and perverted as More's have been. At one time,

time, he is made to resemble a Turk; at another time, an officer of the Inquisition. One artist decorates him with the robes of Soliman the Great; another takes care to put around him those of a mountebank or a conjurer: shaven or unshaven—with a short or a long beard—we are still told it is Sir Thomas More! In physiognomical expression, he is as often made to represent the drivelling idiot, as the consequential Lord Mayor; and the immortal name of Holbein is subscribed to portraits, of which he not only never dreamt, but of which almost the meanest of his successors, in this country, might have been justly ashamed.' p. cxv. I.

Though we have avoided following, step by step, this loose and clumsy narrative of Mr Cayley, we cannot dismiss his book without reverting to the subject of it; and bringing under review one of the most interesting, if not the most prominent characters in English story. There is no occasion for dwelling on the events of More's *political* life. Every one knows that, after being Speaker of the House of Commons, and Lord Chancellor, he fell a sacrifice to the savage caprice of a tyrant, whose favour had dragged him reluctantly from the retirement he loved. The equanimity with which he met his fate, and the placidity, and even facetiousness, which he displayed on the scaffold, are equally notorious. The detail of these events, and their connexion with the more important ones on which they depended, we leave to the historian, and shall content ourselves with viewing More in his *literary, domestic, and religious* character.

1. More is justly regarded as one of the great promoters of classical learning in this island. His intimate acquaintance with Erasmus, and other Continental scholars, both led him to cultivate his own taste, and made him eager to improve that of his countrymen. How much his exertions were wanted, and how low the state of literature was at that period, appears from the well-known fact, that the University of Oxford was divided between the contending parties of Greek and Trojan; the one urging, the other vehemently opposing, the introduction of Greek as a part of academical study. More took a very active part against the Trojans; and thus paved the way for that profound and accurate acquaintance with this noble language which still so honourably distinguishes English scholars. He condescended even to smooth the first entrance into learning, by assisting the grammatical labours of his friend Lilly. His own productions are voluminous enough. Rastell's folio edition of his English works, 'consists' as Mr Dibdin takes care to inform us 'of 1458 double columned and closely printed black-letter pages.' But, with the exception of the *Life of Picus of Mirandula*, a youthful production, and the *History of Richard III.*, the genuineness

ness of which is somewhat doubtful, this enormous volume contains scarcely any thing but the acrimonious invective of religious controversy, or the devotional drivelling of superstition. Of his Latin works, which are in much smaller compass, by far the best is the *Utopia*. Upon it, indeed, rests all More's fame as an author. This production, so much more talked of than read, is comprised in two books; the first of which, though short and merely introductory, is the best written, and most interesting. It consists of a conversation between More and Hythlodæus, the stranger who is just returned from *Utopia*; in the course of which, he introduces many remarks on the political institutions he had seen in his travels, particularly in England. These remarks are equally valuable for their freedom and acuteness, considering the period at which they were written. Princes are arraigned for their love of war—courtiers for their servility and hatred of innovation—and the whole body of the nobles for their idleness and profligacy. He points out, very clearly, the absurdity of many of our customs and laws, and inveighs bitterly against the sanguinary spirit of our penal code in the punishment of robbery and theft; a code which, at the distance of three hundred years, remains unaltered—and is only now about to be attacked in one of its outworks.

In the second book, More, in the person of Hythlodæus, proceeds to rear the ideal fabric of a perfectly happy nation—a favourite employment of speculative politicians ever since the days of Plato. By quitting the guidance of reason and experience, there is no folly of which they have not been guilty in these creations of fancy. The reader will find curious examples of this in the fifth book of Plato's *Republic*,—the prototype, and, we may add, the opprobrium of all philosophical commonwealths. Women are there trained to the same gymnastic exercises with the men, and share with them the toils and dangers of war. Marriages are made by the magistrate alone; and the parties selected by him solely upon the principles that regulate our breeders of cattle. Women are allowed to give children to the state only from the age of twenty to forty, and men from thirty to fifty-five. After this, a promiscuous intercourse is sanctioned; and it is recommended to the women, that no children be born: if they be, they are exposed. More has adopted none of these horrible propositions; but, borrowing one idea from the Greek philosopher, has laid down a community of goods, as the fundamental principle of his commonwealth. The Utopian goes to the depôt of every article of life, and helps himself in what proportion he pleases, without leaving any equivalent. The bare mention of this is sufficient to exempt us from going into any detail of the institutions of a society erected upon such a basis. Both Plato
and

and More had some obscure notion of the tendency of population to overstep the limits of subsistence, and propose means of obviating it,—the former by abortions and infanticide, and the latter by emigration : but they were evidently far from being aware of the full extent of the principle. It is not a little surprising, that men of penetration should have agreed, at such a distance of time, in adopting a plan, the execution of which would not only destroy the most useful principles of our nature, but speedily produce unavoidable misery. But, from the general surprise which such a proposition would now produce, we may infer that the science of political economy, after remaining stationary from the days of Plato to those of Sir Thomas More, has at least made some advances since the publication of the *Utopia*. But, with all its defects, that work will always be a favourite with the scholar, and even with the statesman. To the former, its pure and elegant Latinity, and its happy imitation of the philosophical dialogues of antiquity, will recommend it ; while the latter will value it as a record of the sentiments of a great and good man on some of the most important branches of general as well as municipal politics.

2. By far the most engaging view of More's character, is in the relations of private life. It is seldom we are enabled to contemplate statesmen with their minds unbent from exertion ; and the admiration which their public exhibitions had raised, is not always increased by a closer inspection. But, of More's *domestic* life, we have ample details ; and it is the contrast of his great elevation and profound knowledge, with his tenderness of affection, and his playfulness, simplicity, and unaffected serenity of temper, which forms the true sublime of his character. In him, there is no disguise of artificial representation, no *management* of conduct to produce effect : every act flows, without effort, from the even tenor of a mind well poised on itself, which nothing external can either elevate or depress. We do not follow him from the Speaker's chair or the Woolfack, to see him put off the robes of greatness, and resume the man ; but we go with him from the bosom of his family, to see him retain, in those dignified seats, all the childlike simplicity and unaffected lowliness of his nature. So strongly are we impressed with this idea of More, that, even the following anecdote related by Roper, which, in any other man, or at a later period, would strike us as a puerile affectation, appears in him nothing but the spontaneous expression of filial piety.

‘ His father, Sir John More, now nearly ninety years old, was still a Judge of the King's Bench, when More became Chancellor. Whenever he passed through Westminster Hall to his place in the Chancery, if his father had seated himself ere he came, he would go into the Court of King's Bench, and there reverently kneeling down in the sight of them all, duly ask his father's blessing.’

He

He was twice married. His first wife lived only long enough to produce him all the family he ever had—three daughters and a son; and he seems to have been directed, in his second choice, by a wish to provide for them a faithful and economical stepmother. She was, as More himself says, *nec bella, nec puella*; and the badness of her temper often tried, without altering, the sweetness of her husband's. The following letter to her, is so illustrative of his equanimity and mild benevolence, and so good a specimen of his English style, that we give it to the reader without abridgement. It was written immediately after his return from assisting at the negotiations at Cambray; and was meant to comfort his penurious wife for a fire which had consumed part of his house, all his barns, and some of those of his neighbours.

‘ Mistress Alice, in my most heartywise I recommend me to you. And whereas I am informed by my son Heron of the loss of our barns and our neighbours’ also, with all the corn that was therein; albeit (saving God’s pleasure) it is great pity of so much good corn lost; yet, since it has liked him to send us such a chance, we must, and are bounden, not only to be content, but also to be glad of his visitation. He sent us all that we have lost; and since he hath, by such a chance, taken it away again, his pleasure be fulfilled! Let us never grudge thereat, but take it in good worth, and heartily thank him, as well for adversity as for prosperity. And peradventure we have more cause to thank him for our loss, than for our winning; for his wisdom better seeth what is good for us, than we do ourselves. Therefore, I pray you be of good cheer, and take all the household with you to church, and there thank God, both for that he has given us, and for that he has taken from us, and for that he hath left us; which, if it please him, he can increase when he will; and, if it please him to leave us yet less, at his pleasure be it!

‘ I pray you to make some good onsearch what my poor neighbours have lost, and bid them take no thought therefore; for, if I should not leave myself a spoon, there shall no poor neighbour of mine bear no loss by my chance, happened in my house. I pray you be, with my children and your household, merry in God: and devise somewhat with your friends what way were best to take, for provision to be made for corn for our household, and for seed this year coming, if we think it good that we keep the ground still in our hands. And whether we think it good that we so shall do or not, yet I think it were not best suddenly thus to leave it all up, and to put away our folk from our farm, till we have somewhat advised us thereon. Howbeit, if we have more now than ye shall need, and which can get them other masters, ye may then discharge us of them. But I would not that any man were suddenly sent away, he wot not whither.

‘ At my coming hither, I perceived none other, but that I should tarry still with the king’s grace. But now, I shall, I think, because
of

of this chance, get leave this next week to come home and see you; and then shall we farther devise together upon all things, what order shall be best to take.

‘ And thus, as heartily fare you well, with all our children, as ye can wish! At Woodstock, the third day of September, by the hand of Thomas More.’

To the education of his children he devoted himself with no less ardour than success. They were all brought up, his daughters as well as his son, in the wholesome and invigorating discipline of classical learning; and we should not be sorry to find that the example and authority of so great a man had power to extend the practice at present.

‘ As I prefer learning, united with virtue, to all the treasures of princes, (says he in a letter to the tutor of his children), so I look upon the reputation of learning, when separated from good morals, as merely infamy rendered conspicuous. This applies peculiarly to the female sex. Their proficiency in literature being something new, and a certain reproach to the sluggishness of men, most men will be ready to attack them, and to expend their natural malice upon their learning. Nay, they will call their own ignorance a virtue, when compared with the faults of those learned. But, on the other hand, if a woman (which I wish may be the case with all my girls, and in which I have the greatest confidence under your auspices) to great excellence of character, unite even a moderate portion of learning, I deem her possessed of more real good, than if she had the wealth of Cræsus, and the beauty of Helen. And this not for the sake of fame, although she pursueth worth as doth the shadow the body; but because the reward of wisdom is more substantial than to be borne away on the wings of riches, or to fade with beauty.’

In the same letter are the following hints on the moral education of his daughters.

‘ I have not only requested *you*, my dear Gonellus, whose strong love to all mine would have led you, I know, to have done so of your own accord, not only my wife, to whom her true maternal piety is a sufficient impulse, as I have often witnessed, but I have frequently besought almost all my friends also, that they might afterwards admonish my children, that, avoiding the precipices of pride, they walk on the pleasant meads of modesty; that the sight of riches overcome them not; that they sigh not for the want of that in themselves which is erroneously admired by others; that they think no better of themselves for being well dressed, nor worse for being otherwise; that they spoil not the beauty which nature gave them, by neglect, nor endeavour to increase it by vile arts; that they esteem virtue the first, letters the second good; and that of these they esteem those the best, which can best teach them piety to God,

God, charity to man, modesty and christian humility in their own deportment.'

They corresponded to this paternal solicitude as well as a father could wish. His daughter Margaret, in particular, who married Roper his biographer, attained such excellence in every branch of elegant and useful learning, as to be always mentioned among those whose mental accomplishments have done honour to the sex. More often expresses his satisfaction with 'the invincible courage' she displayed in 'joining to her virtue the knowledge of most excellent sciences;' and the pleasure he felt in the progress of all his children, is conveyed with great *naïveté* in the following letter 'to his whole school.'

'You see what a device I have found to save paper, and avoid the labour of writing all your names. But although you are so dear to me, that if I had named one, I must have named all the rest; yet there is no appellation under which you appear dearer to me than that of scholar: the tie of learning seems almost to bind me to you more powerfully than even the tie of nature. I am glad therefore that Mr Drue is again safely returned to you, as you know I had some reason to be anxious about him. If I did not love you so much, I should envy you the happiness of possessing so many and such excellent masters. I understand Mr Nicholas is also with you, and that you are with his assistance making such prodigious progress in astronomy, as not only to know the Pole-star, and the Dog and such common constellations, but, even with a skill which bespeaks truly accomplished astronomers, to be able to distinguish the Sun from the Moon. Go on, then, with this new and wonderful science, by which you ascend to the stars. And while you diligently consider them with your eyes, let this holy season raise your minds also to heaven, lest, while your eyes are lifted up to the skies, your souls should grovel among the brutes. Adieu, my dearest children.'

Erasmus (*Ep. ad Episc. Vienn.*) draws a very pleasing picture of More's domestic circle in his house at Chelsea, where, in the latter part of his life, he had assembled most of his relations, and lived like a patriarch in the midst of them. The directing power of his superior understanding diffused through the whole establishment the charm of constant occupation, while the matchless felicity of his temper promoted the gaiety of youth and the cheerfulness of social intercourse.

'I would call this house' says Erasmus 'the Academy of Plato, were it not injustice to compare it to a place, where the usual disputations concerning figures and numbers were only occasionally interspersed with disquisitions about the moral virtues. A house in which every one studies the liberal sciences, where the principal care is virtue and piety, where idleness never appears, where intemperate language is never heard, where regularity and order are pre-
scribed

scribed by the mere force of kindness and courtesy, where every one performs his duty, and yet all are so cheerful as if mirth were their only employment. Such a house ought rather to be called a practical school of the Christian religion.'

3. More's principles of *religious* conduct and belief, are not only discordant with every other part of his character, but often inconsistent with each other, and that to a degree which we can only account for, by regarding some of them as the dictates of his own manly and uncorrupted judgment, and others as the effects of early prepossession, and of that zeal against innovation, which is so apt to blind the soundest understandings. In the Utopia which he wrote in the full vigour of his faculties, Utopus, the legislator of his favourite republic, makes a law, that every man shall be of what religion he pleases, not only to preserve the public peace, which had suffered much by daily contentions and irreconcilable sects, but because he thought the interests of religion itself required it.

'He judged it wrong,' continues More, 'to lay down any thing rashly; and seemed to doubt, whether those different forms of religion might not all come from God, who might inspire men in a different manner, and be pleased with the variety. He therefore thought it indecent and foolish for any man to threaten and terrify another, to make him believe what did not strike him as true. And supposing even only one religion to be true, and the rest false, he imagined that the innate force of truth would at last break forth and shine bright, if supported only by the strength of reasoning, and attended to with a gentle and unprejudiced mind: while, on the other hand, if such debates were carried on with violence and tumult, since the most wicked are ever the most obstinate, the best and most holy religion might be choked with superstition, as corn is with briars and thorns.' *Utop. ad fin.*

It is humiliating to reflect, that a man, who in that barbarous age could express sentiments so liberal, which even in these enlightened times are far from being generally understood, and still farther from being generally acted upon, should yet have been disgraced by a degree of superstition and bigotry scarcely exceeded by the strictest order of monks.

'He began very early to mortify himself by various penances, and, in particular, to wear a hair-shirt next his skin,—a custom which he never wholly laid aside even in his highest elevation. Every Friday, and also on high feasting-days, he subjected himself to the discipline of a hard knotted cord, sleeping on a bench, or on the bare ground, with a log for his pillow, and allowing himself only four or five hours of repose.' *Roper, p. 3.*

He ranged himself on the side of the champions of Popery, when they began to be assailed by the very weapons he had helped to introduce; and supported all their absurdities, not only by his writings,

writings, but with the whole weight, and, we fear, vengeance of a Chancellor's authority. In his writings, the *odium theologicum* so far overpowered the meekness of his natural temper, that few of the religious disputants of his time surpassed him in virulence of abuse; and he left them all behind him, as was remarked in his own day, in the talent of 'calling bad names in good Latin.' In the exercise of his Chancellor's authority, which then gave the power of arbitrary punishment, he is accused of having not merely connived at, but actively promoted persecution. It was even alleged, that he frequently had heretics arrested, and privately flogged. In a letter written in his own justification, he pleads guilty to having imprisoned them, but denies having used personal correction, except in two cases of very trifling importance. Yet, when we consider that in that very letter he pronounces heretics much 'worse than thieves, murderers, and robbers of churches,' we cannot be surprised that the accusation was made. In a Latin epitaph which he composed on himself, he classes heretics in the same company; and enumerates, among the good points of his own character, that he had been '*furibus, homicidis, hereticisque molestus.*'* He defends the expression afterwards in a letter to Erasmus, in which he openly avows his hatred of that race of men. (*Jortin's Life of Erasm.* ii. 176.)

There is no sight more affecting than the ruins of a great mind in a state of derangement or fatuity; and it is with a sensation somewhat akin to this, that we see More a dupe to the low imposture of the Maid of Kent. This depraved and contemptible woman seems at first to have been a tool in the hands of some Catholic priests, to prop their tottering cause; and, by counterfeiting visions and raptures at their suggestion, probably came at last to believe that she really had communications with Heaven. It is certain, at least, that she succeeded in persuading More of the fact. He paid her a visit, not, as he says himself, out of a very curious mind; but that, having seen and become acquainted with her, 'she might have somewhat the more occasion to remember me in her devotion and prayers.'

'In the course of their conversation during this visit, the Holy Maid told him, that 'of late, the devil, in the likeness of a bird,' (we use the words of his own letter) 'had been flying and flutter-

VOL. XIV. NO. 28.

B b

ing

* Mr M'Diarmid (*Lives of Brit. Stat., App.* 17.) informs us, that a blank is left on the marble for the word *hæreticisque*; and says, it is only conjectured that it is meant to be thus filled up. But we have before us a small collection of Erasmus's tracts and letters, printed at Antwerp in 1534, before More's death, in which the epitaph is given as it was sent to Erasmus, with the word at full length.

ing about her in a chamber, and suffered himself to be taken: And being in hands, suddenly changed in their sight who were present, into such a strange ugly-fashioned bird, that they were all afraid, and threw him out at a window.' *Cayl. Mem.* 151.

That this story of her's did not undeceive Sir Thomas, is evident from the circumstance, that he gave her a double ducat at parting, to secure her prayers; and afterwards wrote a letter to her, in which he calls her his 'right dearly beloved sister in our Lord God.' The purpose of the letter, was to caution her against repeating to every body the divine communications she might have respecting the King and his marriage. The opening is curious.

'After most hearty commendation, I shall beseech you to take my good mind in good worth, and pardon me that I am so homely, as, of myself, unrequired, and also without necessity, to give counsel to you; of whom, for the good inspirations and great revelations, which it liketh Almighty God of his goodness to give and shew, (as many wise, well learned, and very virtuous folk testify) I myself have need, for the comfort of my soul, to require and ask advice,' &c.

But, though he convicts himself of having, at one time, believed in her intercourse with Heaven, he proves clearly enough that he neither encouraged nor listened to her denunciations against Henry. Yet he was included in a bill of attainder passed against those concerned in this imposture; and it was with great reluctance, and only from the conviction that the bill would not pass in the Lords, that the King consented to erase his name. There is not a deeper stain on the character of that brutal and unaccountable monarch, than his determination to destroy a man, from whose sentiments or public conduct he could not possibly augur any harm to himself. He well knew the unobtrusive, retiring disposition of the man. He had formerly treated More on a footing of such intimacy, as to visit and dine with him at his Chelsea farm; and even used, as Roper informs us, to ascend with him to the house-top to observe the stars, and discourse of astronomy. In persecuting him there was no passion to gratify; no end to serve. Yet it was with a manifest view to entrap the delicate conscience of his former friend that he got a law passed, declaring it high treason to deny the King's supremacy, or the illegality of his marriage with Catharine. To both of these points More, mildly, but firmly, refused his assent. On what grounds he did so, it would be useless to inquire. One cannot, indeed, help sympathizing a little with the homely resentment and worldly wisdom of his wife, who is recorded to have addressed him in the following words, when she first saw him in the Tower.

'I marvel that you, Mr More, who have been hitherto always taken for a wise man, will now so play the fool, as to lye here in
this

this close filthy prison, and be content to be shut up thus with mice and rats! when you might be abroad at your liberty, with the favour and good-will both of the King and the Council—if you would but do as all the bishops and best learned of his realm have done. And seeing you have, at Chelsea, a right fair house, your library, your books, your gallery, your garden, your orchard, and all other necessities so handsome about you—where you might, in company with us, your wife, your children, and household, be merry, I muse, what a God's name you mean, here still, thus fondly, to tarry!' xvi. D.

But More had been accustomed to all the nice distinctions of casuistical divinity; and many things, of course, frivolous enough in themselves, assumed in his mind an importance that did not belong to them. He had not even made up his sentiments on the disputed points; which accounts for his declining to declare them openly, either in his examinations, on his trial, or in prison. But, when the mind's energy is excited by unjust persecution, resistance becomes a point of honour as well as of conscience; and contempt of death is cherished, not less by a hatred of oppression, than by a feeling of rectitude. Both motives, we believe, actuated More's conduct; though the whole tenor of his life, leaves no room to doubt that the latter was infinitely the more powerful. In all his expressions, indeed, with regard to Henry after his condemnation, there is, what in any man but him, we should call an excess of meekness, a kissing of the rod, a want almost of the dignity and independence of conscious integrity. 'This impression, however, is probably owing to the fervent indignation against the tyrant which rises in the breast of every reader of his story; but to which, as well as to every other turbulent emotion, More's nature and principles were equally averse. Never, certainly, was the mind of man less discomposed by the sentence of condemnation and the approach of death. They produced no shock of the system, no revulsion of feeling, no screwing up of the courage to meet a great occasion. 'His death,' as Addison observes, 'was of a piece with his life. There was nothing in it new, forced, or affected: nor did he look upon the severing of his head from his body, as a circumstance that ought to produce any change in the disposition of his mind.' *Spect.* No. 349.

ART. VII. *Tales of Fashionable Life.* By Miss Edgeworth, Author of 'Practical Education—Belinda—Castle Rackrent,' &c. 12mo. 3 vol. London, 1809.

IF it were possible for reviewers to *envy* the authors who are brought before them for judgment, we rather think we should

be tempted to envy Miss Edgeworth;—not, however, so much for her matchless powers of probable invention—her never-failing “good sense and cheerfulness—nor her fine discrimination of characters—as for the delightful consciousness of having done more good than any other writer, male or female, of her generation. Other arts and sciences have their use, no doubt; and, Heaven knows, they have their reward and their fame. But the great art is the art of living; and the chief science the science of being happy. Where there is an absolute deficiency of good sense, these cannot indeed be taught; and, with an extraordinary share of it, they are acquired without an instructor: but the most common case is, to be capable of learning, and yet to require teaching; and a far greater part of the misery which exists in society, arises from ignorance, than either from vice or from incapacity.

Miss Edgeworth is the great modern mistress in this school of true philosophy; and has eclipsed, we think, the fame of all her predecessors. By her many excellent tracts on education, she has conferred a benefit on the whole mass of the population; and discharged, with exemplary patience as well as extraordinary judgment, a task which superficial spirits may perhaps mistake for an humble and easy one. By her *Popular Tales*, she has rendered an invaluable service to the middling and lower orders of the people; and by her *Novels*, and by the volumes before us, has made a great and meritorious effort to promote the happiness and respectability of the higher classes. On a former occasion we believe we hinted to her, that these would probably be the least successful of all her labours; and that it was doubtful whether she would be justified for bestowing so much of her time on the case of a few persons who scarcely deserved to be cured, and were scarcely capable of being corrected. ‘The foolish and unhappy part of the fashionable world, for the most part, ‘is not fit to bear itself convinced.’ It is too vain, too busy, and too dissipated, to listen to, or remember any thing that is said to it. Every thing serious it repels, by ‘its dear wit and gay rhetoric;’ and against every thing poignant, it seeks shelter in the impenetrable armour of bold stupidity.

‘Laugh’d at, it laughs again;—and, stricken hard,
Turns to the stroke its adamantine scales,
That fear no discipline of human hands.’

A book, on the other hand, and especially a witty and popular book, is still a thing of consequence to such of the middling classes of society as are in the habit of reading. They dispute about it, and think of it; and as they occasionally make themselves ridiculous by copying the manners it displays, so they are
apt

apt to be impressed with the great lessons it may be calculated to teach ; and, on the whole, receive it into considerable authority among the regulators of their lives and opinions. But a fashionable person has scarcely any leisure to read, and none to think of what he has been reading. It would be a derogation from his dignity to speak of a book in any terms but those of frivolous derision ; and a strange desertion of his own superiority, to allow himself to receive, from its perusal, any impressions which could at all affect his conduct or opinions.

But though, for these reasons, we continue to think that Miss Edgeworth's fashionable patients will do less credit to her prescriptions than the more numerous classes to whom they might have been directed, we admit that her plan of treatment is in the highest degree judicious, and her conception of the disorder most luminous and precise.

There are two great sources of unhappiness to those whom fortune and nature seem to have placed above the reach of ordinary misery. The one is *ennui*—that stagnation of life and feeling which results from the absence of all motives to exertion ; and by which the justice of Providence has so fully compensated the partiality of fortune, that it may be fairly doubted whether, upon the whole, the race of beggars is not happier than the race of lords ; and whether those vulgar wants that are sometimes so importunate, are not, in this world, the chief ministers of enjoyment. This is a plague that infests all indolent persons who can live on in the rank in which they were born, without the necessity of working : but, in a free country, it rarely occurs in any great degree of virulence, except among those who are already at the summit of human felicity. Below this there is room for ambition, and envy, and emulation, and all the feverish movements of aspiring vanity and unresting selfishness, which act as prophylactics against this more dark and deadly distemper. It is the canker which corrodes the full-blown flower of human felicity,—the pestilence which smites at the bright hour of noon.

The other curse of the happy, has a range more wide and indiscriminate. It, too, tortures only the rich and fortunate ; but is most active among the least distinguished ; and abates in malignity as we ascend to the lofty regions of pure *ennui*. This is the desire of being fashionable ;—the restless and insatiable passion to pass for creatures more distinguished than we really are,—with the mortification of frequent failure, and the humiliating consciousness of being perpetually exposed to it. Among those who are secure of ' meat, clothes and fire,' and are thus above the chief physical evils of existence, we do believe that this is a more prolific source of unhappiness, than guilt, disease, or affection ; and that

more positive misery is created, and more true enjoyment excluded, by the eternal fretting and straining of this pitiful ambition, than by all the ravages of passion, the desolations of war, or the accidents of mortality. The wretchedness which it produces may not be so intense; but it is of much longer duration, and spreads over a far wider circle. It is quite dreadful, indeed, to think what a sweep this pest has taken among the comforts of our prosperous population. To be thought fashionable—that is, to be thought more opulent and tasteful, and on a footing of intimacy with a greater number of distinguished persons than they really are, is the great and laborious pursuit of four families out of five, the members of which are exempted from the necessity of daily industry. In this pursuit, their time, spirits and talents, are wasted; their tempers soured; their affections palsied; and their natural manners and dispositions altogether sophisticated and lost.

These are the giant curses of fashionable life; and Miss Edgeworth has accordingly dedicated her two best tales to the delineation of their symptoms. The history of 'Lord Glenthorn' is a fine picture of *ennui*,—that of 'Almeria' an instructive representation of the miseries of fashion. We do not know whether it was a part of the fair writer's design to represent these maladies as absolutely incurable, without a change of condition; but the fact is, that in spite of the best dispositions and capacities, and the most powerful inducements to action, the hero of *ennui* makes no advances towards amendment till he is deprived of his title and estate; and the victim of fashion is left, at the end of the tale, pursuing her weary career with fading hopes and wasted spirits, but with increased anxiety and perseverance. The moral use of these narratives, therefore, must consist in warning us against the first approaches of evils which can never afterwards be resisted.

These are the great twin scourges of the prosperous; but there are other maladies, of no despicable malignity, to which they are peculiarly liable. One of these, arising mainly from want of more worthy occupation, is that perpetual use of stratagem and contrivance—that little, artful diplomacy of private life, by which the simplest and most natural transactions are rendered complicated and difficult, and the common business of existence made to depend on the success of plots and counterplots. By the incessant practice of this petty policy, a habit of duplicity and anxiety is infallibly generated, which is equally fatal to integrity and enjoyment. We gradually come to look on others with the distrust which we are conscious of deserving; and are insensibly formed to sentiments of the most unamiable selfishness and suspicion. It is needless to say, that all these elaborate artifices are worse than useless to the person

person who employs them; and that the ingenious plotter is almost always baffled and exposed by the downright honesty of some undesigning competitor. Miss Edgeworth, in her tale of 'Manœuvring,' has given a very complete and most entertaining representation of 'the by-ways and indirect crooked paths' by which these artful and inefficient people generally make their way to disappointment. In the tale, entitled 'Madame de Fleury,' she has given some useful examples of the ways in which the rich may most effectually do good to the poor,—an operation which, we really believe, fails more frequently from want of skill than of inclination. In 'the Dun,' she has drawn a touching and most impressive picture of the wretchedness which the poor so frequently suffer from the unfeeling thoughtlessness which withholds from them the scanty earnings of their labour.

Of these tales, 'Ennui' perhaps is the best and most entertaining,—though the leading character is somewhat caricatured, and the denouement is brought about by a discovery which shocks by its needless improbability. Lord Glenthorn is bred up, by a false and indulgent guardian, as the heir to an immense English and Irish estate; and, long before he is of age, exhausts almost all the resources by which life can be made tolerable to those who have nothing to wish for. Born on the very pinnacle of human fortune, 'he had nothing to do but to sit still and enjoy the barrenness of the prospect.' He tries travelling, gaming, gluttony, hunting, pugilism, and coach-driving; but is so pressed down with the load of life, as to be repeatedly on the eve of suicide. He passes over to Ireland, where he receives a temporary relief from the rebellion, and from falling in love with a lady of high character and accomplishments; but the effect of these stimulants is speedily expended, and he is in danger of falling into a confirmed lethargy, when it is fortunately discovered that he has been changed at nurse; and that, instead of being a peer of boundless fortune, he is the son of a cottager who lives on potatoes. With great magnanimity, he instantly gives up the fortune to the rightful owner, who has been bred a blacksmith, and takes to the study of the law. At the commencement of this arduous career, he fortunately falls in love, for the second time, with the lady entitled, after the death of the blacksmith, to succeed to his former estate. Poverty and love now supply him with irresistible motives for exertion. He rises in his profession; marries the lady of his heart; and in due time returns, an altered man, to the possession of his former affluence.

Such is the naked outline of a story, more rich in character, incident and reflection, than any English narrative with which we are acquainted:—as rapid and various as the best tales of Voltaire,

and as full of practical good sense and moral pathetic as any of the other tales of Miss Edgeworth. The Irish characters are inimitable;—not the coarse caricatures of modern playwrights—but drawn with a spirit, a delicacy, and a precision, to which we do not know if there be any parallel among national delineations. As these are tales of fashionable life, we shall present our readers, in the first place, with some traits of an Irish lady of rank. Lady Geraldine—the enchantress whose powerful magic almost raised the hero of ennui from his leaden slumbers, is represented with such exquisite liveliness and completeness of effect, that the reader can scarcely help imagining that he has formerly been acquainted with the original. Every one at least, we conceive, must have known somebody, the recollection of whom must convince him that the following description is as true to nature as it is creditable to art.

‘As Lady Geraldine entered, I gave one involuntary glance of curiosity. I saw a tall, finely shaped woman, with the commanding air of a person of rank: she moved well; not with feminine timidity, yet with ease, promptitude, and decision. She had fine eyes and a fine complexion, yet no regularity of feature. The only thing that struck me as really extraordinary, was her indifference when I was introduced to her. Every body had seemed extremely desirous that I should see her ladyship, and that her ladyship should see me; and I was rather surprised by her unconcerned air. This piqued me, and fixed my attention. She turned from me, and began to converse with others. Her voice was agreeable, though rather loud: she did not speak with the Irish accent; but, when I listened maliciously, I detected certain Hibernian inflexions—nothing of the vulgar Irish idiom, but something that was more interrogative, more exclamatory, and perhaps more rhetorical, than the common language of English ladies, accompanied with infinitely more animation of countenance and demonstrative gesture. This appeared to me peculiar and unusual, but not affected. She was uncommonly eloquent; and yet, without action, her words were not sufficiently rapid to express her ideas. Her manner appeared foreign, yet it was not quite French. If I had been obliged to decide, I should, however, have pronounced it rather more French than English. To determine which it was, or whether I had ever seen any thing similar, I stood considering her ladyship with more attention, than I had ever bestowed on any other woman. The words *striking—fascinating—bewitching*, occurred to me as I looked at her and heard her speak. I resolved to turn my eyes away, and shut my ears; for I was positively determined not to like her; I dreaded so much the idea of a second Hymen. I retreated to the farthest window, and looked out very soberly upon a dirty fish-pond.

‘If she had treated me with tolerable civility at first, I never should have thought about her. High-born and high-bred, she seemed

seemed to consider more what she thought of others, than what others thought of her. Frank, candid, and affable, yet opinionated, insolent, and an egotist : her candour and affability appeared the effect of a naturally good temper ; her insolence and egotism only those of a spoiled child. She seemed to talk of herself purely to oblige others, as the most interesting possible topic of conversation ; for such it had always been to her fond mother, who idolized her ladyship as an only daughter, and the representative of an ancient house. Confident of her talents, conscious of her charms, and secure of her station, Lady Geraldine gave free scope to her high spirits, her fancy, and her turn for ridicule. She looked, spoke, and acted, like a person privileged to think, say, and do, what she pleased. Her raillery, like the raillery of princes, was without fear of retort. She was not ill-natured, yet careless to whom she gave offence, provided she produced amusement ; and in this she seldom failed ; for, in her conversation, there was much of the raciness of Irish wit, and the oddity of Irish humour. The singularity that struck me most about her ladyship, was her indifference to flattery. She certainly preferred frolic. Miss Bland was her humble companion ; Miss Tracey her *butt*. It was one of Lady Geraldine's delights, to humour Miss Tracey's rage for imitating the fashions of fine people. " Now you shall see Miss Tracey appear at the ball to-morrow, in every thing that I have sworn to her is fashionable. Nor have I cheated her in a single article : but the *tout ensemble* I leave to her better judgment ; and you shall see her, I trust, a perfect monster, formed of every creature's best : Lady Kilrush's feathers, Mrs Moore's wig, Mrs O'Connor's gown, Mrs Lighton's sleeves, and all the necklaces of all the Miss Ormsbys. She has no taste, no judgment ; none at all, poor thing ; but she can imitate as well as those Chinese painters, who, in their drawings, give you the flower of one plant stuck on the stalk of another, and garnished with the leaves of a third." I. 130—139.

This favourite character is afterwards exhibited in a great variety of dramatic contrasts. For example,

‘ Lord Craiglethorpe was, as Miss Tracey had described him, very stiff, cold, and *high*. His manners were in the extreme of English reserve ; and his ill-bred show of contempt for the Irish was sufficient provocation and justification of Lady Geraldine's ridicule. He was much in awe of his fair and witty cousin : she could easily put him out of countenance, for he was extremely bashful. His Lordship had that sort of bashfulness, which makes a man surly and obstinate in his taciturnity ; which makes him turn upon all who approach him, as if they were going to assault him ; which makes him answer a question as if it were an injury, and repel a compliment as if it were an insult. Once, when he was out of the room, Lady Geraldine exclaimed, " That cousin Craiglethorpe of mine is scarcely an agreeable man : the awkwardness of *mauvaise-honte*

humble might be pitied and pardoned, even in a nobleman," continued her ladyship, "if it really proceeded from humility; but here, when I know it is connected with secret and inordinate arrogance, 'tis past all endurance. Even his ways of sitting and standing provoke me, they are so self-sufficient. Have you observed how he stands at the fire? Oh, the caricature of "*the English fire-side*" out-done! Then, if he sits, we hope that change of posture may afford our eyes transient relief; but worse again: bolstered up, with his back against his chair, his hands in his pockets, and his legs thrown out, in defiance of all passengers and all decorum, there he sits, in magisterial silence, throwing a gloom upon all conversation. As the Frenchman said of the Englishman, for whom even his politeness could not find another compliment, "*Il faut avouer que ce Monsieur a un grand talent pour le silence*;"—he holds his tongue, till people actually believe that he has something to say—a mistake they could never fall into if he would but speak.—It is not timidity; it is all pride. I would pardon his dulness, and even his ignorance; for one, as you say, might be the fault of his nature, and the other of his education: but his self-sufficiency is his own fault; and that I will not, and cannot pardon. Somebody says, that nature may make a fool, but a coxcomb is always of his own making. Now, my cousin—(as he is my cousin, I may say what I please of him)—my cousin Craiglethorpe is a solemn coxcomb, who thinks, because his vanity is not talkative and sociable, that it's not vanity. What a mistake!" I. 146—148.

These other traits of her character are given, on different occasions, by Lori Gienthorn.

'At first I had thought her merely superficial, and intent solely upon her own amusement; but I soon found that she had a taste for literature, beyond what could have been expected in one who lived so dissipated a life; a depth of reflection that seemed inconsistent with the rapidity with which she thought; and, above all, a degree of generous indignation against meanness and vice, which seemed incompatible with the selfish character of a fine lady, and which appeared quite incomprehensible to the imitating tribe of her fashionable companions.' I. 174.

'Lady Geraldine was superior to manœuvring little arts, and petty stratagems, to attract attention. She would not stoop, even to conquer. From gentlemen she seemed to expect attention as her right, as the right of her sex; not to beg or accept of it as a favour: if it were not paid, she deemed the gentleman degraded, not herself. Far from being mortified by any preference shown to other ladies; her countenance betrayed only a sarcastic sort of pity for the bad taste of the men, or an absolute indifference and look of haughty absence. I saw that she beheld with disdain the paltry competitions of the young ladies her companions: as her companions, indeed, she hardly seemed to consider them; she tolerated their foibles,

bles, forgave their envy, and never exerted any superiority, except to show her contempt of vice and meanness.' I. 198, 199.

Her whole conduct and conversation are kept in admirable unison with this half wild, half masculine, lofty, and delicate character. It would be endless to extract her repartees and strokes of *naiveté*. We give only her simple account of her mother.

"Every body says," whispered she, "that mamma is the most artful woman in the world; and I should believe it, only that every body says it: now, if it were true, nobody would know it." I. 154.

This may suffice as a specimen of the high life of the piece; which is more original and characteristic than that of Belinda—and altogether as lively and natural. For the low life, we do not know if we could extract a more felicitous specimen than the following description of the equipage in which Lord Glenthorn's English and French servant were compelled to follow their master in Ireland.

'From the inn yard came a hackney chaise, in a most deplorably crazy state; the body mounted up to a prodigious height, on unbending springs, nodding forwards, one door swinging open, three blinds up, because they could not be let down, the perch tied in two places, the iron of the wheels half off, half loose, wooden pegs for linch-pins, and ropes for harness. The horses were worthy of the harness; wretched little dog-tired creatures, that looked as if they had been driven to the last gasp, and as if they had never been rubbed down in their lives; their bones starting through their skin; one lame, the other blind; one with a raw back, the other with a galled breast; one with his neck poking down over his collar, and the other with his head dragged forward by a bit of a broken bridle, held at arms' length by a man dressed like a mad beggar, in half a hat and half a wig, both awry in opposite directions; a long tattered coat, tied round his waist by a hay-rope; the jagged rents in the skirts of this coat showing his bare legs, marbled of many colours; while something like stockings hung loose about his ankles. The noises he made, by way of threatening or encouraging his steeds, I pretend not to describe. In an indignant voice I called to the landlord—"I hope these are not the horses—I hope this is not the chaise, intended for my servants." The innkeeper, and the pauper who was preparing to officiate as postillion, both in the same instant exclaimed—"Sorrow better chaise in the county!" "Sorrow!" said I—"what do you mean by sorrow?" That there's no better, plase your honour, can be seen. We have two more to be sure—but one has no top, and the other no bottom. Any way there's no better can be seen than this same." "And these horses," cried I—"why this horse is so lame he can hardly stand." "Oh, plase your honour, tho' he can't stand, he'll go fast enough. He has a great deal of the rogue in him, plase your honour. He's always that way at first

first setting out." "And that wretched animal with the galled breast!" "He's all the better for it, when once he warms; it's he that will go with the speed of light, please your honour. Sure, is not he Knockecroghery? and didn't I give fifteen guineas for him, barring the luckpenny, at the fair of Knockecroghery, and he rising four year old at the same time?" I. 61—63.

'Then seizing his whip and reins in one hand, he clawed up his stockings with the other; so with one easy step he got into his place, and seated himself, coachman-like, upon a well-worn bar of wood, that served as a coach-box. "Throw me the loan of a trusty, Bartly, for a cushion," said he. A frieze coat was thrown up over the horse's heads. Paddy caught it. "Where are you, Hosey?" cried he. "Sure I'm only rowling a wisp of straw on my leg," replied Hosey. "Throw me up," added this paragon of postillions, turning to one of the crowd of idle bystanders. "Arrah, push me up, can't ye?"—A man took hold of his knee, and threw him upon the horse. He was in his seat in a trice. Then clinging by the mane of his horse, he scrambled for the bridle which was under the other horse's feet, reached it, and, well satisfied with himself, looked round at Paddy, who looked back to the chaise-door at my angry servants, "secure in the last event of things." In vain the Englishman, in monotonous anger, and the Frenchman in every note of the gamut, abused Paddy. Necessity and wit were on Paddy's side. He parried all that was said against his chaise, his horses, himself, and his country, with invincible comic dexterity; till at last both his adversaries, dumb-founded, clambered into the vehicle, where they were instantly shut up in straw and darkness. Paddy, in a triumphant tone, called to my postillions, bidding them "get on, and not be stopping the way any longer." I. 64, 65.

By and by the wheel-horse stopped short, and began to kick furiously.

"Never fear," reiterated Paddy. "Ill engage I'll be up wid him. Now for it, Knockecroghery! Oh the rogue, he thinks he has me at a *nouplush*; but I'll show him the *differ*."

'After this brag of war, Paddy whipped, Knockecroghery kicked, and Paddy, seemingly unconscious of danger, sat within reach of the kicking horse, twitching up first one of his legs, then the other, and shifting as the animal aimed his hoofs, escaping every time as it were by miracle. With a mixture of temerity and presence of mind, which made us alternately look upon him as a madman and a hero, he gloried in the danger, secure of success, and of the sympathy of the spectators.

"Ah! didn't I *compass* him cleverly then? Oh the villain, to be browbating me! I'm too cute for him yet. See, there, now, he's come to; and I'll be his bail he'll go *asy* enough wid me. Ogh! he has a fine spirit of his own; but it's I that can match him. 'Twould be a poor case if a man like me couldn't match a horse
any

any way, let alone a mare, which this is, or it never would be so vicious." I. 68, 69.

The most delectable personage, however, in the whole tale, is the antient Irish nurse Ellinor. The devoted affection, infantine simplicity, and strange pathetic eloquence of this half-savage, kind-hearted creature, afford Miss Edgeworth occasion for many most original and characteristic representations. We shall scarcely prepossess our English readers in her favour, by giving the description of her cottage.

'It was a wretched looking, low, mud-walled cabin. At one end it was propped by a buttress of loose stones, upon which stood a goat reared on his hind legs, to browse on the grass that grew on the housetop. A dunghill was before the only window, at the other end of the house, and close to the door was a puddle of the dirtiest of dirty water, in which ducks were dabbling. At my approach, there came out of the cabin a pig, a calf, a lamb, a kid and two geese, all with their legs tied; followed by cocks, hens, chickens, a dog, a cat, a kitten, a beggar-man, a beggar-woman, with a pipe in her mouth; children innumerable, and a stout girl, with a pitchfork in her hand; altogether more than I, looking down upon the roof as I sat on horseback, and measuring the superficies with my eye, could have possibly supposed the mansion capable of containing. I asked if Ellinor O'Donoghoe was at home; but the dog barked, the geese cackled, the turkeys gobbled, and the beggars begged with one accord, so loudly, that there was no chance of my being heard. When the girl had at last succeeded in appeasing them all with her pitchfork, she answered, that Ellinor O'Donoghoe was at home, but that she was out with the potatoes; and she ran to fetch her, after calling to the boys, who was within in the room smoking, to come out to his honour. As soon as they had crouched under the door, and were able to stand upright, they welcomed me with a very good grace, and were proud to see me in the kingdom. I asked if they were all Ellinor's sons. "All entirely," was the first answer. "Not one but one," was the second answer. The third made the other two intelligible. "Plase your Honour, we are all her sons-in-law, except myself, who am her lawful son." "Then you are my foster-brother?" "No, plase your Honour. it's not me, but my brother, and he's *not in it*." "*Not in it?*" "No, plase your Honour; because he's in the forge up above. Sure he's the blacksmith, my lard." "And what are you?" "I'm Ody, plase your honour;" the short for Owen, &c. I. 94-96.

It is impossible, however, for us to select any thing that could give our readers even a vague idea of the interest, both serious and comic, that is produced by this original character, without quoting more of the story than we can now make room for. We cannot leave it, however, without making our acknowledgments to Miss Edgeworth for the handsome way in which she has treated

ed our country, and for the judgment as well as liberality she has shown in the character of Mr Macleod, the proud, sagacious, friendly and reserved agent of her hero. 'There is infinite merit and powers of observation even in her short sketch of his exterior.'

'He was a hard-featured, strong built, perpendicular man, with a remarkable quietness of deportment: he spoke with deliberate distinctness, in an accent slightly Scotch; and, in speaking, he made use of no gesticulation, but held himself surprisingly still. No part of him, but his eyes, moved; and they had an expression of slow, but determined good sense. He was sparing of his words; but the few that he used said much, and went directly to the point.' I. 82.

After having said so much of 'Ennui,' we can afford but a very slight account of the Victim of Fashion. This is the daughter of a rich Yorkshire grazier, who, with a fortune of two hundred thousand pounds, is smitten with the desire of being fine and fashionable; and first throws off the society of her earliest and most respectable friends, to copy the purse-proud airs of a rich banking baronet's lady; then abjures the banker, in order to be occasionally insulted in the house of a lady of high birth; next deserts her, to purchase the favour of another who has influence at court; and finally settles down into the society of a few hired and domestic flatterers, who bear with her peevishness and discontent, for the sake of sharing in her melancholy splendour. The progress of this despicable infatuation, and the havoc it makes among all her original claims to respect and enjoyment, are very finely and artfully delineated. The greatest piece of management, however, in the story, is the character of Miss Elmour, the early friend of our unfortunate heroine. Instead of being brought out in broad contrast, it is softened and kept under with such admirable judgment, that the reader feels half angry at her long-suffering kindness and affection for so ungrateful an object,—and at the slowness with which her innate superiority is ultimately made triumphant. The dramatic part of this story, and indeed the whole dialogue of the publication, is excellent; but we can only make room for the comparative view of the fashion of the banker's lady, and the fashion of the lady of family. Upon her removal to the family of the latter,

'Almeria found the style of dress, manners, and conversation, different from what she had seen at Lady Stock's—she had easily imitated the affectation of Lady Stock, but there was an ease in the decided tone of Lady Bradstone, which could not be so easily acquired. Having lived from her infancy in the best company, there were no heterogeneous mixtures in her manners; and the consciousness of this gave an habitual air of security to her words, looks, and motions. Lady Stock seemed forced to beg, or buy—Lady Bradstone, accustomed

accustomed to command, or levy, admiration as her rightful tribute. The pride of Lady Bradstone was uniformly resolute, and successful; the insolence of Lady Stock, if it were opposed, became cowardly and ridiculous. Lady Bradstone seemed to have, on all occasions, an instinctive sense of what a person of fashion ought to do; Lady Stock, notwithstanding her bravadoing air, was frequently perplexed, and anxious, and therefore awkward—she had always recourse to precedents. “Lady P—— said so—or Lady Q—— did so—Lady G—— wore this, or Lady H—— was there, and therefore I am sure it was proper.” On the contrary, Lady Bradstone never quoted authorities, but presumed that she was a precedent for others. The one was eager to follow—the other determined to lead, the fashion. Our heroine, who was by no means deficient in penetration, and whose whole attention was now given to the study of externals, quickly perceived these shades of difference between her late and her present friend. She remarked, in particular, that she found herself much more at ease in Lady Bradstone’s society. Her ladyship’s pride was not so offensive as Lady Stock’s vanity: secure of her own superiority, Lady Bradstone did not want to measure herself every instant with inferiors. She treated Almeria as her equal in every respect; and in setting her right in points of fashion, never seemed to triumph, but to consider her own knowledge as a necessary consequence of the life she had led from her infancy. With a sort of proud generosity, she always considered those whom she honoured with her friendship, as thenceforward entitled to all the advantages of her own situation, and to all the respect due to a part of herself. She now always used the word *we*, with peculiar emphasis, in speaking of Miss Turnbull and herself. This was a signal perfectly well understood by her acquaintance. Almeria was received every where with the most distinguished attention; and she was delighted, and absolutely intoxicated, with her sudden rise in the world of fashion. She found that her former acquaintance at Lady Stock’s were extremely ambitious of claiming an intimacy; but this could not be done. Miss Turnbull had now acquired, by practice, the power of looking at people, without seeming to see them; and of forgetting those with whom she was perfectly well acquainted. Her opinion of her own consequence was much raised by the court that was paid to her by several young men of fashion, who thought it expedient to marry two hundred thousand pounds.’ II. 55—58.

We wish we could make some extracts from ‘*Manœuvring*,’ but we have left ourselves no room;—and for the story, as it contains the history of the making, and the failure of three several connected plots, it is obvious that we could give no intelligible account of it within any moderate limits. It is written with admirable skill and correctness of imitation; and is likely, we think, to be the most fashionable, though by no means the most useful or instructive

structive of the collection. There is a painful and humble pathos in some parts of 'the Dun,' upon which we have not spirits to enter. We earnestly intreat all good-natured youths of fashion to read it through, and not to be too impatient to get rid of the impressions which it must excite in them.

We must now take an abrupt and reluctant leave of Miss Edgeworth. Thinking as we do, that her writings are, beyond all comparison, the most useful of any that have come before us since the commencement of our critical career, it would be a point of conscience with us to give them all the notoriety that they can derive from our recommendation, even if their execution were in some measure liable to objection. In our opinion, however, they are as entertaining as they are instructive; and the genius and wit and imagination they display, are at least as remarkable as the justness of the sentiments they so powerfully inculcate. To some readers they may seem to want the fairy colouring of high fancy and romantic tenderness; and it is very true, that they are not poetical love tales any more than they are anecdotes of scandal. We have great respect for the admirers of Rousseau and Petrarca; and we have no doubt that Miss Edgeworth has great respect for them;—but *the world*, both high and low, which she is labouring to mend, have no sympathy with this respect. They laugh at these things, and do not understand them; and therefore, the solid sense which she presses perhaps rather too closely upon them, though it admits of relief from wit and direct pathos, really could not be combined with the more luxuriant ornaments of an ardent and tender imagination. We say this merely to obviate the only objection which we think can be made to the execution of these stories; and to justify our decided opinion, that they are actually as *perfect* as it was possible to make them with safety to the great object of the author.

ART. VIII. *Histoire de l'Anarchie de Pologne, et du Démembrement de cette République.* Par A. Rulhiere. 4 tomes, 8vo. Paris, 1807.*

THE first thing in these volumes, is a biographical account of the author; whose name was at one time formidable even to the Semiramis of the North. Having been secretary to the French ambassador, M. de Breteuil at Petersburg, he drew up, after his return to Paris in 1765, a minute and accurate account of that singular revolution which had recently placed Catharine upon the throne of her deposed husband. The manuscript was privately circulated in the fashionable circles of Paris; but
coming

coming at length to the knowledge of the Empress, her influence was first exerted to induce the author to suppress it; and failing in this, she then tried by her agents at court to intimidate him into a surrender. All that could be obtained, however, was a promise not to publish it till after her death: and this paction was adhered to, not only by him, but by his heirs; for though Rulhiere died in 1791, the narrative did not appear in print till 1797, after the death of the Empress.

It had been in contemplation, it appears, soon after our author's return from Russia, to send him on a secret mission to Poland; but that appointment having been suddenly given to Dumourier, he was obliged to content himself with the safer, and less conspicuous task, of writing a history of its troubles for the instruction of the Dauphin. He was afterwards made secretary to the King's brother—obtained a pension from government—became a member of the Academy—wrote a philosophical poem, which was praised by Voltaire—and lived in intimacy with Montesquieu, Mably, Rousseau, Neckar, and others at the top of the Parisian scale of celebrity. He was accommodated, for the purposes of his history, with the use of all the documents which the archives of foreign affairs could afford; and what he could not get from those sources, he was enabled to draw from Vienna, Dresden and Berlin, which places he visited in the year 1776. With all these advantages, however, the work advanced so slowly, that it was not finished when the author died in 1791. The narrative was only completed down to the end of the year 1770; for from that period till the peace of Kainardgi when it closes, there were frequent chasms and imperfections, which the editors were obliged to fill up with such sketches and notices as they could find among his materials. These imperfections in that portion of the work which embraces the partition, certainly impair its value; but there is still much interesting information upon that subject, both in the unfinished and in the preceding parts; and the work, upon the whole, is of no ordinary value.

The singular aspect of the Polish population, which exhibited both liberty and slavery in their greatest extremes; the fatal effects she experienced from dissensions, both civil and religious—from the exorbitant powers of the nobility, and the abasement of the people; and the unprecedented circumstance of the concert formed by her three neighbours to despoil her of her possessions,—all concur to give an interest to her history beyond what might seem due to the characters and events it unfolds. M. Rulhiere, after twenty years' labour, has not done full justice to so fine a subject. He keeps clear of the general views which it might have afforded, and occupies himself too much in details of anecdotes and intrigues. Besides, he rambles greatly too far into the con-

cerns of the adjoining nations. The reader who expects to find the book occupied with Poland only, will indeed be disappointed; agreeably, we admit—if he can overlook the breach of historical rules, and give up unity for variety. The author ranges from the polar to the equatorial regions; and presents us with a vast miscellany of Russian, Turkish and Tartar history. But this load of episodical matter proves, in general, a heavy weight upon the march of the narrative; and frequently rather bears down and obscures, than elucidates the main object. There are, however, some examples of collateral inquiry, happily blending with, and supporting the story: and, in just indulgence to a posthumous work, we may remark, that, had this able writer lived to finish and publish it, some of its redundancies might perhaps have been pruned, and the ill-fitting members more harmoniously adjusted.

The author deposited a copy of the manuscript, before he died, in the Foreign Office at Paris; and it lay there unheeded till 1807; when the projected restoration of Poland seems to have occasioned some inquiries about it. A more complete copy was then found in the possession of Rulhiere's heirs; but some of them had attempted, it seems, to make alterations in it; and it would have been published with these, had not the Emperor himself interfered to reclaim the genuine text of a work composed by the order, and at the expense of the former government: and thus a book, composed for the instruction of Lewis the Sixteenth, is brought out under the immediate protection of the usurper of his throne!

It may be gathered from the title, that it was not the author's design to write a history of Poland from its rise as a state, or to dwell on her brighter periods, when she gave Czars to Muscovy, received the homage of Prussia, and turned back the tide of infidel war from the walls of Vienna. His object seems rather to have been, to write the history of those troubles in the republic, which were excited, or fomented, by the ambitious interference of Russia, and which ultimately ended in the violent dismemberment of her territory. But, in order to do this, it was necessary to trace back the sources of these disorders in her own constitution, and thus point out the openings and excitements to foreign influence which were afforded by its vices and defects.

M. Rulhiere, accordingly, commences with a view of the history and nature of the constitution of Poland. Except in contending that it was not founded on those feudal usages which obtained in the other countries of Europe, he differs little in his remarks from other writers upon the same subject; but perhaps he is not sufficiently precise to be quite intelligible to those who have not acquired some previous knowledge of it. There is no want of writers for this purpose. Mr Coxe gives a good popular view of the

the Polish constitution; and, though not very deep, he is more instructive than the Parisian professor De la Croix. They who wish to go higher will find matter for meditation in the treatises of Mably and Rousseau; and we must think with Sir James Macintosh, * that that of the latter is, notwithstanding Mr Burke's sneers at his political writings, particularly worthy of perusal. It contains some deep observations, and many brilliant and elevated thoughts, along with a good deal, we admit, of impracticable and very questionable theory. In the view of reforming this government, for which purpose he was called to give his advice, he lays down as fundamental principles—that reforms must be gradual and temperate—adapted to the forms of the constitution where that is practicable—and consonant to the habits and sentiments and attainments of the people. But he has not proceeded far in this sober course, till his admiration of the antient republics leads him to forget these maxims, and to recommend the reformation of the Polish government according to their usages and institutions. In the same spirit, he deduces the anarchy of Poland from the great extent of her territory, and recommends the narrowing of her limits as the first and most efficacious of reforms. It was not long before the partitioning powers carried this recommendation into effect; but the republic, brought nearer to Rousseau's classical extension, did not become more happy than before.

The first misfortunes of this country were obviously produced, not by its extent, but by its elective monarchy,—the monstrous privilège of the *liberum veto*, by which any one representative could break up the diet, and nullify its acts,—the excessive power of the nobles, and the political degradation and slavery of the people. The representative system extended only to the nobles or equestrian order; and thus Polish liberty had no sort of communion with the majority of the nation. It was tossed to and fro in the upper region of aristocracy; and was at last wrecked, for want of a hold in the interests and affections of the multitude. The destruction of Polish independence did not impair the existing stock of human happiness—did not deprive freedom of a province of her legitimate empire; for the only triumph that was witnessed at her fall, was that of unprincipled ambition over a people whom oppression had rendered indifferent to the fate of their country. In the fatal struggle which preceded the first partition, by far the greater part of the nation, says M. Rulhiere, remained absolutely indifferent as to the issue; and not a few secretly desired the downfall of their domestic oppressors. What, indeed, was there to determine the choice of the peasantry be-

tween the yoke of their invaders and that to which they were already subjected? There was no feeling of interest or glory—no dread of the loss of liberty from the subjugation of their country, to excite them to take an active part in its defence. And thus it is that the invaders become conquerors,—that the cause of justice is not always that which is successful,—that the transference of power is viewed without regret by those who neither participate in, nor are made happy by its exercise.

Having taken a brief survey of what Poland was in her better days, the author enters pretty largely into the history of Russia, and traces the steps by which she rose to that height of power that made her so formidable a neighbour to a country exposed to frequent internal dissensions. In doing this, he makes a variety of remarks upon the mistaken efforts of Peter the Great, to elevate and polish his subjects; but he does not point out with sufficient force the radical error and absurdity of these preposterous plans of reform, once the theme of such extravagant praise, and of which we still read with pleasure in the prose of Voltaire, and the poetry of Thomson. The mind of this Prince was certainly directed to mighty objects; but, in a great many instances, he utterly mistook the means. He wanted to make his people polished and industrious, without entrusting them either with education, property, or freedom. He wished to raise a magnificent structure,—and provided the ornaments before clearing away the rubbish, or making sure of the foundation. He compelled his nobles to travel into other countries, without giving them any previous education, or providing society or occupation for them on their return. He shaved the beards of his barbarians by force, and fancied that they would act, because they looked, like polished men. He did not scruple at reforms which required the aid of the axe and the knout; and, blinded with the plenitude of that power to which he trusted for success, he did not perceive in that abasement which made his slaves kiss the rod with which he struck them, an invincible obstacle to his preposterous ambition of enriching a nation of *serfs* with the treasures of civilization.

Peter, however, was more successful in rendering his people formidable to their neighbours; and it was during his reign that Russia acquired a hurtful ascendancy in the affairs of Poland. By the forcible election of Augustus the Second, the nation was unhappily divided, and each party sought to strengthen itself by foreign assistance. Another Sovereign was elected under the auspices of Charles the Twelfth; but after a long series of convulsions, Augustus was fixed on the throne, by the aid, and under the protection, of Russia. This civil war had a pernicious effect upon the national character, which was still more deteriorated by the corrupt example of the court of Augustus acting upon a people re-
lieved

lieved from a long period of dangers and agitations. The defence of the country, and the study of the military art, at that time making rapid advances all around them, were utterly neglected; and sensible, of the vices of their constitution, but unwilling to amend it, they gave themselves up to a delusive hope, that their nation, though weak in itself, would always be protected by the general system of Europe.

This languor and corruption continued under Augustus the Third; who, indeed, with his favourite minister Bruhl, had no other principle of government, but that of an entire dependence upon Russia. The Poles, jealous of a Sovereign who chose rather to reside in his hereditary than in his elective dominions, and who was constantly guided by a power whom they reckoned their natural enemy, had always recourse to the *liberum veto*, for dissolving the diets which he convoked; and thus this distracted country was left, during the greater part of his reign, in a great measure, without any government. It was during this period of internal negligence and relaxation, that a scheme was formed in France for restoring the republic to some degree of vigour and independence. But when nearly brought to maturity by the able negotiations of the Count de Broglie, the alliance with Austria, and the new politics of the French cabinet, interfered to destroy it. M. Rulhière has given a curious account of this famous alliance, as well as of those Polish measures which it defeated. The sum of it will be found in the following paragraph.

There were two parties in the court of Lewis XV., who sought, by secret intrigues, to obtain an influence in foreign affairs altogether independent of, and unknown to, the ministers of the crown. Lewis was himself privy to the proceedings of one of these parties, by means of the secret diplomatic correspondence which he maintained with certain agents abroad.* At the head of this party was the Prince de Conti; and its primary object was, to rescue Poland from the thralldom of Russia by means of a league with France, Sweden, and Turkey; and, to accomplish this salutary object, the Count de Broglie was sent to Poland. It ought not, however, to be imagined, that this scheme originated in virtuous and enlightened views of policy. It sprang from the personal ambition of the Prince de Conti, who was flattered with the hope of one day becoming King of Poland; and Lewis, from a principle of affection, originating in his marriage with a Polish lady, gave his support to a plan which promised to be advantageous to that country. The

C c 3

other

* Our readers will find an account of this singular correspondence in the first part of that instructive work, *Politique de tous les Cabinets de l'Europe.*

other party, again, were busily employed in promoting that alliance which proved so unfavourable to these objects. By some writers, this alliance has been ascribed to Madame Pompadour's resentment of the King of Prussia's sarcasms; while M. Segur has given it a more dignified source in a dread of the ambition, not of the wit of that Monarch. But M. Rulhiere's account is, that a marriage between a granddaughter of Lewis and the Emperor was projected by a party at court, and that the Austrian alliance was sought chiefly as a means of facilitating that object. And this party having the interest of Mad. Pompadour, at length brought over the King to support them. Thus, says M. Rulhiere, by a tissue of intrigues which fell in with corresponding intrigues at Vienna, and not by any change of circumstances which could warrant so great a revolution, was France engaged in an unnatural alliance; which took the balance of Germany out of her hands, involved her in an unprincipled and ruinous war with Prussia, and led her to abandon Poland to the ravages of Russia during that war.

The distractions consequent upon an election to the throne followed hard upon these oppressions to which Poland was subjected during the Seven-years' war. The disadvantages of an elective crown are universally admitted; and they appear in their strongest light in a country like Poland, where there was no people—no thinking public, to check or direct, to enlighten or overawe. 'The nobles of Poland,' says Mr Hume, 'seem to have preserved their crown elective, for no other purpose than to sell it to the highest bidder.'* It is thus that corruption enjoys a barefaced impunity, whenever the bulk of a nation are, through the destitution of political rights, made altogether indifferent to public affairs.

The Empress of Russia did not wait for the death of Augustus the Third to indicate the part she meant to act in the election of his successor. She told the Baron de Breteuil, when he proposed that France should act in concert with her, 'that it belonged to her alone to give a King to Poland.' The intrigues she set on foot, and the acts of violence which she employed, to place her former favourite Poniatowski on the throne, are fully described by M. Rulhiere, who also gives a long and very unfavourable account of the adventures and character of that personage. The ambassador whom Catharine at this time employed to forward her views in Poland, appears to have been so singular a character, that we shall translate part of M. Rulhiere's account of him, for the information of our readers. His name was Keyserling.

—'He possessed that art, happily not very common, but which is always employed with success against the liberty of nations, the art
of

* Essays—On Refinement.

of combining the most tyrannical acts with an apparent respect for republican forms. He was one of those Courlanders whom hope had formerly led to the Court of Russia during the reign of the Empress Anne. To serve that Court he had quitted a Professor's Chair in the University of Königsburg. Although the smallness of his stature, and his excessive corpulency, gave him an appearance somewhat ridiculous; his carriage was still imposing, and had a certain magisterial air which he derived from his original profession. He had the reputation of being one of the most learned men in Europe in regard to public law and the ancient languages; and beneath his coarse exterior, there was concealed a very artful mind, and a wily system of conduct. But he lived without the smallest respect for decency,—ruined himself in obscure debaucheries, and repaired his fortune at the expense of his character.—In a journey to Poland, he met with Poniatowski when young, and by a natural return to his profession, had given him instructions, whence he now assumed the right of calling him his pupil and son.—Grown old in futile negotiations, full of profound contempt for business, for honours, and above all for courts, he had acquired that habit of indifference and resignation in executing foolish commissions, which is sometimes exemplified in very old ambassadors.—When employed at Vienna, he lived in a very extraordinary manner. He kept a palace for mere form; for he lived in a garden in one of the suburbs, passing his time with some unknown literary men, with musicians, with his bastards and their mothers, learning what was going on in Europe only from the gazettes; ill paid by his government, and paying nobody himself.' T. 2.

The Empress of Russia was not disturbed by other powers in her violent and unprincipled efforts to force upon the Poles a king whom the majority detested. Prussia acted in concert with her, France and Austria were nearly indifferent, and Turkey was the only state that seemed at all alarmed at the open violation of an independent country. The noble opposition of the Polish chiefs, Branicki, Mokranouski and Radzivil, sheds a ray of glory over the history of these times. We feel indignant that no nation of Europe supported their cause, and are warmed and interested by the elevation of mind and contempt of danger which they displayed amidst the outrages of the Russian barbarians, even when we recollect that their cause was after all but the cause of a tumultuous aristocracy, who wished to preserve their authority, unimpaired by a foreign yoke.—The following account of Branicki, whilst it will make the reader acquainted with his character, will also afford a glimpse of the manners and occupations of the Polish nobility.

'Count Branicki, grand-general of the kingdom, preserved, in advanced age, vigour of body and firmness of soul. His office, to which the whole military authority was confided, was regarded by the

Poles as the strongest barrier against the royal authority. But the personal qualities of Branicki increased its consideration. Honesty and firmness formed the basis of his character. During a long and adventurous life, he was always actuated by sentiments of honour. In his early years, he served in France; and on his return to Poland, became one of the chiefs, by whose courage and perseverance, Augustus the Second was compelled to send his Saxon troops out of the kingdom. He was remarkable for his sensibility to pleasure, and his love of splendour. But that dignity which never forsook him, made him always of high estimation in the republic. The Princes Czartorinski sought his alliance; and though he publicly kept a seraglio, gave him their niece, an elegant young woman, in marriage. Branicki had no other family than that multitude of good citizens who loved to surround him. The situation of his estates, in the centre of the kingdom, was favourable to the concourse of the nobility; and his palace of Bialistok was the finest monument of the arts which that country had yet seen. Here the pomp of Asia was combined with the taste of Europe; and here, according to antient usage, the nobles, in the midst of shows and feasts conferred on public affairs, recalled the glories of their ancestors, and concerted the means of preserving their independence.' T. 1.

Shall we be accused of undue partiality to those *frail* Polish patriots, in adding the following short character of the most eloquent and intrepid amongst them? Cato's patriotism, it has been said, sometimes glowed with wine; and it appears that love helped to animate that of Mokranowski.

'This Pole, of a lofty stature and noble presence, accustomed in his youth to those violent exercises which the prodigious strength of Augustus the Second made fashionable among the young nobility, could break with a single blow the head of a bull, or bend in his hand a bar of iron. After having served in France with honour, and in Prussia with the favour of the King, he returned to Poland still young; and, notwithstanding the smallness of his fortune, soon acquired great consideration in the republic by his bravery, his ready knowledge of men, his talent for inspiring those around him with confidence, and his eloquence, which consisted in expressing with simplicity the most elevated sentiments. In him might be seen a remarkable union of the virtues the most admired in the antient republics, with that gallantry which is characteristic of modern times. And in labouring to free his country from the despotism of Russia, by one day placing the crown on the head of Branicki, he perhaps desired, with equal ardour, to obtain thereby the favourable opinion of the wife of that illustrious old man.' T. 1.

During the interregnum, Poniatowski's uncles, the Princes Czartorinski, had succeeded in making considerable innovations upon the constitution. They had patriotism, as well as talents and ambition; and had long meditated in silence those changes
which

which their intrigues and their influence at last enabled them to effect. Their main object was to strengthen the power of the crown, by adding to it the influence hitherto enjoyed by the great officers of state, and by placing the army and finances more immediately under its controul. They wished, too, to improve the condition of the peasants, and gradually to bring down the power of the nobility. Though acting, at this time, in concert with Russia, they contrived partly to deceive her as to the scope and tendency of these innovations, which were in fact intended ultimately to defeat her views, by giving the government more solidity and independence. *But these statesmen committed one great error, which completely overthrew their projects. They joined in excluding the *Dissidents*, or dissenters, from the government;—a measure which, by exciting deep animosity in that body, alienated their affections, threw them into the arms of Russia, and brought on a civil war which ended in the ruin of the country.

Every British reader must see the application of this part of the history of Poland. Read but *Catholics for Dissidents*, and the warning is before us. We have repeated in Ireland the error of the Polish government; and we ask in vain for security that the catastrophe may not be the same. ‘It is a singular observation,’ says an excellent writer, ‘and which should have the greatest weight with a legislature, that though all modern history is full of mischiefs, occasioned by the *want* of toleration, yet no author has ever undertaken to show, that any public evils have any where been occasioned by *granting* it.’* The toleration to which this liberal churchman alludes, is not that jealous boon which allows a man to worship his God, free from the fear of persecution; but that which exposes no man to *want any thing*, or *suffer any thing* from the state, on account of his faith, when that faith is not obviously subversive of order or morality. It was by this genuine sort of toleration that Poland grew and prospered; and it was by departing from its maxims in later times, that she added religious animosities to all her other evils, and drove a part of her people to seek the aid of the natural enemy of their country. ‘Poland’ says M. Rulhiere ‘did not grow by conquest, for which her constitution was unfit, nor by industry, to which it was directly adverse;—but, by admitting all the surrounding religions to equal privileges, she in fact added whole provinces to the state.’ Cherishing all the modes of Christian worship, and prospering by the generosity of her principles, she determined to make their equality a fundamental part of her constitution. It was therefore enacted in 1573, as a permanent

* Bishop of St Asaph’s Works, vol. II.

manent law, that all the different sects should be equally eligible to the Diet, and to all offices of trust. Her best days were during the period when this wise enactment subsisted in vigour; but it came in time to be encroached upon; and, in 1736, the Dissidents were at length denied admission to the Diet, or the great offices of state. From that period, their discontents make a conspicuous figure in the troubles of Poland. In the Diet in which the Czartorinski had introduced their innovations, their claims were rudely treated, because these statesmen thought it useful on that occasion to truckle to the bishops, and to humour the fanaticism of the multitude. We agree, said they to the former, to exclude the Dissidents, provided you assist us in our projects of improving the constitution to the detriment of Russia. They did not perceive, that, by perpetuating discontents, they promoted all the worst views of that power. They forgot that the patriotic affections are worn out by continued unkindness,—that the ties of loyalty lose their influence over men irritated and disgusted with the constant rejection of just claims. If what Mr Burke says be true, ‘that the greater virtues are at a market too high for ordinary humanity,’ it is surely unreasonable to expect that men will continue attached to a government which requires all the duties of citizens, while it treats them like aliens and outlaws.

The arguments by which the Dissidents were opposed, were not without their share of popularity, and have, indeed, been pretty closely followed in more imposing assemblies than the Diet of Poland. Almost every country, it was said, had an established religion to which certain political privileges were attached. The Dissidents had their teachers, preachers, and churches, and were protected in the free exercise of their religion. What they wanted then, was *power*, and not *toleration*. This was thought a mighty strong argument—as if it were enough not to be actually persecuted—as if a religion were really free whose professors are stamped with distrust—as if to be deprived of civil privileges on account of it were no injury—as if, in fine, there is nothing to complain of, when talents and honourable ambition are rudely pushed back from that eminence which those favoured of the state are allowed freely to ascend.

- Against all this the Dissidents appealed to the old laws, to the better times of the republic, and to the general principles of liberty and expediency. And it is curious enough to find England interfering (we quote from our Ambassador’s declaration to the Diet *) ‘for that *oppressed* part of the Polish nation the Dissidents,’

* See the Declaration delivered by Mr Wroughton to the Diet in 1764.—*State Papers, Annual Register.*

dents ;' arguing ' the closeness of connexion between the *interests* of the republic and the *justice* of their claims ;' stating, too, ' that these claims are founded on a doctrine, whose principle of benevolence makes it characteristic of Christianity ;' and disapproving of ' their *exclusion* from honourable employments, and the means of serving their country.' Such were the principles upon which England judged it wise to ground her remonstrance in behalf of the excluded Poles ; and it is truly lamentable to think of the risk which she now voluntarily incurs, by repeating that very error she so long ago exposed and reprobated in the government of Poland.

The Dissidents, in an evil hour, sought the assistance of the Empress of Russia ; who, glad of the pretext, instantly marched an army of forty thousand men into the heart of the country, and thus begun a war which cost Poland the loss of her provinces and independence. Here we see the result of that fatal system of exclusion which has since met with such unexpected countenance among a more enlightened people. With a stronger government, and the barriers which nature has thrown around us, we pursue it indeed with less immediate hazard ; but it still turns our strength into weakness, and increases, beyond all calculation, dangers, which every hour increases and brings nearer. Nor do the circumstances which distinguish our situation from that of Poland, afford us, after all, the miserable certainty of retaining Ireland to ourselves, poor and discontented, instead of wealthy and loyal. The glimmering of hope which lately appeared on the verge of the European horizon, has now faded into almost total darkness. And yet, while the destroyer is paving his way to us with the ruins of other states, do we superstitiously cling to our destructive follies, and, with a mine under our feet, cajole ourselves with the hope that the foe will not be able to reach a match to it. But, independently altogether of the danger of conquest or separation by foreign means, separation by internal means, is not only probable, but, we fear, certain, if, overlooking the experience of the last civil war, which deprived us of a portion of our dominions, we shall madly continue to refuse a whole people privileges, which they ought, and are determined, to possess.

M. Rulhiere's account of these matters is copious and animated ; but that is all. There is no depth of observation, and no dignity even of narration. In the gravest part of the story, he introduces some anecdotes of the King's amours, which are below the dignity even of modern history. But there are others, which show the weakness and frivolity of this Prince in strong colours. The day after the Russians had forcibly carried away certain Bishops and Senators for opposing the Empress—an outrage, till then,

then, without example in modern times, and which spread consternation through the capital, the King was found, by the deputies of the Diet, busily employed in sketching the pattern of a new livery for the anniversary of his coronation. We shall extract the author's interesting account of that act of iniquity and despotism, to which we have alluded; observing only, that the history of Catharine's proceedings in Poland might serve a little to moderate that wonder which is so loudly expressed at similar atrocities of our own day. In those, and in the subsequent partition, we may see the image and pattern of all that has happened since; and the powers of Europe are now only suffering for the cooperation, or connivance of their predecessors in these infamous transactions. Then it was that the practice was begun, of exciting subjects against their governments—of converting treaties of peace into stratagems of war—of giving to a tyrannical confiscating agent the respectable name of ambassador—of pillaging and massacring under the guise of protection—of making war without the softening usages of modern times—in fine, of gratifying, at the expense of a weak neighbour, the unhallowed desires of a turbulent and engrossing ambition.—The account of the capture of the Bishops and Senators is as follows.

* Caetan Soltik, bishop of Cracow, and sovereign duke of Servia, was at supper with his old friend Count Mniek, marshal of the Court, when news were brought that the neighbouring streets were filled with Russian troops. The hotel belonging to a minister of the republic was surrounded, the door forced, and sentinels placed at all the windows. One passage only remained, which led into the house of the Prussian ambassador, and which the Russians durst not violate; and through it the bishop was urged to escape. But he thought flight unworthy of his character. When the Russians came into the chamber where he was, he rose and threw his papers into the fire; and then turning to the officer, he said, 'Do you know me, that I am sovereign, senator, and priest?' The Russian having answered, that his orders were to arrest him, he embraced Count Mniek, who was petrified with amazement and fear; and then, without emotion, followed the officer.—The bishop of Kiow, waked by the noise, was found on his knees, with a crucifix in his hand; and after praying for forgiveness to his enemies, and blessing his weeping servants, was setting out with his feet uncovered, when the Russians, moved to pity by superstition, begged him to put on more clothes.—The palatine of Cracow exclaimed, after a moment of silence, 'I would regard death as a favour. I should glory in being assassinated for defending religion and liberty: but the arrest of a senator and general humbles and dishonours my nation.'—They were all led separately, and without domestics, to the camp of the Russians; and were next day carried towards Russia under an escort, without being allowed any sort of communication. They were

were refused not only the comforts which age and infirmities rendered necessary to some of them, but even those necessities which are never denied to the greatest criminals. At Wilna, they were placed under the care of General Nummers, who, before forwarding them, asked the orders of his court. In reply, the Empress 'offered them liberty, provided they would engage, by writing, not to oppose her will, or the operations of her ambassador.' This offer was made to each separately in his prison, and rejected by all. They were immediately conveyed to Smolensko, and an order given that no person should speak of them, or pronounce their names; and when the war broke out in Poland, they were ordered to Siberia.' t. 2. p. 466—470.

This war was sufficiently embittered by religious animosities; but the sanguinary excesses of the Russians, deepened tenfold all its horrors. M. Rulhiere characterizes in strong terms, though there is no language adequate to the purpose, atrocities which find no parallel in modern history—not even in Lewis the Fourteenth's ravages in the Palatinate, or those of Bonaparte in Italy.

Turkey, naturally jealous of Russia, and not participating in those sinister views which darkened the understandings of some neighbouring powers, was the only state that came to the assistance of the Poles in a struggle which, whatever name it bore, was in fact for the existence of that country. The relations between the republic and this power, lead M. Rulhiere, pretty frequently in the course of his work, to descant upon the character and intrigues of the Ottomans; and he gives a variety of anecdotes illustrative of their ignorance and fatuity, as well as an account of the causes of the comparative weakness into which they had fallen. The Turkish institutions, he observes, are fundamentally adverse to improvement, and must keep them back while other nations are advancing. To make a sensible progress in any thing—to invent new arts, or improve the old, would be an offence against their religion. To seek any knowledge that was not possessed by the founder of the faith, would be to insult him. This is always the case with a people whose legislator, both a prophet and a conqueror, has blended in one code all the duties of religion as well as of government. The Turk, therefore, thinks himself bound in duty to oppose all innovation; and, like the followers of Brama, moves on in a track which he believes to have been pointed out by the Deity. But further, the genius and structure of their system being entirely military, required the constant exercise of the warlike virtues to keep it in vigour. Cessation from war only showed the deformities of a government, which made no provision for, and was incompatible with the arts of peace. When, therefore, the limits of the empire were fixed, and the conquered nations had sunk into submission;

mission, the tranquillity which ensued proved destructive of their power. The art of war was deprived of the only school which this barbarous government afforded; and the Janissaries were allowed to abate the strictness of their ancient discipline. The sultans, no longer roused by the great events which formed their predecessors, became slothful and voluptuous; and the offices of the state, in the absence of all military claims to promotion, were necessarily given to favourites equally ignorant and corrupt.

Some of the pachas who accompanied the army into Poland, were so ignorant as to ascribe the effects of the field-artillery to magic. The leading men in their councils scarcely knew the geography of the empire, and had but a very confused notion of that of Europe. When they were told by the French ambassador, that the Russian fleet had passed the Sound—*Qu'est-ce que la Suède?* was the rejoinder. The King of Russia wrote the Sultan Mustapha an encomiastic letter, telling him, 'that he should have been born three centuries sooner, among the *Selims and Solimans.*' The divan, the seraglio, the ulema, were all consulted in vain for the meaning of this compliment; and the *Shadow of God on Earth* was obliged to have recourse to a dog of a foreigner.

The hostility of the Turks brought the former project of restoring the Greeks into favour at the court of St Petersburg. Its origin has been ascribed to Peter the Great; but M. Rulhière contends, that it was first broached by Field-Marshal Munich. It was afterwards suggested to Orloff, by a Greek, who served in his company of artillery. The history of this enterprise is most immoderately distended by our author; but they who wish to see an account of it, will be gratified by the perusal. We shall enter no farther into it, than to give part of his account of *Hassan*, who was then the great bulwark of the Turks in the Archipelago, and unquestionably one of the most extraordinary characters which the East has produced.

'Hassan, who at the time in which I write is regarded as the last hope of the Ottoman empire, who has become Captain Pacha, who has subdued all the rebels, restored peace in the provinces, and bound together, for a time, the fragments of this shattered empire—Hassan had been carried off in his infancy, by the Turks, from the frontiers of Persia; was sold as a slave to a person in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and employed as a boatman. In the flower of his age he escaped by the assistance of a Greek, who conducted him to Smyrna, where he entered among the recruits there raising for Algiers. He soon signalized himself among the Africans by his intrepidity in hunting the lion. Twice, in these hunting parties, he was left for dead in the deserts, covered with blood and wounds. These adventures attracted the notice of the Dey, who employed him,

loaded

loaded him with favours, and raised him to the second government in the kingdom. But his refusal to take any concern in the disputes between a favourite and a minister, raised him two enemies. Brought to the brink of destruction, he marched the troops of his government against a Spanish fortress on the coast, as if with an intention to attack it. But, taking advantage of the night, he caused his baggage to proceed to the city, where he went himself, the Governor being privy to his design. He afterwards traversed Spain, France, and Italy, repaired to Naples, and there embarked for Constantinople. Arrived there, he was claimed by an Envoy from Algiers, arrested, and, without being heard, conducted to a prison of the seraglio. The Sultan happened to go thither in disguise; but Hassan knew the master of the empire—spoke to him with intrepidity—said that he had come to Constantinople, not as a fugitive and deserter, but as one whose wrongs gave him a right to appeal to the head of the Mussulmans. Mustapha loved courage and justice; and, astonished and pleased with Hassan, he gave him, in this very prison, the command of a ship of war. t. 3. p. 429—31.

The author's view of the politics of Berlin and Vienna, including the characters of Frederic and Kaunitz, is one of the best written portions of this work. His dislike to the Austrian alliance makes him throw some very dark shades into the portrait of the latter; but the traits he gives of his personal character, correspond with other accounts, particularly those of Wraxall and Marmontel. His view of his political conduct is, that he was entirely guided by two great principles, which were necessarily at variance with an open, direct, and honourable policy, and made his whole negotiations a labyrinth of dark intrigues. Those were, 'that a state ought never to do by itself, what it can do by others;' and that in foreign politics, 'a dexterous diplomatist may accomplish every thing he desires.' M. Rulhiere contrasts this view of his conduct with the King of Prussia's plain-dealing with other powers, which resulted, he says, from a favourite maxim of that Sovereign—that a state whose internal affairs are well regulated, need give itself but little concern about negotiations. We cannot make room for his strictures on these subjects; but shall extract part of his account of the personal habits and character of Kaunitz, for the sake of such of our readers as have not heard much of that singular man.

— An illustrious birth, a great fortune, of which he became master when he was young, the possession of a sovereign county, which he derived from his mother, an elegant person, and noble appearance; with a constant care of himself, made him distinguished and fashionable at a court where his methodical gallantry, his pride, and his indifference, rather recommended than exposed him to ridicule. He carried the extravagant fashion of dressing the hair, which then prevailed in Europe, to the utmost excess, and spent whole days in

in embellishing his head with innumerable buckles. Thus he was more in company with his hairdresser than any body else. All his youth was spent in this sort of idleness, which degenerated into languor, and a fixed horror at labour, especially regulated labour. It is surprising that those habits did not deprive him of the exquisite qualities with which nature had endowed him—a delicate discernment, quickness, extent of judgment, and an infallible memory. Notwithstanding the advantages of birth, he had begun with those subordinate occupations, which are the usual apprenticeship of young courtiers destined only for civil affairs. In these he learnt the first elements of the old immutable Austrian policy; and, having no military objects in view, never tried to overcome the weaknesses of that effeminate education, in which he had been trained by the perpetual society of women; and which had produced, not only a pusillanimous dread of death, but a horror at the very name, and an affectation of sensibility, with a sort of organical delicacy, that dreaded all painful emotions, and even the changes of the atmosphere. *Part II. p. 172—3.*

We had intended, before closing this article, to give a sketch of the rise and improvements of that glorious system of equipage by which the nations of Europe had, down to the fatal era of the partition of Poland, been so long protected and distinguished, and to have accompanied this with a brief deduction of its effects upon the subsequent fortunes of the European community. But, having already transgressed our usual limits, and having, indeed, frequently adverted to these subjects in other parts of our Journal, we shall, at present, limit ourselves to a very short view of what has been said on the origin and progress of the project of partition, of which our author gives an account, materially different from other writers.

The possibility of such an abuse of the balancing system was exemplified in 1772, arose, says M. Gentz, so clearly from its nature, as to make us wonder, after witnessing the start, when such an abuse was not previously foreseen; but yet, he adds, such a project was never thought of till the fate of Poland was decided by it at that time. This is certainly the common idea; and so much, that the first conception of the partition is universally ascribed either to Frederic or his brother Prince Henry. The inconveniences resulting from the discontinuous state of his dominions during the Seven-years' war, made Frederic exceedingly desirous, it is said, to acquire the interjected Polish provinces; and, knowing that he could not succeed in this object without the concurrence of Russia and Austria, he devised the partition as a means of bribing their acquiescence. Among those who ascribe this invention to him, there is, however, a difference as to the power with which he first concerted its execution. Thus, Mr. *211—212 q* I mo^t Cox,

Coxe, upon the authority of Count Hertzberg as he says, contends that Austria was the first acceder, and that the whole was arranged at the conferences of Neustadt, when it was agreed that Russia should be gained by holding out the neutrality of Austria in the Turkish war as the price of her accession. Mr Tooke, on the other hand, states, that the scheme was first communicated to Catharine during the visit of Prince Henry to Petersburg, and that their great difficulty was, as to the gaining of Austria. And Mr Wraxall, while he makes Prince Henry, and not Frederic, its original author, gives the same account as Mr Coxe of the objects and arrangements of the conferences at Neustadt.

M. Rulhiere differs from all these writers; and contends, that the first idea of dividing Poland among the neighbouring powers, so far from originating in the cabinet of Frederic, was broached near a century before his time. ‘*J’ai retrouvé,*’ says he, ‘*dans les archives des affaires étrangères de France, cette anecdote importante, et jusqu’à présent ignorée.*’ * It was during the year 1658, when Sweden was in possession of a considerable part of Poland,—when Austria, alarmed at the progress of the Swedes, came to its assistance,—and when the Duke of Prussia, known by the name of the Grand-Elector, had taken up arms to relieve his dukedom from vassalage to the republic, that Count Stippenbach, the Swedish ambassador, secretly made the extraordinary proposition to each of these powers to unite, and divide among them the kingdom of which they were in possession. † The catastrophe was averted, at that time, by the irreconcilable animosities of the proposed sharers, and the prompt interference of France, who had discovered the dreadful secret of Stippenbach. The proposition, it is said, was again brought forward during the troubles that ensued upon the election of Augustus the Second; who himself offered to agree to it, upon condition of a part being allotted to him, and made hereditary in his family. ‡ But Charles and Peter were not at all in a humour to make up their quarrels, even for the spoil of a kingdom; and thus the fate, to which it seems long before to have been doomed, was reserved for the conjunction of more accommodating spoilers.

Thus it appears, that the exposed state of Poland early excited the illicit desires of her neighbours, and that their mutual jealousy and ambition suggested, more than a century before its accomplishment, the idea of a joint possession. But M. Rulhiere further contends, that the partition of 1772 was not first proposed either by Frederic or by his brother; that it was indeed

VOL. XIV. NO. 28.

D d

suggested.

* Tom. I. p. 9.

† Tom. I. p. 60—63.

‡ Tom. I. p. 112—115.

suggested to the former by the latter ; but that this was in consequence of the very intelligible hints which dropped from the Empress of Russia, when she met with the Prince at St Petersburg. In support of this averment, he recites two different accounts of conversations in which she started the subject, and which he derived from the Prince's secretaries, Baron Kniphausen, M. Sandos, and M. Cæsar ; and he further asserts, that the arrangement of the partition made no part of the conferences, either at Neiss or Neustadt. || Among so many opposite averments, each supporting itself by great authorities, it is not for us to decide. The convenience of the Polish provinces for uniting the discontinuous parts of Frederic's dominions,—his connivance at Catharine's proceedings in Poland,—and the circumstance of that Sovereign being in possession of the whole of that country, and thereby in a condition to think herself making cessions by agreeing to the partition,—are facts which undoubtedly give plausibility to the opinion, that the measures of 1772, whether originating in the mind of Henry or Frederic, were proposed by Prussia, and first adopted by the cabinet of Vienna, rather than that of St Petersburg. With regard to the last point, however, it is but right to observe, that M. Segur says he was assured by Kaunitz, Cobenzel, and Vergennes, that Austria was decidedly adverse to the partition, and did not accede to it till France positively refused to assist her in opposing the other two powers.

The truth is, that it is more matter of curiosity than importance, to ascertain these things with precision. Impartial posterity must ever brand, with equal infamy, the whole parties to a transaction, the most atrocious, and in its effects the most pernicious, that the history of Europe had till then to record. And if it be true, as it undoubtedly is, that it has been brought forward to justify and palliate subsequent, and more fatal devastations—to none more injurious than to the successors of the original violators of the sanctuary of national independence—we may safely say of the history of Poland, what the Bishop of Meaux says of history in general, that though it were useless to all other men, it ought to be diligently perused, and its moral treasured up by princes.

ART. IX. *Voyages à Peking, Manille, et l'Île de France, faits dans l'Intervalle des Années 1784 à 1801.* Par M. de Guignes, Résident de France à la Chine, attaché au Ministère des Relations extérieures, Correspondent de la Première et de la Troisième Classe de l'Institut. 3 tom. 8vo. Avec un Atlas en folio. à Paris. 1808.

IN the small catalogue of rational books which we possess on the subject of China, this deserves to occupy a respectable station. The recent work of Mr Barrow is that with which it is most natural for us to compare it: and, though not in all, yet, in several respects, we are inclined to give it the preference to that judicious publication. The author, from long residence in the country, and from a knowledge of the language, is less new to his subject, and more master of it. He has formed a more accurate estimate than Mr Barrow, of certain important particulars in the political and social state of the Chinese. But his book is not so rich, by any means, in facts. We have the author's own observations on the appearances which struck him; and these are often very good:—but Barrow has more uniformly described to us the various phenomena which presented themselves in the course of his interesting progress. It is true, indeed, and this is what should be remembered in behalf of both, that their opportunities of observing facts, by the restrictions, or rather imprisonment, under which they were held by the pitiful policy of this illiberal and ignorant people, were extremely circumscribed.

The name of De Guignes is intimately associated with that of China in the minds of all those to whom the history of the oriental nations has been an object of attention. The translation of the *Chou-king* by M. de Guignes, with his preface and notes, published at Paris in 1770, and the *Histoire des Huns*, drawn from Chinese sources by the same hand, are among the most valuable monuments of Asiatic history which the industry and intelligence of the last century have brought to light.* Our present author is the son of that celebrated orientalist; who, beside the writings which he gave to the public in his lifetime, left behind him

D d 2

a

* Mr Gibbon denominates M. de Guignes 'a skilful and laborious interpreter of the Chinese language, who has thus laid open new and important scenes in the history of mankind.' *Decline and Fall of the Rom. Emp.* v. iv. p. 348. The *Histoire des Huns* is the great guide of Mr Gibbon in tracing the movements of the barbarous nations, which terminated in their inundation upon the civilized countries of Europe.

a variety of manuscripts, which the son is preparing to publish, and of which he has given us a list in the *avant-propos* to the present work. The education which he received from his father may be supposed to have fitted him in a particular manner, for acting in China; and accordingly he had filled the office of French resident in that country, his principal abode being at Macao, for the space of ten years previous to the journey of the Dutch embassy to Pekin, after the return of the English ambassador, Lord Macartney, in 1794. M. de Guignes informs us, that, having long desired to penetrate into the interior of China, he eagerly seized the favourable opportunity which now presented itself. To M. Titzing, † the chief of the embassy, who had corresponded on literary subjects with his father, he applied for leave to accompany him: This was readily granted;—and accordingly, in the character of an interpreter in the suite of the Dutch ambassador, he twice traversed the empire of China from Canton to Pekin, going by one road, and returning by another.

For the contents of the three volumes with which he has favoured us, a very short description must suffice. It is not our intention to follow the author in the line of instruction which he pursues, as an observer; but to collect the scattered lights which he and others afford us for illustrating the condition of the Chinese; and, amid the hyperbolical conclusions which it has been so much and so long the fashion to draw respecting the nations of the East, to see what the facts before us can, in the present case, entitle us to support.

The first part of the first volume is a summary view of the ancient history of China, not ascending higher than the reign of Yao, 2357 years before Christ; nor descending lower than the 48th year of Ping-vang, the year 722 before Christ. This was by the author deemed useful to precede his description of the present state of China; and it is a document of the very highest value. Some of the important conclusions which it supports are thus presented by the author.

† M. Titzing had been formerly chief Resident of the Dutch in Japan, and has brought, we are told by De Guignes, precious documents thence, which he means to publish. If these pages should happen to meet his eye, we hope the solicitations we now offer to him will have some effect towards inducing him not to delay his promised gifts. We know so little about Japan,—we have been told so much that is false,—and an enlightened man (which M. Titzing appears to be) who understands the language, and has resided for a competent time in the country, could tell us so much that is true, that we promise ourselves great instruction from his communications.

Je commence par donner un précis de l'histoire ancienne des Chinois, et je m'arrête à l'époque où elle prend un caractère plus authentique et plus vrai. La partie, d'ailleurs, de leur histoire que je rapporte me suffit, puisque, étant entièrement dépourvue de faits, extrêmement incertaine, et pour ainsi dire nulle sans les discours moraux qui la remplissent, elle démontre évidemment que, tandis qu'il subsistoit de grandes puissances, que plusieurs royaumes même avoient déjà disparu de dessus le globe, l'empire de la Chine n'étoit, d'après le récit de ces propres historiens, que fort peu de chose dans ces temps reculés; qu'il n'étoit composé que de quelques hordes peu nombreuses, vivant au milieu de peuples barbares, et se portant souvent d'un lieu à un autre, suivant les circonstances ou les avantages qu'elles pouvoient retirer de semblables émigrations; en un mot, que cet empire, loin d'exister, ainsi qu'on l'a prétendu, 3000 ans avant J. C., n'a été réuni, d'une manière stable, que depuis 529 ans.—En attaquant cette antiquité accordée par certains auteurs aux Chinois, je ne cherche point à établir un hypothèse nouvelle; ce n'est pas moi qui parle; je rapporte simplement les discours insérés dans le *Chou-king*, et j'en tire des conséquences à l'appui de mon sentiment.

Thus do the 96 or 97 millions of years which some of the Chinese claim for the antiquity of their nation, as well as the four or five thousand which are claimed for it by many Europeans, vanish at once, leaving but little in the shape of a residue behind. As the *Chou-king* is before us in a European dress, and, though this is not the only Chinese authority of which the author avails himself in drawing up his summary, yet, as it is that on which his results chiefly depend, the authenticity of his premises may be verified by every man for his own satisfaction. As for the accuracy of his conclusions, whoever compares them with his premises will be qualified to judge.

For the sake of those who will not take the trouble to explore the subject for themselves, it may be far from useless to corroborate the authority of M. de Guignes by that of one of the most penetrating, judicious, and most deeply informed of all inquirers into antient history, the President Goguet. †

What dependence, says he, can we place upon the certainty

D 4 3

of

* For example, you are told that such and such a prince mounted the throne; you are then told a conversation of his, with some mandarin or doctor, on some vague and common-place topics of morals or government; and this, or something like it, is very often the whole history of the reign.

† The Origin of Laws, &c. vol. III, p. 285. We quote the English translation, because it is one of the best in existence, and because we wish to tell, what is not generally known, that it came from the pen of the venerable historian of Great Britain, Dr Henry. It was the work of one of his early years.

of Chinese chronology for the early times; when we see these people unanimously avow, that one of their greatest monarchs, interested in the destruction of the antient traditions, and of those who preserved them, caused all the books which did not treat of agriculture, or of medicine, or of divination, to be burnt; and applied himself for many years to destroy whatever could reveal the knowledge of the times anterior to his reign. About forty years after his death, they wanted to reestablish the historical documents. For that purpose, they gathered together, say they, the heru says of old men. They discovered, it is added, some fragments of books which had escaped the general conflagration. They joined these various scraps together as they could, and vainly endeavoured to compose of them a regular history. It was not, however, till more than 150 years after the destruction of all the monuments, that is to say, the year 37 before Christ, that a complete body of the antient history appeared. The author himself who composed it, *Sse-Ma-tsiene*, had the candour to own, that he had not found it possible to ascend with certainty 800 years beyond the times in which he wrote. Such is the unanimous confession of the Chinese.* I leave to be judged, after such a fact, the certainty of their ancient history. Accordingly we find, in treating of it, insurmountable difficulties and contradictions. There runs through it an uncertainty, like that which the chronologists find in their researches into the history of the Babylonians, the Egyptians, and in that of the first kings of Greece. Besides, it is equally destitute of facts, circumstances and details.

The dynasty of *Tcheou*, the third in order from the beginning, mounted the throne in the year 1122 before J. C. The first sovereign of this race was *Ten-vang*. The state of China at that time, as represented by the native historians, is thus expressed by our author:

« *Ten-vang et son fils Vou-vang régnoient dans les environs de l'endroit où est à présent Sy gan-fou dans le Chen-sy, et n'occupoient pas un pays fort étendu, la plus grande partie de cette province étant possédée par des barbares. En général, ce qu'on appelle ville n'en étoit point; les bourgs ou villages même étoient rares; il y avoit quantité de grands pays incultes, qui ne furent défrichés qu'e depuis. La Chine, proprement, n'a été remplie de villes que beaucoup plus tard, et ces sont les Ttsin et les Han, qui, dans la suite, en ont le plus fait construire, pour maintenir les barbares qu'ils soumettoient.* »

In the seventh year of the successor of Vou-vang, whose name was *Tching-vang*, our author says—

« Ce

* The story is probably nothing but a fable, invented when they began to plume themselves with a high antiquity, as an apology for their total want of annals to support such a pretension. But, however this may be, the proof is equally complete, that no documents of antient history exist.

Ce prince quitta Tcheou et alla à Fong. Le *Tay-pao* étoit parti avant lui, pour examiner l'endroit que l'on avoit choisi pour habiter. Tcheou-Kong consulta les oracles, qui répondirent que cet endroit étoit le milieu du monde. — Après une pareille décision, on traça le plan de la nouvelle ville sur le bord du fleuve *Lo*, on employa les peuples de *Yü* aux travaux, et en cinq jours la ville fut achevée. Tcheou-Kong, après en avoir fait le tour et tout examiné, sacrifia sur un autel des boeufs, et sur un autre, le lendemain, un boeuf, une brebis et un cochon. C'est ainsi qu'on rapporte la construction de cette ville, qui n'étoit tout au plus qu'un hameau, ou un simple campement; ce qui diminue beaucoup de cette puissance et de cette richesse accordées aux Chinois existant alors, et n'en fait plus qu'un peuple errant et se transportant, suivant les circonstances, d'un lieu à un autre. Or, si l'an 1109 avant J. C. l'état de la nation Chinoise étoit tel que ce qu'on vient de rapporter donne lieu de le penser, on croira difficilement à cet état florissant que certains auteurs veulent lui supposer sous les régnes des anciens empereurs, c'est-à-dire 1200 ans plutôt.

The progress of the history makes it appear that at this time, and for long after, the Chinese were not united into one nation, but consisted of several communities; and the author concludes his historical sketch with the following observation:

D'après cet exposé, on pourra juger de l'état de la nation Chinoise depuis les premiers temps jusqu'à l'époque de l'an 722 avant J. C. On verra que des quinze provinces de la Chine, dix étoient occupées par des barbares qui n'avoient jamais été soumis, et que de cinq autres une très grande partie étoit encore possédée par d'autres barbares vivant en nomades, au milieu desquels il y avoit quelques villages ou habitations, avec des terrains cultivés qu'on qualifioit du titre des royaumes; enfin, on se convaincra que ce n'étoit point un peuple immense formant un empire riche et puissant, mais un peuple composé de différentes hordes errantes et se transportant d'un lieu à un autre, suivant les circonstances.

Such are the conclusions respecting the state of the Chinese, at a period comparatively modern, to which we are brought by a critical examination of their own documents, after the lofty descriptions of a civilization of boundless antiquity, which credulity, and the love of the marvellous, have so long rendered current in Europe. *

D d 4

The

* Voltaire is absolutely furious against all who venture to doubt this antiquity. 'Oserons nous parler des Chinois, sans nous en rapporter à leurs propres annales? --- Il est évident que l'empire de la Chine étoit formé il y a plus de quatre mille ans. --- Si quelques annales portent un caractère de certitude, ce sont celles de Chinois. --- L'empire Chinois subsistait avec splendeur, quand les Chaldéens commençoient

The work before us, exclusive of this historical document, consists of a journal of the route from Canton to Peking, and back again, which occupies the latter part of the first volume, and the beginning of the second; and of the author's observations on the country and people, classed under separate titles, as, 'Manners, Customs, Religion, Language, Arts, Government, Population, Revenue,' &c. filling up the principal part of the second and third volumes;—and lastly, of a short account of the Philippine Islands, and the Isle of France, which the author visited in the course of his peregrinations. This occupies a few pages towards the end of the third volume.

Upon the whole, the helps furnished by M. de Guignes, for attaining accurate notions respecting the state of civilization among the Chinese, are by no means unimportant. The inquiry itself is one which should, long ago, have been prosecuted in this country with more diligence, and with more judgment, than have hitherto been allotted to it. The nation which, above all others, maintains the greatest intercourse with China; the nation which, above all, has the greatest interests dependent on that intercourse; the nation which has had so many of her sons living for so many years on Chinese ground, was under the necessity of going to Naples for an interpreter, when she thought of sending an embassy to China; and in selecting the presents intended to display at once her grandeur and her friendship, sent such things as the people were too rude to value, and which they threw aside as little better than lumber.

If the gentlemen at Canton are not permitted to explore the country, there are books among the Chinese: these may be easily had for money; and people are to be found who would teach to read them. If learning to read them would be a difficult task, rewards could be given that would be proportional. It is now, however, known, and, if there were no other proof, the experience of Sir George Staunton's son, a boy, who made a considerable proficiency both in reading and writing Chinese, only during his passage from England to China, would be sufficient, that the difficulty of learning Chinese is by no means so great, as, among other fancied prodigies, was once believed. There is a book of Chinese laws now in England; a book from which conclusions so decisive could be drawn. But, where is the Englishman that can interpret it? How many other books might, by the advantage of the English intercourse, be obtained, which would enable us to ascertain beyond controversy every point in

commençaient le cours de ces dix-neuf cents années d'observations astronomiques, envoyés en Grèce par Callisthène. *Essai sur les Mœurs et l'Esprit des Nations. Introduction, Article Chine.*

the state of China which it would interest us to know? Why have they never been procured? Why has it not been made a point to have Englishmen acquainted with the language of China? It has been learned by Portuguese, by Italians, by Frenchmen. Of the great number of Englishmen who have gone to Hindustan, a few meritorious individuals have, without the smallest encouragement from Government, made themselves acquainted with the languages of that country, and communicated to us the most satisfactory documents. Of the small number who are sent to China, no one has yet done any thing; nor, from the nature of their situation, is any thing to be expected from them, till they receive that encouragement which a wise and liberal government ought long ago to have afforded.

It is to be lamented that philosophers have not as yet laid down any very distinct canons for ascertaining the principal stages of civilization. The ideas of the greatest part of mankind on the subject, are therefore vague in the extreme. All they do is, to fix on one or two of the principal nations of Europe as at the highest point of civilization; and wherever, in any country, a few of the first appearances strike them as bearing a resemblance to some of the most obvious appearances in these standards of comparison, such countries are at once held to be civilized; and if the fashion is but fairly and fully set in such a mode of thinking and talking, the current is not easily stopped. Crowded streets, and a bustle of people, seem to have been generally regarded as circumstances, the evidence of which must be decisive.

In these conclusions, *distance* appears to have been an agent of great potency; and the title to civilization has always been admitted on slighter grounds to those who were farthest removed from us. The Turks, for example, we have always denominated barbarians. The Hindus and Chinese we have regarded as civilized; and for that civilization, many among us have contended, and do contend, with a spirit little less intolerant than if it were their religion itself. A critical examination of the state of these people demonstrates, that, in every particular which can be regarded as a mark, or as a result of civilization, the Turks are their superiors.

The information we now have concerning China, however defective in marking the particular aspect which, among them, a particular stage of civilization exhibits, is yet abundantly sufficient to prove, that they are in the very infancy, or very little advanced beyond the infancy, of fixed, or agricultural society. It is not possible for a people, deriving their subsistence from the cultivation of the soil, and spread over a very considerable extent of country, to be held together by means less artificial, and less favourable to human

human happiness, than the Chinese are. Their government is a despotism in the very simplest and rudest form. All power lodged in the hands of the monarch; all administered by mercenary agents, holding immediately of him, and removable only at his pleasure. No checks, no controls, no remedy for abuse, but through the emperor; and all access to him shut up by intrigue, and by power. The practical business of government, through all its organs, is to plunder the people, and deceive the sovereign. Mercenaries, therefore, and intrigue, have grown to an excess in China, that was never exhibited any where else on the face of the earth. * Mendacity, the principal instrument of intrigue, has accordingly become the national character, to a degree beyond that of any other people that ever existed. †

‘Ceux qui auroient quelques plaintes à faire,’ says our author, (V. II. p. 435), ‘n’ont pas la faculté de s’adresser à l’empereur, mais seulement aux ministres ou aux officiers principaux de la chambre; or, tous ces personnages étant liés d’intérêt, aucune requête ne parvient, et les plaignans ne peuvent réussir à obtenir la moindre justice.’

“The Emperor sends inspectors into the provinces, to see if the mandarins do their duty.—

“Aussitôt qu’ils arrivent, tous les mandarins s’empressent d’aller lui devant de leurs desirs, et de leur offrir des presens; et comment les refuseroient-ils, puisque l’Empereur lui-même en reçoit de très-considerables. L’amour des presens a toujours existé à la Chine. Une change de gouverneur de ville coûte plusieurs milliers d’écus, et quelquefois de vingt à trente mille. Un vice-roi, avant d’être en possession de sa place, paie de soixante à deux cent mille francs; il n’y a pas de visiteur ou de vice-roi, qui ne se retire avec deux ou trois millions. J’ai vu moi-même un Hopou de Quanton quitter sa place, après

“give a remarkable instance of the power and mischievousness of this intrigue, in Han-Kiou-Chouan, or Peking History, (Vol. III. p. 115.) for which, in an English dress, we are indebted, first to the Portuguese interpreter, and next to a late eminent prelate of our own church. This document affords many striking indications of the wretched state of government in China.

“For this remarkable feature of the Chinese character, the evidence may be cited of almost all travellers, particularly the latest and most intelligent, Barrow, Stannton, De Guignes. Poor M. Valbergam’s complaints of the lies of the mandarins, whom they could not, he says, believe in one word they said, are incessant and amusing, as the sagittes all the while mark highly of the Chinese civilization. See, passim, *Voyage de l’Ambassade de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales Hollandaises vers l’Empereur de la Chine en 1794 & 1795.*—“The most respectable characters, Van-to-gin, Chou-ta-gin, make no complaint of lies.” *Barrow’s Life of Lord Macartney*, Vol. II. p. 209.

après un an de résidence, importante avec lui un million de piastres (5400,000 fr.) *Ibid.* p. 434.

« Certains auteurs ont regardé le gouvernement Chinois comme parfait. « J'ai vécu long-tems à la Chine ; j'ai traversé ce vaste empire dans toute sa longueur ; j'ai vu partout le fort opprimer le foible, et tout homme ayant en partage une portion d'autorité, s'en servir pour vexer, molester et écraser le peuple. — Les mandarins des villes cherchoient à s'emparer d'une partie du salaire dû à nos coulis et à nos porteurs ; ils les frappaient même lorsqu'ils vouloient se plaindre. Un de nos petits mandarins ne rougit pas de prendre une somme de vingt mille francs qui devoit être distribuée à nos domestiques Chinois. » *Ibid.* p. 438, 439.

‘ There is, says Mr Barrow, * ‘ no middle class of men in China. In fact, there are no other than the governors and the governed. If a man, by trade, or industry in his profession, has accumulated riches, he can enjoy them only in private. He dares not, by having a grander house, or finer clothes, to let his neighbour perceive that he is richer than himself, but he should betray him to the commanding officer of the district, who would find no difficulty in bringing him within the pale of the sumptuary laws, and in laying his property under confiscation. ’ In another passage, † he observes, — ‘ that a general character of rapacity, of an aim to make himself master of the property of another, by cheating, or thieving, or robbery, or the abuse of authority, distinguishes a Chinese, whenever he can do it with impunity. ’

But observe the stability, say many people, of the Chinese government. Consider how long the state of China has been immovable ; and say if this be not a proof of excellent government ? ‘ Le vaste empire de la Chine, ’ says Voltaire, ‡ ‘ le plus ancien du monde, et le mieux policé sans doute, puisqu’il a été le plus durable. ’ Were the fact, however, as it is assumed, this immobility in the state of society, so far, we apprehend, from being a proof of high civilization, would be a proof of the very reverse : so gratuitous are the conclusions to which people have trusted on this subject ! Dr Johnson has observed, with philosophical sagacity, § that ‘ the language most likely to continue long without alteration, would be that of a nation raised a little, and *but a little*, above barbarity, secluded from strangers, and totally employed in procuring the conveniences of life, either without books, or, like some of the Mahometan countries, with very few. Men thus busied and unlearned, having only such words as common use requires, would perhaps long continue to express the same notions by the same signs. But no such constancy can be expected

* Travels in China, p. 389.

† *Ibid.* p. 179.

‡ Remarques de l'Essai sur les Mœurs, Prim. Rem.

§ In the Preface to the English Dictionary.

ed in a people polished by arts, and classed by subordination; where one part of the community is sustained and accommodated by the labour of the other. Those who have much leisure to think, will always be increasing the stock of ideas; and every increase of knowledge, whether real or fancied, will produce new words, or combinations of words. When the mind is unchained from necessity, it will range after convenience; when it is left at large in the fields of speculation, it will shift opinions: as any custom is disused, the words that expressed it must perish with it; as any opinion grows popular, it will innovate speech in the same proportion as it alters practice. It is evident, that if these arguments are conclusive with regard to speech, they are no less conclusive with regard to all the great particulars in the social condition of man. It was the opinion of Mr Gibbon, that wherever the manners of a people have been long stationary, they are in that very low state of civilization in which instinct has more influence than reason. 'The operation of instinct,' says he, 'is more sure and simple than that of reason: it is much easier to ascertain the appetites of a quadruped, than the speculations of a philosopher; and the savage tribes of mankind, as they approach nearer to the condition of animals, preserve a stronger resemblance to themselves and to each other. *The uniform stability of their manners is the natural consequence of the imperfection of their faculties.*'

The population of China is the next great object of admiration. Surely a country so very populous must be highly civilized. We have two remarks to make on this subject; 1st, that a great population is no certain proof, either of a good government, or of high civilization; and, 2d, that the population of China is not, as we think is now apparent, any thing very remarkable.

It is no law of human nature, that population shall regularly follow civilization and good government. It is very possible for affairs to take such a turn, in a rude state of society, and under a very bad government, as to be more favourable to the increase of numbers, than under a state of much greater improvement. The population of Ireland, for example, has, of late years, been increasing faster, much faster, than the population of England; but nobody will say, that the people of Ireland, are either better governed, or more civilized, than the people of England. There are various circumstances in the situation of China, the operation of which, be the state of society what it may, must have been favourable to multiplication. The superstition of the people, which makes them deem it unhappy to die without posterity, produces early and universal marriage. For many ages the country has been

been free from the ravages of war. The people of the East are remarkable for eating little, often sustaining nature with the merest pittance of rice. The land, being all of it the Emperor's, is not divided into large estates among the great lords, but into small portions among the cultivators. Almost every thing in China being done by human labour, and there being scarcely any beasts of burthen, and but few reared for the table, a greater proportion (the whole with very little deduction) of the produce of the soil, goes immediately, in China, to the maintenance of human beings, than in any other country.

In the next place, the statements which the Chinese themselves give of their population, are worthy of no manner of regard; and the observations which have been recently made by the intelligent persons who accompanied the English and Dutch embassies, in their progress from one end of the country to the other, are far from giving us reason to suppose that the population of the empire of China, compared with its bulk, is very remarkable. M. de Guignes, in the present work, has given us, on this head, some valuable instruction. He gives us, in the first place, an important Table, which we shall transcribe, presenting the statements which have been given at three different times, from the information of the Chinese themselves, of the population of all the provinces of their empire;—in 1743 by the Missionaries,—in 1761 by Father Allerstern, and in 1794 by the English.

Population of China according to

<i>Names of the Provinces.</i>	<i>The Missionaries in 1743.</i>	<i>F. Allerstern in 1761.</i>	<i>The English in 1794.</i>
Petchely	16,702,765	15,222,940	38,000,000
Kiang nan	26,766,365	45,922,420	32,000,000
Kiang-si	6,681,350	11,006,640	19,000,000
Tchekiang	15,623,990	15,429,690	21,000,000
Fokien	7,643,035	8,063,671	15,000,000
Hou kotang	4,284,850	16,909,923	27,000,000
Honan	12,637,280	16,332,507	25,000,000
Chan-tong	12,153,630	25,180,734	24,000,000
Chan-sy	8,969,475	9,768,169	27,000,000
Chen-sy	14,804,035	14,699,475	30,000,000
Setchuen	15,481,710	2,782,976	27,000,000
Quang-tong	6,006,600	6,797,697	21,000,000
Quang-sy	1,143,450	3,947,414	10,000,000
Yunnan	1,189,825	2,078,802	8,000,000
Koey-tcheou	255,445	3,402,722	9,000,000
Leustong	225,620	668,852	10,000,000
	<hr/> 150,265,475	<hr/> 198,214,552	<hr/> 333,000,000

The

Now, to say nothing of the incredible increase in a country confessedly stationary as to every kind of improvement, the slightest inspection of this table is sufficient to convince any body, that these different statements are totally contradictory, and inconsistent one with another; that they have been made, in short, without the smallest reference to the fact; and that, in reality, they prove nothing but the disposition of the Chinese to exaggerate and misrepresent. Observe, for example, the very first province, Petchely. In the first period, 18 years, from 1743 to 1761, the population declined; in the next 33 years, it increased to *more than double*. The next province, Kiang-nan, in the first period nearly doubled its population; in the second period, its population declined. Hou-kouang, in the first 18 years, increased its population nearly fourfold. In Setchuen, in the period of 18 years, the population sunk from fifteen millions to two millions,—a pretty rapid decline; but in the next period of 33 years, there was as rapid an increase; it rose from two millions to *twenty-seven millions*. It ought always to be remembered, that the Chinese, from their poverty, their superstitions, and their agricultural occupations, are of all nations the least given to migrate from one province to another.

Mr Barrow tells us, * 'the Chinese government is much given to exaggeration in all matters relating to the aggrandizement of the country, and to deal liberally in hyperboles, wherever numbers are concerned.' In fact, the people of Europe can hardly form a conception of the extent to which the principle of exaggeration carries almost all the Eastern nations. Witness, for one instance, the millions of years' duration they ascribe to themselves.

M. de Guignes says, respecting this same subject of population—

'J'ai consulté moi-même les Chinois; mais les ayant trouvés *tous en contradiction les uns avec les autres*, j'ai jugé qu'il n'étoit pas prudent de les croire sur parole; car nul peuple au monde n'est plus disposé à exagérer tout ce qui regarde sa nation. Ils se font peu de scrupule de tromper un étranger, d'autant plus que leur vanité se trouve recompensée par l'importance qu'ils croient se donner à eux-mêmes en augmentant la force et la puissance de leur pays.'

M. de Guignes makes us acquainted with another reason for exaggeration, even in the official statements.

'La vérité' says he 'est, que ces états sont inexacts, et que si la population y est représentée comme toujours croissante, cela provient de l'intérêt que les Mandarins ont à faire croire que leurs provinces s'améliorent, parceque *ce seroit déplaire à l'empereur, et nuire à leur avancement, que de lui montrer une diminution quelconque.*'

If we consider that the Mandarins are in general changed every two or three years, and that each has an interest in representing the

* Travels in China, p. 405.

the population as having increased during his administration, we shall discover a principle of pretty rapid progression.

The excess to which these conscientious governors go in their misrepresentations to the emperor, far surpasses all ordinary belief.

‘Le Tsong-tou de Quanton,’ says our author, ‘fit faire, en 1794, des galères, pour poursuivre les pirates qui infestoient les côtes; il écrivit à Peking que tout étoit prêt. L’empereur répondit: “Votre prédécesseur m’a dit qu’il n’y avoit plus de pirates, les frais de l’armement seront pour votre compte.” Qu’arriva-t-il? les galères restèrent là; le Tsong-tou paya ce qu’il voulut, et les pirates existent encore. Le fait est, que le vice-roi précédent avoit fait réellement armer des galères; mais les mandarins, au lieu d’aller attaquer les voleurs, préférèrent de faire le commerce d’opium, et écrivirent à leur retour que tout étoit fini. J’ai vu moi-même une quarantaine de têtes, soi-disant de pirates, envoyées d’Haynan; ce devoit être là une preuve bien évidente de l’expédition: point du tout; la plupart de ces têtes appartenoient à des cadavres qu’on avoit deterrés. Passons à un autre fait.—Le Tsong-tou de Quanton est chargé d’aller au Tonquin pour en rétablir le prince détrôné; il est surpris par les troupes du rebelle; les Chinois sont taillés en pièces, et le vice-roi se sauve avec peine. Ecrire à l’empereur qu’il a été battu, c’étoit exposer sa tête. Que fait-il? Il mande à Peking qu’il a transigé avec le rebelle, qu’il l’a proclamé roi, et que celui-ci se rend lui-même à la cour pour obtenir l’agrément de l’empereur. Ce simulacre de roi fut reçu par toute la Chine avec les honneurs dues à un souverain, tandis qu’il n’étoit qu’un très petit officier du vainqueur, et que, retourné dans son pays, il rentra dans ses fonctions.’

From all his inquiries, and from all that he saw, M. de Guignes is convinced ‘que la population de la Chine ne peut excéder celle des autres pays.’—‘Dans notre route’ says he, ‘pour nous rendre à Peking, en remontant la rivière depuis Quantong jusqu’à Nankiang-fou, dernière ville de la province, nous n’avons rencontré dans cet espace, qui est de cent cinq lieues, que cinq villes, éloignées les unes des autres de dix-sept, dix-neuf, vingt-quatre, et vingt-huit lieues. La population dans les campagnes étoit très-ordinaire; elle nous a paru un peu plus forte dans les villes; mais la circonstance de notre passage avoit amené du monde sur la route; et lorsqu’à notre retour nous avons visité à notre aise les mêmes lieux, les habitants ne se sont pas montrés plus nombreux que par-tout ailleurs.’

The whole of the route to Peking exhibited, in respect of population, an appearance exactly similar. On their return, they were conducted by another road, part of which very much resembled what they had seen on their journey to the capital. However, ‘parvenus,’ says our author, ‘dans la partie orientale du Kiang-nan, portion la meilleure de la Chine, et que les Chinois montrent de préférence

preference aux étrangers, nous trouvâmes dans les environs de la digue qui est élevée le long du fleuve Jaune, des bourgs qui nous parurent très-peuplés : c'est d'après cette population que les Anglois ont jugé, et c'est ce qui les a induit en erreur.—En passant par les mêmes lieux que ces voyageurs, j'aurois pu croire comme eux que le nombre des habitans étoit très-considérable ; mais j'ai reconnu que je me serois trompé si je m'en étois rapporté à un premier coup-d'œil. L'avantage que nous avions de partir suivant notre volonté, nous a mis à même de vérifier que cette population n'appartenoit pas toute entière aux endroits où nous nous trouvions, mais qu'une bonne partie y étoit venue des lieux circonvoisins. Ces bourgs si peuplés lors de notre arrivée, n'offroient presque qu'un désert au moment où nous partions, et nous apercevions dans la campagne des bandes nombreuses d'habitans qui s'en retournoient dans leurs villages. '

With the exception of this district, no place exhibited the marks of a great population ; and M. de Guignes is convinced, that China, upon the whole, is not wonderfully peopled.

The exaggerated statements of the Chinese, may easily be paralleled by statements respecting other nations confessedly in a very early stage of civilization. ' We find from sacred writ,' says Mr Wallace,* ' that the fighting men (in Palestine), exclusive of the two tribes of Levi and Benjamin, were 1,570,000. And if we take the proportions of these two to the other ten tribes, from their enrolments which are marked in another passage, we must add more than 121,000 : the whole number of fighting men amounting, by this account, to 1,691,000 ; and the quadruple of this last sum, or the whole number of inhabitants, to 6,764,000.' According to Major Rennel, † the number of square miles in Palestine hardly exceed 7,250. Its population, therefore, must have exceeded 900 to the square mile ; whereas the population of China, even according to the hyperbolical statement communicated to Mr Barrow, yields, in the most populous province, only 644 to the square mile ; and the average of the whole is but 256. Major Rennel, indeed, disbelieves the statement drawn from the Old Testament respecting Palestine. But it is, at any rate, as much to be depended upon as the statements of the Chinese. Nor is there any thing in it, as he seems to imagine, absolutely incredible. The population of Barbadoes, by no means the most fertile spot in the world, is denser still ; and if we recollect the extraordinary motives which, from his religion and laws, every Hebrew had to confine himself within the narrow limits of the Holy

* Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind, p. 51.

† Rennel's Geography of Herodotus, p. 401.

Holy Land, we can hardly doubt that, during the prosperous times of that people, the territory must have become exceedingly crowded.

Cicero tells us that, in his time, the Spaniards were reckoned more numerous than the Romans. "Quam volumus fieri P. S. his amemus, says he; prostant nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gentes, nec calamitate Penitus, &c." We are told, that in the time of Caesar, the population of Spain, that is, of the whole peninsula, was 50,000,000, which, reckoning the peninsula, according to Doctricher's tables, at 178,928 square miles, produces about 280 inhabitants to the square mile. "According to the Book of Jonah," says Mr Wallace, "there were 120,000 children in Nineveh, who could not discern between their right hand and their left." Now, computing according to the proportion which is, from the most accurate observations, found to be consistent with truth, and reckoning such as were too young to discern between their right hand and their left, to be all those who were below two years of age complete, the inhabitants of Nineveh were 2,200,000. "Protemy, King of Egypt, is celebrated by Theocritus as reigning over 55,359 cities. Diodorus relates, (see Wallace, p. 36.), that Ninus led an army into Bactria of 1,700,000, and 210,000, and wanted only a few of 10,000 chariots; that the king of Bactria met him with an army of 400,000 men; that Semiramis assembled 2,000,000 of men to build Babylon; that she carried an army into India of 3,000,000 of foot, 500,000 horse, 100,000 chariots, and 100,000 men mounted on camels. If it be asked, whether we believe all these extraordinary statements; we readily answer, fully as much as we believe those of the Chinese. Those who believe them the least, ought to be the most prepared to allow, that such enumerations, from the lips of the Chinese—of all nations the very last to be believed upon its word—afford little proof of any conformity between the fact and the assertion.

vol. XIV. NO. 28.

E e

The

† De Haruspitiu responsis.

§ See *Osorio's Relin*, and the authorities he quotes, in his work on *The End of the Seventeenth Century*. The same author calculates, that Spain could raise corn sufficient to maintain a population of seventy-eight millions; and asserts, that, at one time, it actually did possess as many inhabitants. See, too, the curious work of Cadalso, under the title and borrowed name of, *Los Eruditos de la Yndia*, por Don Joseph Vasquez. The statements of 50,000,000 in the time of the Romans, and of 68,000,000 before their invasions, are given by Herodotus. The notes of the Baron de Hatzfeld.

|| *U supra*, p. 324.

* *Idy*, ll 12.

The state of the arts among the Chinese is the next thing to which we shall attend ; including, for the present, in one term, both the useful arts and the fine. The Chinese, it is said, have carried the arts to great perfection ; and hence it follows, that they must have great knowledge and civilization.

The first of all the arts is agriculture ; and in this the Chinese have been celebrated as having made remarkable progress. Partial observation, and a few deceitful appearances, have served to produce this opinion. Mr Barrow, on the other hand, expressly informs us, that ‘ two thirds of the small quantity of land under tillage is cultivated with the spade or the hoe, without the aid of draught cattle. * The evidence of this single fact is decisive ; and Mr Barrow most satisfactorily accounts for the mistakes into which so many observers have fallen. † The peasants, he says, are almost all crowded into towns and villages, for fear of robbers ; and this is the cause of the appearance of extraordinary cultivation in their vicinity. The lands at a distance are apt to be plundered ; they are therefore in a great measure waste. The bands of robbers, he adds, are so powerful, as to threaten the cities. Another reason for the accumulation of the peasants in such places, is the accommodation of manure ; for as the poor cultivators have hardly any beasts of burden, they are unable to carry it to a distance. ‡ The distribution too of the land, of which the emperor is sole proprietor, among the cultivators, in such portions to each as are reckoned just sufficient to maintain a family, necessarily produces, wherever the cultivators find it for their interest to crowd as closely to one another as they can, an uninterrupted scene of cultivation, whatever may be the state of their progress in regard to the art. Mr Barrow accordingly tells us, that nine tenths of the peasantry may be considered as cottagers, each renting just as much land as supports his family ; and he assures us, that their agriculture is not efficient,—though they often make a bit of ground, as a garden, produce a great deal. § The Chinese plough is the most rude and inefficient instrument that can well be imagined ; || and M. de Guignes informs us, that ‘ les Chinois, en general, labourent peu profondément ; la charrue n’entre guère au-delà de quatre à cinq pouces dans les terres où l’on sème le riz, et, d’après ce que j’ai vu, elle entre encore moins dans les terres legeres et presque cendreuse des provinces septentrionales. ’

* Barrow’s China, p. 585. † Ibid. p. 570. ‡ Ibid. p. 567.

§ See Lord Macartney’s Description ; Barrow’s Life of Lord Macartney, vol. ii. p. 357. ; and the description of our author, vol. iii. p. 328. of the present work.

les.' * The appearance of the people, in the very best cultivated parts of the country, Mr Barrow assures us, is wretched.† In some places, their circumstances appear a little better;‡ but, in general, and especially in the neighbourhood of the capital, the inhabitants are squalid, and the country poor. A large portion of it consists of wet swampy ground, the alluvions of rivers, which might easily be redeemed, but, for which, the Chinese have not the skill.§

But the Chinese, we are told, cultivate to the tops of the mountains, forming the ground into platforms all the way up. M. Vanbraam is quite in ecstasy upon perceiving this. 'Durant la plus grande partie de cette journée,' says he, 'nous avons traversé des montagnes, où le plus petit point fertile est cultivé. L'œil d'un Européen est ravi en considérant l'application industrieuse du Chinois qui, comptant pour rien les difficultés, fait des montagnes elles-mêmes des terrains fertiles, et change leur surface inclinée, en un sol plane, par le moyen de terrasses de quatre ou cinq pieds d'élevation, placées par degrés, depuis le haut de la pente, jusqu'au fond de la vallée de manière que la vue est enchantée.'|| Our author tells us, however, that M. Vanbraam was 'un peu enthousiaste.'—'M. Vanbraam,' says he, 'nous dit que ces jardins étoient très-beaux; mais comme il étoit *un peu enthousiaste*, et que ce qui nous avoit vanté précédemment, s'étoit souvent trouvé fort peu de chose lorsque nous avions été à portée de le voir, nous crûmes pouvoir douter de la beauté de ces jardins.'¶ M. Vanbraam's admiration would probably not have gone so high, had he known that, in this respect, even the Peruvians of America were as wonderful as the Chinese. 'After they had made a provision of water,' says Garcilasso de la Vega, 'the next thing was to dress, and cultivate, and clear their fields of bushes and trees; and, that they might with most advantage reserve the water, they made them in a quadrangular form: those lands which were good on the sides of hills, they levelled by certain alleys or walks, which they made, as is to be seen in Cozco, and all over Peru, unto this day. To make these alleys, they raise three walls of freezed stone, one before, and one of each side, somewhat inclining inwards, (as are all the walks they make), so that they may more securely bear and keep up the weight of the earth, which is pressed and rammed down by them, until it be raised to the height of the wall: then, next to this walk,

E e 2

they

* Vol. iii. p. 327.

† Barrow's China, p. 531.

‡ Bar. Chin. p. 538.

§ Ibid. pp. 70, 83, 208, 553.

|| Voyage en Chine de l'Ambassade Hollandaise. vol. i. p. 108.

¶ Vol. i. p. 427.

they made another something shorter and less, kept up in the same manner with its wall, until at length they came to take in the whole hill, levelling it by degrees in fashion of a ladder, one alley above the other : where the ground was stony, they gathered up the stones, and covered the barren soil with fresh earth to make their levels, that so no part of the ground might be lost.*

But this practice, wonderful or not wonderful, is very rare in China; Mr Barrow only observed it in two or three instances; and 'Il ne faut pas croire,' says our author, 'que toutes les montagnes de la Chine soient cultivées depuis le haut jusqu'au bas. Si l'on trouve des collines coupées en terrasses et destinées à l'agriculture, cela n'est pas general.—J'ai traversé dans différentes provinces des districts remplis de montagnes, et dont aucune portion n'étoit mise en culture.'

Mr Barrow tells us that the Chinese have the most limited use of machinery; and that all their machines are of the most rude and simple kind.† This is a characteristic circumstance. In the more common, and useful arts, it is much more by the ingenuity and the abridgment of the labour, than by the perfection of the commodity, that one state of society is distinguished from another. The art of weaving, for example, has often attained its highest perfection, among a people in a very rude state of society. The progress of art is shown in multiplying the quantity which, by the ingenious combinations of the mechanical and other powers, a given portion of labour can produce.

There is not one of the arts in China in a state which indicates a stage of civilization beyond the infancy of agricultural society. Their naval architecture, Mr Barrow informs us, is shocking; and their skill in navigation exactly correspondent. They keep no reckoning at sea, nor possess the least idea of drawing imaginary lines upon the surface of the globe, by the help of which the position of any particular spot may be assigned. When a ship leaves a port on a foreign voyage, it is considered an equal chance that she will ever return.‡

The art of pottery, among the Chinese, is one of the most remarkable. But this is a very simple one, and in fact invented by some of the rudest people. They are understood to have an earth possessing certain peculiar virtues in regard to this manufacture; and Mr Barrow informs us, that the merit of their porcelain is owing to no ingenuity they display in the making
of

* The Royal Commentaries of Peru, written originally in Spanish by the Inca Garcilasso de la Vega, and rendered into English by Sir Paul Rycant. Part i. B. v. ch. 1. v. iii. p. 322.

† Barrow's China, p. 311.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 37, 38, 41.

of it, but to the prodigious care with which they select the very finest materials, and separate them from all impurities. † A very remarkable proof of their want of ingenuity is, that they should have been in possession so long of an art so analogous to that of making glass, and yet should never have been able to invent that beautiful and useful manufacture. ‡ Their want of taste, in the shapes and ornaments of their vessels, is now proverbial.

That sure mark of a rude state of the arts, the unsettled state of artisans, who work, not in their own houses, but repair, for each job, to the house of the man who employs them, is universally to be met with in China. §

In regard to all the arts of taste, without one exception, unless the art of embellished gardening be one, the Chinese are, by all persons, allowed to be in a state of barbarism. ‘ Their architecture,’ says Mr Barrow, ‘ is void of taste, grandeur, beauty, solidity, or convenience; and there is nothing magnificent, even in the palace of their Emperor. || In another passage, ¶ he describes the extreme want of convenience, and of useful furniture in their houses:—many a British peasant is more comfortably lodged, by far, than the Emperor of China.

They are fond of theatrical entertainments; but these are excessively rude. * ‘ That there is a littleness and poverty of genius,’ says the translator of the *Han-Kiou-Choan*, †† ‘ in almost all the works of taste of the Chinese, must be acknowledged by capable judges.’—‘ *Quoique les Chinois,*’ says M. Le Gentil, ‡‡ ‘ *ayent une passion extraordinaire pour tous les ouvrages de peinture, et que leurs temples en soient ornés, on ne peut rien voir néanmoins de plus borné et de moins régulier. Ils ne savent point ménager les ombres d’un tableau, ni mêler ou adoucir les couleurs. . . . Ils ne sont pas plus heureux dans la sculpture, et ils n’y observent ni ordre ni proportion.*’ The same is the state of painting among the Hindus and the ancient Mexicans. The colours, in the American paintings, Robertson informs us, are remarkably bright, but laid on without regard to light or shade. §§

However defective the Chinese may be in all works of ingenuity and invention, they are extremely dexterous imitators. This

E e 3

is

† Barrow’s *China*, p. 304.

‡ See Barrow. *Ibid.* p. 305; and Bell of Antermony, *Travels*, v. II. p. 33.

§ See our author, v. II. p. 169, and v. III. p. 49.

|| *Travels in China*, pp. 101, 330.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 194.

* *Ibid.* pp. 202, 207, 218, 609; and Mr Vanbraam himself, *Voyage de l’Ambassade Hol.* v. I. 233.

†† Preface, p. xii.

‡‡ *Nouv. Voyage*, t. ii. p. 111. §§ *Hist. of Amer.* v. iii. p. 278

is taken notice of by almost all travellers; and it is remarkable that this is everywhere a characteristic of a people, as yet too rude to have entered far upon the career of invention. Garcilasso de la Vega, who quotes too the authority of Blas Valera, tells us of the Peruvians, that, 'if they do but see a thing, they will imitate it so exactly, without being taught, that they become better artists and mechanics than the Spaniards themselves.'* Frozier says of the same people, † 'they have a genius for arts, and are good at imitating what they see, but very poor at invention.' This is exactly the character given to us by almost all travellers, of the Chinese and the Hindus. The imitative genius of the savages of New Holland has, in like manner, attracted the attention of all our voyagers.

The Chinese know the art of building arches, which is more than the ancient Egyptians and Chaldeans did. But even this, it appears from experience, may be discovered by a people in a very early stage of civilization. 'The Mexicans,' says Clavigero 'understood the building of arches and vaults, as appears from their baths, from the remains of the royal palaces of Testuco, and other buildings which escaped the fury of the conquerors, and also from several paintings. ‡ It seems to be to these that Humboldt alludes in the following passage, 'Au Mexique et au Perou, on trouve partout, dans les plaines élevées des montagnes, des traces d'une grande civilisation. Nous avons vu, à une hauteur de seize à dix-huit cent toises, des ruines de palais et de bains. §

The art of laying out grounds with picturesque beauty appears to be possessed by the Chinese in a high degree of perfection. The gardens of the Emperor are spoken of with admiration by every one who has seen them. To this we should have been apt to ascribe more ingenuity than probably goes to its accomplishment, were it not for the proofs we have, at what an early stage of civilization, picturesque gardening is zealously cultivated. It seems to have been a very favourite art among the ancient Peruvians. 'All the royal palaces,' says Garcilasso de la Vega, 'had their gardens, and orchards, and places of pleasure, wherein the Inca might delight and divertize himself; and these gardens were planted with fruit-trees of the greatest beauty, with flowers and odoriferous herbs of all sorts and kinds, which that climate did produce.' || That variety of situation was particularly studied,

* Royal Commentaries, part ii. b. ii. ch. 30.

† Voyage to the South Sea. London Ed. 1718. p. 265.

‡ Clavigero, Hist. of Mexico, dissert. vi. sect. 3.

§ Tableau de la nature à Paris, 1808. v. i. p. 167.

|| Royal Commentaries, part i. b. vi. ch. 2.

is apparent, from another passage in the same chapter, where he tells us, 'that the Incas had a garden situated in an island near to Puna, where, being desirous to enjoy the air of the sea, they passed over to divertize and recreate themselves.' How extremely fond the antient Persians, a people not to be regarded as in a high state of civilization, were of gardening, and how numerous and beautiful were the *Bagadurooi*, as the Greeks called them, of their kings and satraps, every body in any degree acquainted with the Greek historians fully knows. Yet, observe in what language an instructed European, when eulogy is not the subject proposed, deems it necessary to speak of them. 'The neighbourhood of the capital of Persia,' says Mr Gibbon, 'was adorned with three stately palaces, laboriously enriched with every production that could gratify the luxury and pride of an Eastern monarch. The pleasant situation of the gardens along the banks of the Tigris, was improved, according to the Persian taste, by the symmetry of flowers, fountains, and shady walks: and spacious parks were enclosed for the reception of bears, lions, and wild boars, which were maintained, at a considerable expense, for the pleasure of the royal chase.' After mentioning the destruction of all these by the Roman army, the historian adds,—'Yet these wanton ravages need not excite in our breast any vehement emotions of pity or resentment. A simple, naked statue, finished by the hand of a Grecian artist, is of more genuine value than all these rude and costly monuments of Barbaric labour: and, if we are more deeply affected by the ruin of a palace, than by the conflagration of a cottage, our humanity must have formed a very erroneous estimate of the miseries of human life.' *

In the same manner might the laws, the literature, and the manners of the Chinese be explored, and placed in comparison with those of other rude nations. The conclusions would every where be the same. But this task, though far from an uninstruc-tive one, with the practical inferences applicable to modify and direct the policy of Britain, we must leave to other hands, or at least to another opportunity. We have room at present for only two observations.

The press in China, says Mr Barrow, is free. † The press in China! and the freedom of the press!—what an abuse of terms! Because the Chinese cut out words on blocks of wood, and sometimes, for particular purposes, stamp them on paper, a practice not used for the multiplication of books, must we really be told that they have a press? But, of all things in the world, must we

E c 4

be

* Gibbon, Hist. of Dec. & Fall, &c. vol. iv. p. 173.

† Barrow's China, p. 392.

be told that they have a free press! when every man in China knows, that if he were to write, and make public, either by the press, or by any other means, any thing disagreeable to any man above him, that man might punish him with any severity he pleases? A confirmed habit of loose talking, and of vague thinking, a habit which seems to be so nearly universal, is here seen to produce sad work with a man considerably better than common. Mr Barrow tells us, in the same breath, that any satyrical strokes, any bold representations, even any writing deemed useless, would be quickly rewarded with the discipline of the bamboo. Mr Barrow seems to have taken his notion of the freedom of the press from the lawyers of Europe, whose doctrine it is, that the press is free, when it is only subject to their arbitrary sway. They tell us, that the press is free, when no license is necessary previous to printing; though they claim a title to punish, to any extent they please, short of life and limb, any man for almost any thing it is possible for him to write or to print. It must have been in conformity to this comfortable doctrine that Mr Barrow has told us, the press is free in China; where, indeed, there is no imprimatur,—because the little use that is made of printing could not well have suggested it,—and because the power of punishing afterwards is there so prompt and effectual, and the impossibility of circulation so complete, that there is no occasion for any supernumerary precautions. A press free, in China, or any where else, merely because a license is not required to print! As well might they tell us, that thieving is free in England, because there is no previous license necessary to steal!

Since the philosophical inquiry into the condition of the weaker sex, in the different stages of society, published by Millar,* it has been universally considered as an infallible criterion of barbarous society, to find the women in a state of great degradation. Scarcely among savages themselves, is the condition of the women more wretched and humiliating than among the Chinese. A very striking picture of the slavery and oppression to which they are doomed, but too long for insertion in this place, is drawn by M. Vanbraam.† Mr Barrow informs us, that among the rich, the women are imprisoned slaves; among the poor, drudges; ‘many being,’ says he, ‘compelled to work, with an infant upon the back, while the husband, in all probability, is gaming.—I have frequently seen women,’ he adds, ‘assisting to drag a sort of light plough, and the harrow.—The easier task, that of directing the machine,

* Inquiry into the Origin of Ranks.

† Voyage en Chine de l'Ambassade Hollandaise, vol. ii. p. 116, et seq.

machine, is left to the husband.' * 'The Chinese value their daughters so little, that, when they have more children than they can easily maintain, they hire the midwives to stifle the females in a basin of water as soon as they are born.' † Nothing can exceed the contempt towards women which the maxims of the most celebrated of their lawgivers express. 'It is very difficult,' said Confucius himself, 'to govern women and servants; for if you treat them with gentleness and familiarity, they lose all respect: if with rigour, you will have continual disturbance.' ‡ Women are debarred almost entirely from the rights of property; and they never inherit. Among the most savage nations, the daughters are sold to their husbands, and are received and treated as slaves. When society has made a little progress, the purchase money is received only as a present; and the wife, nominally at least, is not received as a slave. Among the Chinese, the daughter, with whom no dowry is given, is uniformly exchanged for a present; and so little is the transaction, even as a purchase, disguised, that Mr Barrow has no scruple to say, 'the daughters may be said to be invariably sold.' § He assures us, that it is even a common practice among the Chinese, to sell their daughters that they may be brought up as prostitutes. ¶

It would be easy to extend these remarks; but we resist the temptation: and conclude by recommending the work of M. de Guignes as one of the most valuable which European good sense and intelligence (there really seems to be no other) has produced, upon the state of the Asiatic nations.

ART. X. *Strabonis Rerum Geographicarum Libri xvii. &c. juxta Ed. Amstelodamensem. Codicum MSS. Collationem, Annotationes, Tabulas Geographicas adjecit Thomas Falconer olim e Coll. Aenei Nasi, Oxon. II. vol. large Folio. pp. 1333, besides Prefaces, Indexes, &c. Price 5l. 5s. boards. Oxonii, e Typogr. Clar. 1807.*

NOTHING in Europe is at all comparable, in point of extent and magnificence, to the endowment of the University of Oxford,—or to the veneration which is there paid to the Greek and Latin languages. A competent knowledge of these tongues, is the principal, if not the sole intellectual accomplishment required in individuals to qualify them for enjoying the benefits of the

* Barrow's China, p. 141, 541.

† P. Du Halde, vol. i. p. 278.—Hau-Kiou-Choan, vol. i. p. 70.

‡ *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 211. § Barrow's China, p. 145. ¶ *Ibid.* p. 518.

the very valuable and extensive ecclesiastical patronage possessed by the different Colleges; and a critically accurate knowledge of them is justly esteemed the most safe and effectual means of forming the taste, moulding the judgment, and directing the imaginations of those, whose stations or talents befit them for more active scenes of life, and open to their dawning ambition the more brilliant prospects of political advancement.

In every free state, eloquence is the principal medium of government, and the most direct and honourable road to rank, power and reputation; and even to those, who do not wish to take an active part in the politics or jurisprudence of the times, a prompt, fluent, correct, unembarrassed, and unaffected use of speech, is the most pleasing and ornamental of all accomplishments; and has ever been esteemed, from the days of Homer to the present, the most infallible criterion that can distinguish a gentleman. In languages so irregularly constructed as our own, this can only be acquired, perhaps, by accustoming our thoughts to flow through purer channels; in which every distinct operation of mind, or mode of thinking, has its distinct vehicle of expression; and every deviation from just order in our thoughts, an immediate and obvious corrective in a correspondent deviation from the established mode of speech.

It is not, therefore, without reason, that this learned University makes the study of the Greek and Latin languages, especially of the former, its first object in the education of those committed to its care; and we have often contemplated, with sentiments of patriotic pride and exultation, the spacious and comfortable abodes, and ample revenues provided for the instructors; which exempt them from all worldly cares, but those of learning and teaching; and, at the same time, protect them from those dangerous lures of pleasure and dissipation, which so often distract and unnerve the mind of the scholar amidst the busy bustling throng of a great and luxurious metropolis. To the Fellow of a College, the public library is the theatre of recreation, and the private study the office of business; from the fatigues of which, the morning's ride, and the evening's lounge, present constant, regular, and tranquil means of relaxation.

A printing press richly endowed, and employed under the direction of such a Body, to multiply improved editions of the best books in those languages which they particularly study, must naturally raise the highest expectations in the mind of every scholar; and excite the most confident hopes, that every new impression of a classic volume from the Clarendon press, would exhibit it with every remaining obscurity or ambiguity explained; and the stains and corruptions, which it had contracted in its passage
through

through ages of darkness and barbarism, obliterated and purged away. From some causes, however, which we shall not presume to investigate, this constant renovation of hope has hitherto been followed by as constant a succession of disappointment: for, though this learned Body have occasionally availed themselves of the sagacity and erudition of Rhunken, Wyttenbach, Heyné, and other *foreign* professors, they have, of late, added nothing of their own, except what they derived from the superior skill of British manufacturers, and the superior wealth of their establishment; namely, whiter paper, blacker ink, and neater types.

Perhaps the unhappy attempt at an improved edition of Apollonius Rhodius, produced the same unpleasant conviction at home that it did abroad; and satisfied the graduates of the University, as well as the ushers and schoolboys of all Europe, that *degrees* neither implied nor conferred science, but that a man might become a *master of arts* without possessing any knowledge or skill whatsoever in that particular art which he professed, and which he was chosen and appointed to practise for the benefit and instruction of the community. Certain it is, that no such attempt has been made since, except in the single and minute, but very successful instance of Aristotle's Poetics; which was produced by an *auxiliary volunteer*, residing in the metropolis, engaged in business, and never secluded from the avocations of society. By not enjoying the leisure, perhaps, he never contracted the indolence or apathy of a monk; but preserved the activity, even by the distraction of his faculties. His name stands in the title-page plain Thomas Tyrwhitt,—without any decorative adjunct or title of degree,—though it would have done honour to the proudest which the most exalted seat of learning could bestow.

Of the Homer, published under the patronage, and partly, we believe, at the expense of a noble and illustrious family, the editors appear to be at least half a century behind the rest of the world in critical knowledge; they having religiously retained all the errors of Clarke's edition, even those introduced on the authority of mere conjecture, and in instances where the true reading had been twice before published on the authority of the Venetian manuscript. One of these so appalled us in the twentieth line of the first Iliad, as to deter us from all further critical examination: for, when a gross violation of idiom in the use of the moods and voices, introduced arbitrarily to supply a defect in the metre, neither excited suspicion nor suggested inquiry, no one who values his time can think it worth while to go farther. The business of criticism is to detect and exterminate living and triumphant errors,—not to hunt in cemeteries for the dead,—nor gird on its arms to slay the slain, though embalmed and canonized in the sanctuary of science.

From

From this sanctuary, however, we confidently expected an ample compensation for all our disappointments in the long promised edition of Strabo. No author so much required the confederate labours of a learned body; and none displayed so wide a field for the useful exertion of various talent and multifarious erudition. The text is mutilated and corrupt in an uncommon degree; and, to restore it, requires the labours of the geographer, historian, antiquary, philosopher, and astronomer, joined to those of the grammarian and verbal critic. We therefore learned, with much satisfaction, that no pains nor expense had been spared in obtaining collations of manuscripts from the libraries on the Continent, as well as from those at home; but that the materials would be worthy of the artists, and the solidity of the subscriptions correspond with the weight and extent of the edifice. No felicity of conjecture can be so satisfactory as the stamp of authority; and it is only in taking advantage of authority, and employing that of one passage in supplying and correcting the defects and corruptions of another, that we wish to see the sagacity and ingenuity of the emendatory critic employed in altering the text. The license of conjecture, without some such restraint, is not to be trusted even in the hands of a Bentley,—as the Horace and Milton of that great critic, who was more successful in Greek than in Latin, and in Latin than in English, abundantly prove.

But the timidity or indolence which forbears from changing the manifestly corrupt or defective reading of a printed text, for the manifestly correct or entire one of an ancient manuscript, seems to us still more culpable: for the faulty reading is, at best, but that of another manuscript; and the ordinary reader, or student, has a right to claim, from the superior learning and experience of an editor and professed critic, his judgment of preference, even in the most doubtful cases—and exemption from the trouble and interruption of looking continually to the bottom of the page in those, where there can be no doubt. This claim becomes stronger when the office of editor is undertaken by a learned Body, whose business is public instruction, or is delegated by them to such of their members as are deemed most competent to express the judgment, and exercise the authority of the whole. The modesty of not deciding, too, is in all cases but a suspicious virtue; as it may be merely a pretext for the indolence of not forming, or the timidity of not hazarding, an opinion. To accumulate various readings in the margin, is unquestionably a very useful labour; but it is mere labour,—such as any mechanic librarian or transcriber is ready to do for pay. It is in selection that the learning and judgment of the critic are shown; and from such a synod of critics, the republic of letters have a right to expect a *work*—not merely the

the raw materials for one;—a legible text, wherever it could be obtained from the various readings, and not an indigested aggregate of variations,—out of which every reader is left to pick out a text for himself, according to the measure of his own learning, judgment, and sagacity.

An account of the different manuscripts collated, chiefly in extracts of correspondence, partly Latin and partly French, is given in the preface; and also a sketch of the general design of the undertaking; which, with the addition of maps, notes that might have been spared, and the above-mentioned readings, is merely to repeat the text and notes of the Amsterdam edition of 1707, with such corrections as former editions might supply. This statement is introduced in the following sentence, addressed to the reader;—which we transcribe as a specimen of composition, such as those of *our* readers, who are not employed in the education of very young children, have seldom the misfortune to meet with.

‘Cæterum agam uti potero, et, si nihil aliud afferam, saltem ea recensebo, quæ rationem operis te edoceant, quibus subsidiis instructa est hæc Strabonis editio, vel quæ aliqua ex parte incrementa eam sumpsisse contigerit.’

If this be the kind of Latin now taught and written in the University of Oxford, we have only to observe, that it is an original indigenous speech of their own; and that, to give it any semblance of Roman Latin, we must either change the indicative *est* to the subjunctive *sit*, or write *subsidia quibus* for *quibus subsidiis*, in the first place; and a dative for an accusative—*ei* for *eam*—in the second; since the impersonal *contingit* necessarily requires a dative, either written or understood. The proper and discriminate use, indeed, of the indicative and subjunctive moods, is in many cases a point of such extreme nicety, as may excuse error; but such a phrase as *edoceant quibus instructa est*,

‘Non homines, non dii, non concessere columnæ;’
at least in places where ignorance is not privileged by titular degrees of science. At the same time, we do not mean to assert or insinuate that, amidst the corruptions with which most antient authors abound, authorities may not be found for such expressions, in verbs whose indicative and subjunctive forms are only discriminated by a single and easily commutable letter; but we confidently maintain that, wherever they occur, they will be found, on due investigation, to be corruptions; of which there are no instances in forms so dissimilar as *est* and *sit*, *erat* and *esset*, &c.

In the third Eclogue of Virgil, for example, v. 106, many manuscripts and editions have

‘ Dic quibus in terris inscripti nomina regum
Nascuntur flores,’—

but all the best have *nascuntur*; which, *pateat* in the preceding line, preserved by the metre, would prove to be right, if any proof were wanting. Nor let the student be misled by such sentences as that of another line, 103, of the same Eclogue.

‘ Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos : ’

for here is an ellipsis both of the subjunctive and of the pronoun that governs the succeeding verb—*nescio quis (sit) oculus (qui) mihi fascinat agnos*. So ‘ Nescio quid majus nascitur Iliade ; ’ that is, *Nescio quid (sit quod) nascitur majus Iliade*. Equally elliptical are the expressions ‘ dico quod sentio,’ that is, *id quod sentio* ; and, in our own language, ‘ I know, say, or do, *what* is right ; ’ viz. *that which is right*. A similar ellipsis is also common in the use of the Greek pronouns.

In the familiar phrases *nescio quare*—*quomodo*—or *quo casu*, the prior verb is parenthetical ; as, *fuit aperte mihi, nescio quare, non amicus*.—*Nescio quomodo, ipsæ illæ litteræ excludere me a portu et perfugio videntur*.—*Iacus, nescio quo casu, nocturno tempore incensus est*. These instances, therefore, afford no authority for such an expression as *edoceant quibus instructa est* ; nor do we believe that such a sentence as ‘ *cur omisit Strabo expeditionem maritimam regnante Necho factam, nescio,* ’ (Note, p. 48.), will be found in any correct antient Latin. A Roman, we are confident, would have written *omiserit*.

The very serious concern which we feel at seeing the literary reputation of the country tarnished and degraded in the estimation of Europe, by such expressions as the above, issuing, in barbarous abundance, from the fountain head of learning, taste and science among us, must be our apology for entering into so minute a grammatical discussion. Our purpose is to admonish, rather than to expose ; and we trust that more care will be taken in future ; so that the honour of the University, which must depend on its publications, be committed to none but men of real talents and sound erudition.

It remains for us to show, as briefly as we can, how far the very humble professions, which introduce this splendid, ponderous, and long-expected edition of the Geographer to the public, have at length been fulfilled.

The *critical* notes of the editor are few and unimportant ; but there are some of Toup, of a M. le Febvre Villebrune of Paris, of Mr John Reinhold Forster, and several (would there were more !) of the late Mr Tyrwhitt. These last, indeed, with the various readings collected from manuscripts, which are numerous and important, constitute the chief value of this edition ;
which,

which, though not good in itself, contains materials for a good one.

In considering Mr Tyrwhitt's emendations, we scarcely know which to admire most,—the learning, judgment, and sagacity of his conjectures, or the taste, modesty, and simplicity, with which they are proposed. He displays the depth and ingenuity of Bentley, without any of his arrogance or audacity. In several instances, as in p. 253:19, 291:10, 430:33, 558:29, 1021:2; 1150:6, they have been confirmed by manuscripts collected since his death; and we doubt not of their being so in others, should other antient copies be discovered. By the neat and simple alteration of ΣΚΟΛΙΑ to ΣΚΟΠΑ, p. 917:8, the truth and propriety of which will be self-evident to every scholar, he has clearly exposed the rashness and presumption of Winkelman; who, not having learning enough to discover the no-meaning of a passage, was never at a loss in explaining it; the difficulty of making sense of some sort, being often much less than that of discovering the want of it; so that the last thing which the scholar has to learn is, to learn to doubt. See *Hist. Art.* l. i. c. i. §. 10.

Almost the whole of the editor's own notes are *historical* and *geographical* commentaries; which may be of use to the reader in saving him the trouble of reference,—provided he can understand the new dialect of Latin in which they are written, in which, for distinction's sake, we will venture to call *Oxonian*. But this, we confess, hath often puzzled us much; and we apprehend, will puzzle still more those who do not understand the parent language,—which is no other than the vulgar English of the present day. That we may, however, give them the benefit of such discoveries as we have been able to make in the peculiarities of its idiom and structure, we shall here enumerate a few of the principal points in which it seems most to differ from the old Roman Latin.

In this *Roman* Latin, the relative conjunction *quod* usually governs an indicative, when it answers to the English conjunction *BECAUSE*, unless the sentence be potential or oblique; and a subjunctive, when it stands for *UT*, and answers to the English *BUT*. But in *Oxonian* Latin, this is completely reversed; and we have repeatedly such sentences as ‘*quod vires sint exiguæ, sæpe insidii circumvenire hostem tentant*,’ p. 210.; and ‘*suspicio quod Strabo Byzantii latitudinem a Massiliensi sumpsit*,’ 172.; also, ‘*hæc relata digna censui, quod Strabo non satis clarè de hoc bello scripserit*,’ p. 1088; and *scribit quod cloacæ—subiere tecta*,’ p. 336.

In *Roman* Latin, *UT*, used in the same manner as a conjunction of subordinacy, has always a subjunctive; but in this improved *Oxonian* Latin, it has often an indicative, as ‘*tantus fuit agriculturæ*

agriculturæ progressus, *ut* imperator Julianus, abhinc vix 74 annis, vites optimas et ficus in Gallia *describit*; et aëris temperiem in hyeme Parisiis esse placidissimam affirmat,' p. 243.; and 'rectius, ut opinor *Χαλιου*, deleri debet, *ut* vera distantia ab Alexandria ad Prophthasiam *statuitur*,' p. 748. Lest, however, this poor conjunction *ut* should not well accord with its natural mood, after being used to such different company, we find it omitted where a Roman would have thought it necessary; as in 'paullo infra Caunum ex Idubeda emissus Orospea mollibus initio jugis vix assurgere videatur,' p. 220.; that is, in old Latin, *ut* vix assurgere videatur.

We should charitably attribute much of this kind to error of the press, were it not systematic, and had not the compositors and correctors done their duty fully in every other part of the work.

Of the Oxonian use of the indicative with the relative pronoun subordinate to another verb, we have already treated in our observations on the Preface. But the instances of this new figure of speech are so numerous in the Notes, that we cannot refrain from citing a few specimens of them, for the benefit of those who may not be able to procure so costly a book. 'Deinde refert quæ *sunt* urbes non decumanæ.' p. 395. 'Cum sentirent quantum optimates a divitiis apud plebem potuerunt.' p. 346. 'Quo potissimum tempore suscepta est ea expeditio parum constat.' p. 728. 'Observandum est, quo violentior est solis ardor, eo citius fieri pluvias.' p. 985. We presume that *citius* here stands for *crebrius*; for though '*it rains faster*,' be a common vulgarism in English, we do not believe that it had even that humble station in any idiom of the Latin, that existed prior to the Oxonian.

The tenses, in this Anglo-Latin dialect, are as licentiously and incongruously used as the moods: whence we have, 'Quorum maxime interfuit ut Ætolorum potentia ne nimis crescat.' p. 674. 'Neque hoc memoriz lapsu Strabo scripsit; sed cum de Cyri rebus gestis vix aliquid certe constat, eam famam sequitur,' &c. p. 745. 'Siquis autem Jaxartem esse Araxum Herodoti supponeret, hoc aliquid verisimilitudinis habet.' p. 746. 'Pontifices Judæi non restituerunt donec a Babylone redierint, Persis tunc tempore imperantibus.' p. 1083. 'Hic Cæsar Octavianus studiis vacavit, cum avunculus Julius Romæ occisus fuit.' p. 458. In these sentences, a Roman, could he otherwise have been barbarian enough to have composed such, would have written, *cresceret—constaret—sequebatur—supposuerit—haberet—rediissent—vacabat—occisus est*.

But a strictly accurate use of the moods and tenses, it may be said,

said, is a nice point, in which scarcely any modern Latin is quite consistent. Granted, generally; though not in the instances here cited. Yet surely the same privilege will not be claimed for the cases of nouns; nor a nominative be allowed to stand *subject* to a verb active,—at least any where but at Oxford. There, however, we have the following passage from the University press, and the pen of a distinguished graduate, selected from the whole Body, at an advanced period of life, to conduct the greatest work that it had undertaken for more than a century preceding; ‘Strabo duodecim civitates in Etruria principes antea dixit; sed harum tantum octo memoravit, scilicet, *Tarquintii, Cara, Volaterra, Arretium, Parusia, Volsinii, Falerii, Clusium!!!* p. 22.

In the Homeric Greek, there is a figure of speech somewhat like this in—

Θημὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίπυσσας ὑπερμανίας Κρονίωνα

* * * * *

Ἀστράπτων ἐπιδίξια.

Il. B. 350—4.

And,

Τοῦ δὲ καλλίστους ἵππους ἰδοὶ ἡδὲ μεγαίστους,

Λευκοστέροι χροῖας, θύειν δ' ἀνέμοισιν ὅμοιοι.

Il. K. 436, 7.

—which grammarians, not knowing what to make of, have chosen to call an enallagè, whereas it is more properly an ellipsis, in which *εἶσι* *ἢ* and *οἱ* *εἰσι* are understood. But, whatever be its proper title or description, it was unknown to every period of Latinity—prior to the appearance of the Oxonian, which it has thus so happily enriched.

Upon the same principle, the baldness and poverty of the ancient Roman tongue have been embellished in this new modification of it with the exquisite and recondite phrases of stretching out a sentence or opinion geographically by the mile, from one gate of a great city to another,—‘Donati tamen *sententiam* intelligo esse a porta Esquilina versus Labicanam,’ p. 334,—and exhibiting Faith or Belief in a tangible or visible form, ascertained by cubical or superficial measure—‘*major auctori nostro ac Justino adhibenda fides est.*’ p. 1056,—which this learned Body is so generous as to give gratuitously (for they cannot mean it in the Roman sense, of either rendering credible or pledging) to an old Jewish historian, who has been dead seventeen centuries—‘*Josephi fidem*’ *damus*’—and make a faithless usurper give to history, what he never had to give to any one—‘*Augustus fidem historix dedit,*’ p. 1085. The English phrase, indeed, of ‘giving credit to,’ may suggest another meaning, and make us Britons suspect, that, in this new dialect, ‘*fidem dare*’ signifies what ‘*fidem habere*’ did in the old: but no such suspicion will arise on the Continent, where no such indigenous expression exists.

Notwithstanding, however, the lights thus derived from our native tongue, there are some of these Oxonianisms so profound or so refined, that our northern understandings, condensed as they are with mathematics and metaphysics, can scarcely comprehend them at all. For instance, ‘*Romanis enim Græcisque æque ignorantibus qui deus fuit Menes; necesse dicat Strabo esse eundem cum Luna, quam sub forma feminea coluerunt,*’ p. 804. Is it possible that by this can be meant, ‘*Romanis enim Græcisque juxta ignorantibus quisnam deorum esset iste Menes, pro alio quam Luna, sub dææ persona ab iis culta, Straboni vix haberi potuerit?*’ Is it possible, too, that even the pressmen at Oxford should be ignorant that there was at Rome a *deus Lunus*, as well as a *dea Luna*? Or can ‘*Tigranes post reges subditos rex regum appellatur,*’ p. 772, mean ‘*Tigranes, postquam reges supradictos imperio subjecerat, rex regum appellatus est?*’ We suppose that it must have been so intended; though *rex subditus*, in Terentian or Ciceronian language, would mean a *counterfeit* or *supposititious*, rather than a *vanquished king*.

Equally perplexing would be the following, did not the commentary receive some elucidation from the text. ‘*Plataenses noster autor affirmat esse olim prope paludem silos; remotis tamen incolis ad meliorem locum a palude distantem, urbs nova nomen priscum servavit, quod nomen non eorum situi ab aquis remotis propriè competeret.*’ To which the writer adds, with self-complacent confidence, ‘*nihil absurdi in his, ut mihi videtur, apparet,*’ p. 590. Very differently, however, does it appear to us; and to make it appear in any degree otherwise, we must write ‘*Plataenses ad paludem olim habitasse, noster affirmat: in locum autem meliorem translatos novæ urbi nomen priscum continuasse, situi licet, ab aquis remoto, haud diutius competisset.*’ It is to be observed, that, in Strabo’s time, the city in question had long ceased to exist.

In the same dialect is the following: ‘*Nonne vult Pausanias Melanthum esse primum Nelei posterorum, qui in Attica sedem habuit, et idcirco Melanthus Andropompi filius Xanthum occidit?*’ p. 570. And to make it intelligible beyond the precincts of the learned University, we must translate it out of Oxonian into Roman Latin; which may perhaps be done thus. ‘*Nonne vult Pausanias Melanthum Andropompi filium e Nelei progenie primum fuisse, qui in Attica sedem habuisset; atque ideo eundem qui Xanthum occidisset?*’

We have often indulged ourselves in the wish, that the Latin might again become the diplomatic language of civilized man, instead of the French; the universality of which has so much contributed to the subjugation of Europe, and must contribute to re-
tain

tain it in subjection. The principal obstacles that have presented themselves, have been the difficulty of it, and the hardship of making courtly statesmen change the phraseology of the drawing-room for that of the college. This objection, however, will be entirely removed by the introduction of this new dialect; which is so entirely emancipated from those grammatical restraints, in which pedants had shackled the old, that not only orators and statesmen of the newest fashion and slenderest capacity, but even princes, courtiers, and maids of honour may acquire a competent use of it, without appropriating any more of their time to study, than those intervals between sleep and dissipation, which they now employ in dozing over an English pamphlet or a French novel.

It may, indeed, happen that easy writing may be hard reading, as we have here experienced; but then we may claim the parental privilege, which the French turned to so much advantage in the armistice of Marengo, of interpreting it ourselves; which will afford ample compensation for every inconvenience. There is one peculiarity of idiom, too, which may recommend it to the protection of him qui cogere possit. It is, that 'to confine' or 'imprison,' and 'to preserve,' are signified by the same word—'*obsides sub Bostare servatos*,' p. 216.; that is, 'custoditos;' so that, in this courtly style, all the persons, whom he keeps immured, are only *preserved* secure from accidents. Many antient tyrants, whose dungeons were always well stored with state-prisoners waiting the leisure of the executioner, had statues erected to them by the flattery of those who feared the same fate, with '*obcives servatos*' inscribed on the base; neither party probably suspecting how true the words might prove in the Latin of a distant period.

To the end of the work are subjoined some ingenious disquisitions on the geography of antient Egypt, in the form of notes on the two last books, by John Reinhold Forster,—written with ease and fluency, and without any very glaring or prominent faults. The Latin is, indeed, of the German school, which is not perfectly Roman; but still in no case so remote from it, as the Oxonian is in all.

As the text pretends to be no more than a faithful transcript of the edition of 1707, with here and there a reading recalled from those that preceded it, all new materials for criticism are withheld. These recalled readings, however, we have not very often observed; and in p. 182, l. 9, that of the Amsterdam folio is retained in the text, though the editor, in a note, prefers that of the earlier editions. We have not, indeed, thought it a part of our duty to collate 1305 folio pages, in which nothing new was promised; having found the labour of wading through every muddy pud-

dle in the margin, and analyzing its contents, sufficiently irksome, and such as no animal but a reviewer will probably undergo. We have nevertheless perused the whole attentively, and can again assert, that the printers have done their duty in rendering very accurately that which was put before them. The accuracy is, however, that of the Chinese taylor, who, in making a new coat from an old one, copied all the darns, patches and blemishes, which he found in the pattern. In the same manner here, every error of the press, and usual inaccuracy of spelling, that had crept into the Amsterdam text, is religiously retained; and the same names written promiscuously Πισσαντις, Πισσαντις, and rightly Πισαντις—Ηλιακον and Ηλιακον even in the same page, 511—Αυχαιας and Αυχαιας—Ποσειδιον and Ποσειδιον, &c. &c.

The text, which has been so servilely copied, is merely a repetition of Casaubon's; who does not appear to have superintended the printing, or to have corrected it at all himself; whence errors have accumulated on errors; which are all carefully embalmed and preserved in the splendid edition before us, though rectified in a reading of a manuscript at the bottom of the page. Thus we have Αθηναις for Αθηναι, p. 502: 18. Ευβοικα for Ευβοικα, p. 508: 28. υπαρχειν and υπαρειν for υπαρχειν and υπαρειν, p. 512: 13, and 531: 5. την for τον, p. 536: 21. οικιαν for οικιαν, p. 552: 23. στρατιαις for στρατια, p. 561: 20. Ερστρια for Ερστρια, p. 585: 9 & 13. ελληνοπολιται for ελληνοπολιται, p. 648: 12, &c. &c. all accurately copied, as others of the same kind are in almost every page.

Neither the editions of Casaubon nor of 1707 are scarce; and why the readings of the manuscripts and the emendations of Mr Tyrwhitt, which are alone of any value, might not have been published in one small supplementary volume, we are at a loss to conjecture. This might have been afforded for five shillings; and, precious as are the ingredients, two thousand per cent. of alloy is rather too large a proportion for them to bear.

The seventeen maps, with which the seventeen books are illustrated and adorned, are said, in the preface, to have been formed on the best authorities, and carefully adapted to the geography of Strabo. We have examined only that of the central states of Greece; and in that we find neither Erythræ in Bœotia, nor Ægæ, Histiaæ, or Orabiæ in Eubœa,—though they are all described as cities of importance in the text of the author,—are duly placed in the map of M. D'Anville,—and the three first, moreover, distinguished as independent states by their coins still extant.

It has been before observed, that the editor's notes are almost all historical and geographical; and in these sciences he displays the same sort of accuracy as in grammar, of which we have quoted so many edifying specimens. Thus Philip the son of Demetrius and
father

father of Perseus, is called repeatedly *Philip the Second*, though he was the *fourth* regularly acknowledged King of Macedonia of that name,—and the *fifth*, if the son of Cassander be admitted into the catalogue. The founder of the empire was Philip the second.*

In taking leave of this ponderous monument of operose ignorance and vain expense, we again declare that the purpose of our animadversions has been to admonish and amend, not to insult and expose. Though we have not assumed a tragical tone, the concern that we feel at seeing such a pile of rubbish heaped up with so much labour, and under the sanction of such authority, has been serious indeed. In some of the passages which we have cited and endeavoured to amend, we found it impossible to produce sense, and could therefore only attempt to make nonsense grammatical. Many of the errors of the press, that have been so scrupulously copied from the former editions, utterly change the meaning of the words; as *στρατια* for *πρωτια*, *αμμα* for *αμμα*, &c. &c.; by which the young student may not only be perplexed, but misled. That there are men of learning in the University of Oxford competent to a great undertaking of this kind, we can scarcely allow ourselves to doubt; and happy should we be to rouse their industry and stimulate their ambition, so as to make them shake off the benumbing influence of port and prejudice,—do themselves and their country honour, and the republic of letters essential service. Nor let them sacrifice to the frivolous taste of book-collectors; who value an edition according to the size of the margin, the texture of the paper, and the tint of the ink. These are decorations, which works of established reputation may very properly receive from the royal presses of the Louvre and Escorial: but let those of British universities be employed for students and scholars—to instruct the industrious, not to amuse the idle.

There is now a work much wanted, to which none but such a Body are competent,—both the labour and expense of it being beyond the reach of an individual. It is an enlarged and improved edition of Stephen's Greek Thesaurus, upon the plan that Gesner has followed in the Latin Thesaurus. Defective as this Greek lexicon is, it is the only one, from which the student can obtain any general information; and it is now become so scarce and expensive, that very few of those, who want it for use, and not for show, have the means of procuring it. Should the University of Oxford attempt to retrieve its credit by such an undertaking, we hope that due consideration will be had of this; and that to gratify the necessities of the studious, and not the vanities of the ostentatious, will be the primary and principal object.

ART. XI. *The Orders in Council and the American Embargo beneficial to the Political and Commercial Interests of Great Britain.* By Lord Sheffield. pp. 51. London. G. & W. Nicol. 1809.

The Speech of James Stephen, Esq. in the Debate in the House of Commons, March 6th, 1809, on Mr Whitbread's Motion relative to the late Overtures of the American Government; with Supplementary Remarks on the recent Orders in Council. pp. 130. London. Hatchard. 1809.

State of the Foreign Affairs of Great Britain, for the Year 1809. By Gould Francis Leckie, Esq. pp. 36. London. Chapple. 1809.

THE critical state of our foreign affairs, and the gross delusions which prevail respecting it, call loudly upon all good citizens to contribute their assistance towards the introduction of more sound and enlightened principles of policy, while it is yet possible to save the country by any change of measures. However much the people may have been misled upon these subjects, we are convinced that they entertain far less extravagant views than the Government; and that the contempt in which they hold the late measures of their rulers, gives us some security for the favourable reception of more just and rational opinions. A general expression of the public sentiments may even yet reclaim the Government from the course in which they have so long persisted; and the very weakness which has, especially of late, rendered our administration the object of contempt at home, and distrust among foreigners, may have the desirable effect of giving scope to the good sense of the country. In truth, the subject of our connexions with foreign states, from some imaginary difficulties supposed to attend the discussion of it, occupies far too little of popular attention. Ordinary readers, who will cheerfully go through the details of a budget containing some half-dozen of new taxes, are afraid to grapple with topics relating to distant countries, and the operations of war,—at the same time that the paramount importance of the latter is so universally felt, that every man considers the value of his property as affected by each skirmish on the Ebro and the Danube; and while the tidings of events in those remote quarters are sought after with almost as much avidity as if they were passing in the neighbouring counties of this island, the bulk of the people either judge of them blindly by their wishes, or are satisfied to rest upon the authority

thority of others—just as if there were some mystery in the subject, and as if it were one which common sense and ordinary information are wholly incapable of mastering. For our parts, we are satisfied, that, until the understandings of the people of this country are steadily and habitually directed to the dealings of their rulers with foreign states—until the nation is in the practice of exercising its judgment upon these matters, and of raising its voice against their gross mismanagement—until, in short, Englishmen learn to form opinions, and to express them, upon measures which, though not immediately acting upon their individual concerns, are nevertheless inseparably connected with them,—it is in vain to expect from the Government that steady and enlightened pursuit of the national good which can only be secured by the constant vigilance of a jealous and intelligent public. In order to contribute our humble assistance to the promotion of discussions so essentially necessary on every account at the present moment, we have brought together, as the foundation of a single article, the tracts mentioned in the title. They may seem to fall under different classes; but it will speedily be perceived, that the subjects are not to be separated without inconvenience. We shall first of all endeavour to make our readers acquainted with the merits of these publications.

Lord Sheffield has frequently come before the public as an author of pamphlets on commercial subjects; and, in so far as his works are remembered, he is universally allowed to hold the first place among political writers distinguished for the narrowness of their views, and their want of general information. While the science of which he professes to treat has been making great and continual progress,—while persons of all parties in practical politics have vied with each other in doing homage to the liberal philosophy of the new school, while even those who were bred under different systems have shown sense and manliness enough to adopt the modern improvements, and, some of them * in their old age have been found to desert the erroneous doctrines of their former years—Lord Sheffield alone remains exactly where he was before—alone rejects all improvement—nay, appears as if quite unconscious of what has been doing on every side of him—stands stock still in the midst of a rapidly advancing age—and is seen poring over his little custom-house note books, stone blind to the lights which are breaking in upon him from all quarters. Nor is it by this ridiculous posture only that he has attracted notice:—his little motions are always observed to point one way; he bends to

F f 4

existing

* The late Lord Liverpool is an honourable instance. See our review of his valuable work on the Coinage of the Realm.

existing ministries, and present measures;—his face is turned toward the King's gate;—his small outcry is always heard in behalf 'of *whatever* is.' It is true, his workmanship is so heavy and so clumsy, that he can render but little service to his patrons; and, were he an untitled candidate for readers, these patrons would very certainly cease to employ him. But they have made a Lord of him; and it looks well to see such a one bepraising their measures far more extravagantly than any of their daily papers. We presume, too, that Mr Canning may feel it gratifying, that a Lord should be found to prefix his name to a work in which Lord Grenville's strictures on his diplomatic correspondence are actually ascribed, without any hesitation, to envy of his (*Mr Canning's!*) 'superior talents, energy and judgment;' and of the 'greater success of his (*Mr Canning's!*) measures.'

The object of the pamphlet now before us (which considerably surpasses any former display of those qualities generally recognized in Lord Sheffield), is to show, not merely that the measures of our own Government, and the American embargo, have done no harm to our trade, but that they have actually proved beneficial. To give any abstract of the argument by which this strange position is supported, would be impossible; for the desultory chat (reasoning we cannot call it), and unconnected estimates of this writer, are incapable of abridgment. We shall, however, give a few specimens of his attempts to bring good out of evil; from which our readers will perceive, that if any ministry were suddenly to prohibit all foreign commerce, or, by an order in council, to prevent the land from being tilled, they might still hope for an advocate, who should discover that these measures were beneficial to the country.

The embargo, Lord Sheffield contends, has destroyed the American carrying trade. Previous to this happy event, the supply of British commodities to foreign countries was daily getting more and more into the hands of the Americans. Our own tonnage was constantly decreasing, and theirs was augmenting in the same proportion. But they are kind enough, all at once, to destroy their trade by the embargo;—they can no longer supply foreign countries with British goods;—this lucrative trade must therefore return to ourselves. Had he only explained in what manner the suspension of trade between America and France opened the French ports permanently, or even for a day, to us, we should have derived much comfort from this ingenious person's discovery. Nor is this all. The trade between England and foreign countries, it seems, is so beneficial, that the embargo is to be thankfully received as tending to give us an additional share of it. But, some how or another, this embargo cuts us off from trade with at least

one foreign country, viz. America itself; and this country happens to be *the only one* with which we had any trade remaining. Lord Sheffield, however, is not dismayed by any such trifle. He boldly affirms, that this is no loss. And here we must quote his own words, lest we should be accused of misrepresentation. In truth, it might well be doubted that such a passage as the following could be found in any publication.

‘Of this we may be assured, that they (the Americans) never have, and never will, take from us any article which they can procure cheaper or better from other countries. They find it highly advantageous to take our manufactures and produce, to enable them to carry on their commerce with other nations; especially on account of the long credit which they obtain here, and which no other country can afford. They have the advantage of drawing immediately for the produce received from them, though they require and are allowed from twelve to eighteen months credit from us. Indeed, so pertinaciously are the magnified advantages of the American trade insisted upon, with the view of intimidating us into measures highly injurious to British interests, that they require even further contradiction. It has the characteristics of the worst trade. The apparent balance in our favour becomes nearly a nonentity. A trade with every country is certainly desirable; inasmuch as an extensively general commerce with the world secures us from a state of dependence on any one individual nation. But what advantages do we derive from an exportation, if we are not paid for it? Which, most assuredly, is much more frequently the case, in the course of our trade with the citizens of the American States, than with any other country. Immense sums have been continually lost to our merchants and manufacturers, by the insolvency of their American customers; and the payment of any part of their accounts is always very slow and uncertain.’ (p. 13.)—and so forth.

Again, the stoppage of the cotton trade is beneficial. ‘Their cotton was in such abundance, that it had become a drug. We had glutted the market with yarn and goods. There was no telling where the evil might stop, when the embargo came and acted, says Lord Sheffield, ‘the part of a salutary medicine upon a previously diseased body.’ Previous to that happy event, the states of the Continent were supplied with cotton-wool from America. They might have learnt to manufacture it without our assistance; but the embargo, and ‘our very politic prohibition of the export of the raw material,’ have removed this risk, and restored to us—the supply of the Continent with cotton yarn, and goods! After this we should perhaps stop; but we must mention one other instance of benefit resulting from the embargo, because it is, if possible, still more unexpected. The linen manufacture of Ireland, it seems, flourishes as well as ever it has done; and one proof is given,—a late rise on Irish linens of 40 or 50 *per cent.*

cent. This, to be sure, is in part owing, says Lord Sheffield, to the scarcity of flax-seed arising from the embargo, and in part to the exportation of German linens having been checked; but then, the scarcity of foreign flax-seed, while it raises the linens in the mean time, will ultimately encourage the cultivation of the article at home.

This very profound writer, however, seems conscious that he must not always occupy such high ground. He therefore descends to combat with those who accuse the Orders in Council, and the embargo, of having injured our trade; and proceeds with some warmth, but with his usual success, to repel such insinuations. He accordingly asserts, that other causes than those famous measures produced the defalcation which our trade suffered last year. The only one, however, which he specifies, is the abolition of the slave trade. This event, he says, happening during last year, deprived us of the African market for our merchandize. We must stop to wipe out so foul an aspersión. The defalcation in question was seven millions upon the exports. The African slave trade never employed one million; as Lord Sheffield either knows, or ought to know, before he presumes to touch such a subject. The slave trade was *not* abolished last year, but the year before; as this writer either knows, or ought to know, before he dares to range himself on the side of any question espoused by Mr Stephen. With what indignation must that distinguished person have spurned at such an apology for his favourite measures!—a defence of the Orders in Council at the expense of the abolition!

The estimate of our trade having suffered a defalcation of fourteen millions, in consequence of the Orders in Council and the embargo, is attacked, in different ways, by this noble author. He first tries to beat down the sum by various means; but, failing in this, he has recourse to the following. ‘Nothing,’ says he, ‘can be more absurd, than that of adding import to export, by way of marking our loss of trade; because it is the difference between import and export, and not the aggregate of both, which constitutes the gross amount of the balance of trade, and which furnishes the only basis upon which an estimate of the profit or loss to the country can be founded.’ So that, according to Lord Sheffield, it is better for a country to have a trade of one million of exports, and one hundred thousand pounds of imports, than a trade of one hundred millions of exports, and ninety-nine millions and a half of imports. We presume it is unnecessary for us, after this, to pursue any further the lucubrations of the Lord Sheffield. We cannot, however, refrain from asking him, before we part, never, as we earnestly hope, to meet again, how it happens, that he, who has, during a long life of bad pamphlets, been harping perpetually up-
on

on the wisdom and necessity of the navigation laws, should have suddenly become the most zealous advocate of measures professedly hostile to those laws—measures, the whole effects of which are expressly stated to be an infringement upon the navigation and colonial system? We put it to his discretion, if he will allow no higher appeal, whether any thing that may have passed between himself and the late administration, can justify such a breach of consistency in a prudential view? What though the members of that administration are no longer in power? The time may come when they shall again rule. And if Lord Sheffield could suspend his attack upon them until they were entirely out of place, his ground of quarrel having been laid early in their short reign, he might surely have waited a little longer for the chance of its proving unnecessary. *

Mr Stephen is a champion of a different character. His speech, like all his other publications, is replete with talent and information; and, erroneous as we conceive it to be in its general tendency, it has undoubtedly the merit of much ingenuity and perfect precision. Mr Stephen understands the subject, and the science to which it belongs, too well, to contend, like Lord Sheffield, that the Orders in Council were in themselves of advantage. He contents himself with maintaining, that they had a tendency to relieve us from a greater evil;—that our trade with Europe was gone at any rate, in consequence of the Berlin decree;—and that this act of retaliation might restore, but could not further impair it;—and finally, that the embargo, which closed our trade with America, was not occasioned by these Orders; but, on the contrary, was most likely to be removed by a steady adherence to them. Without entering at large into a discussion which has now lost its chief interest, we must beg leave to make one or two remarks on those several propositions.

In the first place, we conceive it to be no longer a matter of doubt, that the issuing of these Orders, or the apprehension of their issuing, was one of the main causes of the embargo. In point of fact, it is established, that the substance of the Orders

was

* As if to cover over the inconsistency which we have complained of, Lord Sheffield introduces a violent invective against the American Intercourse Act, repeating all the gross misrepresentations of that measure which were first propagated by the shipping interest. Can he be ignorant that the act only made two changes in the monopoly law, of which one was nominal or formal merely, and the other a change in favour of the monopoly? The power of suspending the law formerly exercised by colonial governors, was transferred to the Privy Council; and the barter of sugar and coffee with the Americans, formerly allowed, was, we think very improvidently, prohibited.

was known at Philadelphia on the 10th or 12th of December; and the President's message, suggesting the embargo, was not delivered till the 18th. But the fact is officially confirmed by a letter from Mr Maddison to the American ambassador in this country, in which he expressly says, 'that, among the considerations which enforced the measure of the embargo, was the probability of such decrees as were issued by the British government on the 16th November, 1807;—the language of the British gazettes, with other indications, having left little doubt that such were meditated.' If any thing more were wanting to demonstrate that our Orders were among the main causes of the embargo, it can only be necessary to recollect, that America has made a distinct offer to withdraw the embargo, provided we would recall those Orders.

With regard, again, to the alleged destruction of our foreign trade by the Berlin decree, we have to observe, in the first place, that this decree was issued in November 1806, just twelve months before our Orders in Council; and that, in this intervening year, when the Berlin decree stood *alone*, our foreign trade is admitted to have been *greater than it had ever been at any former period*; while it is equally certain, that, in the year after the date of our Orders, that trade was diminished to the extent of no less than fourteen millions. The fact is, that, after a feeble effort to enforce the decree immediately after it was issued, it became a mere dead letter till the month of September or October 1807, when this effort was repeated, and a few vessels were captured or detained; in consequence of which, we are *now* * satisfied

* When, on a former occasion, (see vol. XII. p. 232, &c.) we denied these facts, and maintained that the Berlin decree had remained quite inefficient up to the date of our Orders, we proceeded altogether on the evidence brought by the petitioners against these Orders, and were not aware of the tenor, or even of the existence of the counter evidence produced by the ministry in their support. Mr Stephens, we are confident, will believe us upon our solemn avowment; but, for the satisfaction of more ignoble partisans, we beg leave to observe, that while the evidence upon which we proceeded had been made *publici juris*, by being printed in a vendible pamphlet, the counter evidence was in the possession of members of the legislature only; and we rather think had not found its way to Edinburgh, in a single instance, if indeed it had even been printed at the time [April 1808] when the article now referred to was written. That the writer of that article was altogether ignorant of its import, and uncertain even as to its existence, is manifest from the language he uses in p. 233, where he says, that though he understands that Mr Perceval has *announced his intention to bring other evidence*, he cannot help relying entirely

fied that a considerable alarm was excited; the premium of insurance was raised; and some suspension of trade took place. The effect, however, had been precisely the same when the decree was originally issued in November 1806; but, after a momentary panic and alarm, the edict was disregarded both by us and by America; and the trade went on as if it had never been enacted. If it ever can be safe to reason from the past to the future, it was natural to have anticipated the same consequences in October 1807. Without waiting for this, however, and without allowing a moment's time to see how the late proceedings were received in America, our government issued the Orders in Council, which necessarily gave permanency and real effect to the decrees of the enemy, and increased and ensured all the evils by which they are said to have been suggested.

But, even supposing that our foreign trade had been, in a great measure, destroyed by the Berlin decree, how, we would ask Mr Stephen, was it to be restored by our Orders in Council? This, it may be remarked, is a question which is cautiously avoided by the learned gentleman through the whole course of his statement; and indeed the answer to it is decisive of the case before us. Our Orders could only prove beneficial to our trade, by producing an effect which, it must now be admitted, they *failed* completely to produce; and which we humbly conceive every man of common sense might have been aware that they had no chance of producing. They could only promote our trade by annoying and impoverishing the enemy, so far as to make him rescind *his* decrees, and restore neutral commerce to its original freedom. Now, it is certain that they did not produce this effect; and indeed it has always been inconceivable to us, that any person of a sane mind should have thought it possible that they should.

If this effect were not produced, the Orders could evidently do nothing to restore the trade which the Berlin decree had taken away; and the probability, or, we may say, the certainty, was, that they would take away a part of what that decree had left. The most favourable of all suppositions is, that America had acquiesced in these Orders, and agreed to conform herself to them at all points. If she had done so, however, it was evidently ten to one at least, that France would have gone to war with her; and there was an end, of course, to all the neutral trade of the world, and to our share in it. But even if France had still recognised her
neutrality,

tirely upon that now before him. This much it seems necessary to have said in explanation of our mistake, in point of fact. It must be evident, from what is stated in the text, that it has scarcely any effect upon the true and substantial argument of the case.

neutrality, there was an end, at any rate, of her trade to the Continent of Europe; and as it is admitted that at least two thirds of the goods she takes from us during the war are destined for the Continent, there was an end, at the same time, of two thirds of our trade with her, or, in other words, of two thirds of our whole foreign trade. Mr Stephen does not speak to this point either; which we humbly conceive to be conclusive against the policy of the Orders, even on the most favourable supposition as to their reception among the neutrals.

But the fact was, that they were not so received nor submitted to—and we must say, that it was utterly extravagant and absurd to imagine that they ever would be so submitted to. Instead of trading with us under these Orders, America lays on an embargo, and passes a nonintercourse law, which are enforced with a rigour hitherto unprecedented in the history of such regulations. The consequence is, that the year after these salutary and restorative orders are issued, our commerce suffers a diminution to the extent of at least fourteen millions Sterling; and that, although their natural operation was counteracted in that year, by a great variety of accidental circumstances which could not be reckoned on when the rash experiment was begun. We allude to the opening of Spain and Portugal, and our military expeditions in these countries,—the struggle made by Sweden, and the increased communication with Brasil and Spanish America,—not to mention the fact, that the year which gives this amount of loss, comprehends the period when shipments were made on both sides, before the operation of the embargo, and when hazards were run by neutral adventurers, upon the presumption that neither of the regulations would be enforced, as they actually were. Had it not been for these circumstances, our loss of trade in consequence of the Orders, would probably have been more than double of what it actually was;—and this boasted cure for our commercial embarrassments, would, in all probability, have reduced our whole foreign trade to a little wretched smuggling in Europe and America.

Such, it appears, too, was the slow and reluctant conviction of the very persons who projected this most perilous experiment. They saw that to persist in it was ruin; and accordingly, on the 26th of April 1809, they, with a very bad grace, rescinded, and utterly revoked these portentous proclamations; and substituted in their place a nominal blockade of *a part only* of the countries from which our trade is excluded. This measure was adopted several weeks after Mr Stephen had made his speech in support of the Orders; but, fortunately, before the printed report of it was ready for publication. He has an opportunity, therefore, in a postscript, to attempt to reconcile his arguments in behalf of the Orders,

Orders, with this practical and complete acknowledgment of their impolicy ; and, dexterous and ingenious as he is, the task, it may easily be conceived, proves somewhat embarrassing. For our own parts, we are so well satisfied with the revocation, that we were not disposed to have inquired very strictly into any pretence with which our baffled experimentalists might have covered their retreat, had this not been rendered necessary by the tone of defiance with which the delusion is maintained in the work now before us.

The hint for Mr Stephen's plea of consistency is contained in the late Order itself. In consequence of ' diverse changes in our relations with foreign powers ' since the date of the former Orders, it has become necessary, it is said, to alter them ; and the alterations, it is subsumed, are merely such as were necessary to accommodate the said Orders, the principle of which it seems is not abandoned, to those new relations. Now, we would merely observe, 1st, that no changes had taken place which required any alteration on the old Orders, if the principle was not to be abandoned ; and, 2dly, that the alterations adopted, amount to a total and radical change of system, and have no reference to the change of our relations with foreign powers.

The substance of the original Orders was, that neutrals should not trade with any country subject to the controul of France, or any country from which our trade was excluded by decrees similar to that of Berlin, without previously coming here, and paying for a license. Now, the only change which had taken place previous to April last was, that Spain had ceased to be under the controul of France, and that our trade was no longer excluded from its ports. It was not even necessary, therefore, we humbly conceive, to make any public declaration whatever, in order to exempt neutrals trading to Spain from the restriction of our Orders ; but, at all events, nothing more than a simple declaration, that Spain was no longer in that situation, could possibly have been necessary, had it really been the intention of Government to adhere to the spirit and principle of the Orders of November 1807.

The fact is, however, that they have totally and entirely abandoned that principle ; and that these Orders, with the whole system on which they proceeded, have been retracted and renounced, in the most complete and unequivocal manner. In the first place, the whole provisions for forcing neutrals to touch at this country, and to submit to a certain tax on their ulterior commerce, which formed the most characteristic, and by far the most offensive part of the original Orders, are entirely given up. In the second place, the order for condemning all vessels having a certificate of origin
on

on board, the only other unprecedented and very oppressive part of our regulation, is also absolutely and totally rescinded; and, finally, the blockade, instead of extending to all the countries from which our trade is excluded, extends only to France, Holland, and the north of Italy. When such a relaxation is permitted in words, it is perfectly well known, that a still greater relaxation is reckoned on in practice. A partial blockade, without actual investiture, is always violated to a great extent, without any great hazard. A neutral clearing out for Ancona, which is without the limit, may easily run into Pezaro, which is within it, unless some of our cruisers be actually on the station; and so with all the other ports, except those of France herself, and the central districts. The Orders in Council, then, are utterly and entirely withdrawn; and the blockade, by which they have been replaced, might be admitted to be no more than an ordinary act of retaliation, if our situation was not such as to render retaliation on the enemy as ruinous to ourselves as to the neutrals.

The pamphlet of Mr Leckie consists of five short tracts, as he calls them, written in his dogmatical and pedantic manner; but evidently the work of an acute man, well informed upon most parts of his subject, accustomed to think for himself, and rather betrayed into error by his boldness, than by any ordinary defect of understanding. In these pages, he continues the view of foreign affairs published last year, and noticed in our Twenty-fifth Number. His present lucubrations are apparently more hasty, and contain much less of valuable matter, with a large portion of his former paradoxes.

He sets out with much general abuse of the present ministry, and seems, indeed, to be no great admirer of any of the measures pursued by any British statesman. Of the conduct of the Spanish war, it is certainly not easy to speak with too much disapprobation. But Mr Leckie is almost equally severe upon those who think peace with France is possible under any circumstances short of such a change of system as could only, we apprehend, be expected from a counter revolution, accompanied by a dismemberment of that empire. He concludes his remarks, or rather *dicta* upon this topic, with the following passage, which we extract, as very characteristic of his usual manner of writing.

‘Those who have reflected maturely on the real position of the French government, and the conduct it has held in all negotiations for peace, must be convinced that it could never be sincere, and that it could not, from its situation, desire peace.

‘If members of the House of Commons would give themselves time to reflect, we should not hear them making vague propositions on this topic: if they did reflect, their minds could not be occupied by that which, from the nature of things, is at the present moment impossible.

impossible. When we are told, in the same assembly, that we had better agree to bad conditions to-day, than worse to-morrow, and are put in mind of the buying of the sibylline books,* we must doubt the sincerity of the speaker, for his own credit: the sibylline books were to be obtained only by purchase. If Britain should ever be reduced to buy peace, she must acknowledge her own slavery. This reasoning is so unworthy of a Briton, that it is to be hoped it will not often be obtruded on so respectable an assembly.' p. 13.

It is perhaps scarcely necessary to remind our readers that the argument here alluded to is altogether misconceived by Mr Leckie. No man has ever ventured to recommend that England should purchase a peace, because she cannot do without it—or should lower her tone, and humble her high spirit more this year than she did the last, in consequence of any losses she has sustained. But in treating with France respecting the affairs of our allies, it is quite obvious that the terms which we obtain for them must, in some degree, be governed by the fortune which has attended their exertions against the common enemy; and that we cannot expect to place Austria, Prussia and Sweden upon the same footing, now, on which we might fairly have hoped to secure them, before Vienna, Berlin and Finland were overrun by the French armies.

Having laid peace entirely out of the question, our author proceeds to trace the probable aggrandizement of France. She will, he thinks, make war upon Austria,† and wholly dismember that monarchy. The subjects of the imperial states have no attachment to their rulers; and, as long as the feudal institutions remain, no reason for making common cause with them. France, he says, is aware of this; and will take care to address herself to the vulnerable point of the House of Lorraine. The Turkish frontiers are covered with principalities in a state of nominal submission to the Porte, or open rebellion against its authority. Greece is ripe for insurrection; and the French army in Dalmatia will easily raise the standard for the people of that country. By popular commotion at Constantinople, the way will be opened for the French troops to the capital of this disjointed empire; and the Turk, being driven across the Hellespont, will establish himself in Bithynia; while the rest of Asia Minor, being under a powerful and rebellious pasha, Cara Osman Oglu, both that

VOL. XIV. NO. 28.

G g

chief

* 'We are certainly not under the necessity of purchasing sibylline prophecies to enable us to foresee the national ruin arising from such miserable reasoning.'

† This work was published some months ago, just before the war broke out between France and Austria.

chief and the Sultan will become subservient to the intrigues of France; and, keeping one another in check, will be made the ministers of her further aggrandizement in the East. Our author is peculiarly indignant at the British government for having attempted, by a second mission, to conclude a treaty with the Porte, after Sir Arthur Paget's had failed. He conceives this to be a humiliating step; and predicts a repetition of failure and disgrace, which we rejoice to think has by no means occurred. He is offended chiefly because Turkey is weak, and may soon be destroyed by France; but, in our view of the subject, these are the very reasons why the pride of England may sleep secure in her negotiations with Turkey.

Mr Leckie's next step is an easy one. Persia has long been distracted by civil commotions; and is both occupied in part by rebellious chiefs, and surrounded by predatory tribes, whose incursions that government is too feeble to repress. Here, then, says our author, are materials in abundance for the '*divide et impera*;' and the influence of France in the councils of that weak power is sure to become paramount as soon as she enters fairly upon her favourite plan of Eastern conquest. He considers it as quite certain, that, this footing once established, Buonaparte will form a native army in Persia upon the model of our sepoy system; and, uniting with himself like Mahrattas, will be enabled to overthrow our empire in India. This event, Mr Leckie views as synonymous with the ruin of our finances, our commerce and our naval power. (p. 26. & *passim*.) And, as he holds it to be of little moment whether we quietly await such a catastrophe, or adopt imperfect measures for warding it off, he is very anxious, and, as usual, perfectly decided in recommending that a course of violent proceedings, formed upon the model of our late East Indian policy, should forthwith be applied to the court of Sheraz or Ispahan. One is feebly at a loss whether most to admire the thoughtlessness which dictates this exaggerated view of the evil, or the strange forgetfulness of principle that suggests the remedy. It is, however, only a particular application of his universal medicine, which he prescribes in the conclusion of his work, for all the ills the world is now labouring under.

The only way to counteract the progress of the French arms, according to Mr Leckie, is to adopt 'a plan of insular conquest.'— 'We cannot any complain,' says he, 'that our population is inferior to our want of men; and yet we reject the only remedy in nature, which is, to increase our territories, and embody other nations in the pale of our own empire.' In short, that which France is by land, England should become by sea; and, if our author recommends the plan of alluring by benefits the people of the countries

tries which we are to seize from their lawful rulers, in preference to the attack of both government and people by mere force, it is only because he holds it to be the plan most likely to succeed, and that which the French themselves have commonly found the most practicable. In pursuing the details of this dignified system, and explaining in what cases it may be acted upon, he no doubt stops short rather prematurely; for unfortunately it is one of the evils attending such an abandonment of all principle, at least in the case of England, that extremely little is to be got by it; and, indeed, we fear this is the only reason why our rulers have not carried it into effect upon a large scale. However, as far as they have gone, Mr Leckie highly approves of their policy. The expedition to Copenhagen is, according to him, the only right thing they ever did. The giving up of Zealand, and their refusal to receive the homage of the people of Norway, which he believes was offered, were in his eyes the very height of folly; and he now calls upon them to seize the Greek islands,—invite over the Greeks from the Mainland,—and thus (for he can make a stride as well as most projectors) both establish an effectual check to the progress of the French views in Asia, Africa and Egypt, and prevent them from ever acquiring a naval power in the Mediterranean. Although, by entering into this exemplification, Mr Leckie has, more than any other person, displayed the emptiness of the scheme, he is only one of a numerous class of politicians who at present favour the adoption of this, or something nearly approaching to this, system of maritime aggression. In the sequel, we shall have an opportunity of considering its merits more fully.

We shall now proceed to lay before our readers a summary of the reflections suggested by the present state of this country, with a view to its external relations. The prospects of our allies, and the policy which ought to be pursued towards them, and towards the common enemy, are the leading topics that enter into this discussion. In treating of them, we cannot promise the reader either any great novelty, or any immediate consolation. A repetition of the same fatal errors abroad, which began the destruction of the old established order of things—and of the lamentable blunders at home which prevented us from assisting Europe with our immense resources—naturally calls for a renewal of those remarks which we have upon former occasions submitted to the public—while it almost extinguishes the hope of any immediate good being now done, even by the most radical change of system. We are now beset, however, with dangers more imminently affecting the safety of this empire, than any with which it has heretofore been

menaced ; and these it may yet be possible, by prudence and spirit, to turn away.

Of the states which France has either completely subdued, or so far mastered as to render them subservient to her purposes,—some are held in subjection by force alone, while others are willing instruments of her oppressions. The former class is more numerous than the latter ; which, but for the impolicy of England and her allies, would have been small indeed. It is impossible to doubt, even if we had no direct information upon the subject,—that in Switzerland, where so much violence has been done to the freedom and national spirit of the people,—and in Holland, where, beside the disregard shown to all the political feelings of the inhabitants, the comforts of each individual have been abridged by the stagnation of trade, the name of French oppression must be as odious as it would be in England itself, should it ever unhappily be known amongst us. In those two countries the French are hated by all ranks and descriptions of men ; and any change that would restore to the one her ancient constitutions, and to the other a pacific intercourse with England, would be hailed with universal acclamation. But both have suffered so severely by war, and are indeed so thoroughly overrun with French agents and troops, that they are probably the last spots of ground on the Continent where resistance to France can be expected to spring up, until something shall have happened elsewhere to render the experiment at once easy and sure.

The case of the Italian states is somewhat different. There, indeed, an abhorrence of the French prevails ; but it is confined to the regular clergy and the lower orders of the people—with such of the other ranks as have suffered individually by exactions or changes in the government. The former classes are not very important, and are likely soon to follow the general feelings of their superiors : the latter are, of course, not very numerous. The secular clergy, and the middle ranks of the people have been considerable gainers, in most of the Italian states, by the change ; and such of the higher classes as have not suffered by it, having only but a slender attachment to the antient order of things, would certainly risk nothing in any attempt to restore it. In Italy, however, as in most of the Continental states, there is a general feeling of dislike and dread of France ; which, were the question capable of such a decision, would no doubt lead men to give their voices against having any further connexion with that powerful and restless neighbour. The petty states in the north of Germany, among which we must unhappily now reckon the Prussian monarchy, are only kept in subjection by the constant application of force. The temper of courts, reduced to a state of the most galling dependence, either upon a French prince,

prince, or an ambassador with paramount authority, may easily be conceived; and the symptoms of open revolt, which in many places manifested themselves, are a sufficient proof that the spirit of the people even goes before that of their superiors. Of Austria it is unnecessary to speak in this view of the subject. Whether the result of the present war shall be to leave the House of Hapsburg a nominal sovereignty, or to reduce it within the limits of a petty principality, and distribute its vast dominions amongst a set of new potentates, the people of those countries, and their rulers (by which we of course always mean the class of persons possessing great natural influence, without considering who may be accidentally placed at the head of affairs) will long continue hostile to French oppression, and disposed to avail themselves of any promising opportunity of regaining their independence. The same may be safely asserted of Spain, but in a much greater degree. If, which seems but too certain, France should establish her power in the Peninsula, she will long find it a source of weakness and distraction,—a province only to be kept in subjection by the same strong hand which subdued it,—and ready, at the first favourable moment, to shake off the yoke. But the states which may be formed out of the Austrian and Spanish monarchies will at first be almost as submissive to the conqueror as Switzerland or Holland. They may require, especially the Spaniards, more French troops to keep them in order; they may feel a greater degree of stifled indignation at their oppressions; they may be somewhat less calculating, than the Dutch in their designs of resistance:—but we cannot have any doubt that, for some time at least, they will be averse to a renewal of the scenes through which their dependence shall have been secured; and will only venture to move when the course of events shall render success nearly certain.

Let us stop here, then, for a moment, to ask what prospect there is of an effectual resistance to France from the efforts of those states upon whom her yoke now presses with the greatest weight? Unless some unexpected change takes place in the posture of her affairs, there is not a chance even of any attempt being made by those countries to regain their independence. They are animated, indeed, by a common feeling of hatred towards their common tyrant; but they are separated—divided—insulated: they have no communication among themselves,—no confidence in each other: they are, like the subjects of a tyrant, whose cruelties have long made every mortal under his dominion ardently pray for his speedy downfall. He has no counsellor whom he can trust,—no support to expect from any part of his empire, were a struggle to commence: his forces are trifling in power, compared to the multitudes who are daily and hourly panting after his destruction: the

pretorian guards themselves hate him, and would willingly help to cut him off: the whole frame of his government is rotten, and wants but a breath to overthrow it;—yet still is he secure from insurrection, if endowed with a tolerable share of promptitude and courage. He has always strength enough to overwhelm a single individual, or a small knot of conspirators. Each man considers this; and reflects on the certain ruin that awaits himself, should he begin the resistance, and meet with no support;—the more than equal chance of destruction to which he exposes himself, should he commence a resistance likely to succeed in the end. Even among the guards of the tyrant, a similar feeling prevails. No man trusts his fellow. A partial insurrection speedily defeated, from time to time strengthens the common apprehension; or a plot, prematurely disclosed, increases the mutual suspicions of all classes. A general belief prevails, that things will continue as they are at present; and that the ruling power will always succeed. And thus are despotisms perpetuated amidst the universal execrations of mankind, nearly by the operation of the same feelings which support the most regular, enlightened, and beneficent systems of government, that have been reared up to bless the species. It would be as chimerical to expect a mutiny among the vassal states of France, who are the more impatient of her yoke, as amongst the inhabitants of Namur and Bourdeaux, or the conscripts of the years 1808 and 1809. In making this comparison, we are indeed putting the case much more strongly against France than the facts warrant; for, with the exception of Holland, and the states into which the conscription has been introduced, either immediately, or by means of large requisitions of men made to their governments,* the changes effected by the French invasion have been favourable to the individual happiness of the inhabitants; so that the hatred of France is liable to considerable diminution, inasmuch as the national antipathies, and spirit of independence, are gradually undermined by the

* We believe it will be found, upon mature consideration of the subject, that this is the only line which can safely be drawn. The effects of a number of the inhabitants of any country serving with the French armies, and sharing in their conquests, are, no doubt, to be estimated as tending somewhat to unite that country with France, and to make it share in her enmities towards other nations; but, at the utmost, this is only a deduction to be made from the great and permanent effects of the conscription, in implanting a rooted antipathy to French tyranny, wherever that most odious of all oppressions is introduced. Where this is the case, no beneficial changes, which can be effected in any other respect, will ever go far to counteract its consequences, or reconcile the people to their new lot.

the solid benefits which the change of masters has conferred. Thus, while the Dutch from the ruin of their trade, and the Genoese and Wirtembergers from the conscription, feel an unmingled antipathy to the French oppressions, because the national feelings, and the interests of individuals, concur to produce this sentiment, the Hungarians, should they fall under the dominion of a French chief, will feel their dislike to the change mitigated by the boon which the policy of the conqueror will not fail to bestow along with it—a relief from feudal oppressions, and from the present galling system of commercial restraints.

Thus far we have been considering the situation of those countries which are held in subjection to France by force, contrary to their interests and inclinations. It is unquestionable, however, and much to be lamented, that there are others which yield a very willing obedience to her commands; and although the number of these, as well as their alienation from the good cause, has been greatly increased by the impolitic conduct of England and her allies, there are several whose natural leaning is towards the enemy. Among these Russia stands first. Her distance from France, her vast ill-peopled territory, her want of sea-coast, and the desire which she has long felt to supply this deficiency—a desire which cannot be gratified by cooperating with England;—her jealousy of Austria:—These, and other circumstances, obviously suggest themselves as likely, in general, to incline that great unwieldy empire to cooperate with the enemy, and league with him in spoiling the rest of Europe, however accidental occurrences might, for a time, give a better direction to its policy. From such considerations it was, that we long ago ventured to predict a speedy termination of the alliance between Russia and England. The reader who may do us the honour of referring to our Number for January 1807, will find a full statement of our views upon this point. It was published in the midst of very confident hopes, prevalent, as usual, of victories over France by our Russian allies; but those whom that statement might satisfy, could neither be disappointed by the progress of the French arms during the remaining part of the campaign, nor surprised at the termination of the alliance which followed. Soon after the peace of Tilsit, indeed, the operation of the circumstances to which we have alluded, received a most powerful support from the wretched policy that induced England to attack a state placed under the especial protection of Russia,—and at once to lose all chance of reclaiming the court of St Petersburg from French influence,—and to convert a friendly nation, naturally hostile to France, and jealous of Russia, into a bitter enemy. From that unfortunate period, may most probably be dated, not only the hostile disposition of Denmark, but the cordial cooperation of

Russia with France; but we cannot deny the possibility of a similar result having followed from the temptations of Turkish spoil, independently of the alienation occasioned by our expedition to Copenhagen. This alliance is likely to continue—at least as long as the Austrian monarchy remains undivided—and until, Russia, having got as much in Turkey as she can from the profits of the copartnership, a difference arises about the further distribution of the spoil. It does not appear certain, that, even then, the ambition of France will be pointed towards a Russian throne. But, considering how little that power has shown itself capable of effecting for the salvation of Europe—how wretched the state of its subjects is under the present government—how trifling an acquisition of strength the common enemy could expect to obtain from the entire possession of its resources; we acknowledge that we should contemplate with great composure any change which might lay the foundation of future improvement, and scatter the forces of France over the dominions of the Czars.

The extreme unpopularity of a ruinous war,—a dislike, unfortunately not without foundation, of their late monarch,—and an old attachment to French connexions, has given France considerable influence over the councils of Sweden. The war must be viewed, in that country, as intimately connected with the English alliance; and the still greater antipathy to Russia will probably be gratified by France, at a trifling expense to Sweden. To permit Russia to seize upon any considerable part of the Swedish territories, is certainly very far from the policy of our enemy; and he will most probably suffer the new King to redeem the greater part of his dominions, by serving in the war upon our trade.

The attack upon Bavaria, which signalized the commencement of the third coalition war,—and the rank to which that state has been raised by France, and which it must immediately resign, were the ancient order of things restored;—these are sufficient pledges of its good-will to the French cause, until a combination of circumstances takes place, which shall enable it, without sacrificing its accessions of territory, to assert its independence. As for the Tyrolese subjects of that new kingdom, they retain their attachment to their Austrian masters with a disinterested generosity altogether astonishing, when we reflect on the treatment which they formerly experienced. Such of our readers as choose to compare the facts stated in the sketch of this brave and loyal people, given in our Number for January 1806, with the noble efforts which they have recently made, will be disposed to admit, that, under particular circumstances, men act without any view, either to the pursuit of their private interest, or the gratification of their just resentments. It is from instances of this kind that we derive the only faint glimmering

mering of hope which still remains to us, that the Hungarians also may forget both their interests and their resentments, and only remember that Francis fills the throne of 'their King, Maria Tereza.'

With respect to the Poles and Greeks, we apprehend they may be considered as natural friends of France—or of whatever power steps forward to attack their oppressors. She cannot, indeed, look for a very active assistance from the divided people of Poland; but, if there is any truth in the principles upon which we have stated that the rest of the Austrian monarchy will form several principalities radically inimical to France, we must equally conclude that the provinces taken from Poland will operate as a diversion in her favour. Indeed, it is not easy to perceive why the restoration of the Polish monarchy should not once more be attempted. In as far as it was tried two years ago, it certainly failed: but the Poles were then called upon to act offensively in the first instance; and even this demand could only be urged to the Prussian part of Poland with any prospect of success. Austria was at peace with France; and the Russian division, from the similarity of the nations, and the maintenance of the seigniorial rights,* was always the most peaceably disposed towards its new masters. Now, when the Saxons may be compelled at a moment's notice to give up the duchy of Warsaw; when Austria may, in all probability, be forced to yield Galicia—and an equivalent in Turkey may induce Russia to quit her share of the spoil; when no immediate exertions are required on the part of the Poles, and the reestablishment of their country would be the work of a little diplomatic arrangement; no one could be surprised at witnessing an event which would give France a strong hold in the east of Europe, upon the confines of the Russian territory. From the Greeks, she may in all probability receive more immediate assistance; and, although the speculators in Greek empires, who have so long been preaching in this country a sort of crusade against the Turks, overrate most extravagantly the powers of that people, either to throw off the yoke at present, or to form hereafter a great monarchy; there can be no doubt that they would, to a certain degree, cooperate with any regular army which should appear

* The Russians alone retained the Polish peasantry in a state of villenage. It is easy to imagine how the sudden abolition of that tenure must have alienated the nobles from the Austrian government; and, this without making it in any thing like the same proportion popular among the inferior orders. In fact, the first promulgation of the new law, displeased lord and peasant almost equally. It is well known to have occasioned a great desertion of the peasantry to the Russian side of the line.

appear in their country in sufficient force to meet the Ottoman troops; and would, if formed into a separate state, contribute materially to the resources of their French and Russian masters.

It must be confessed, then, that the prospect is at present sufficiently gloomy for the continent of Europe and for England, in so far as her interests are connected with the fortunes of her neighbours. France is surrounded either with states who murmur in silence, and vent their indignation at her oppressions in solitary and impotent curses; or with nations favourably disposed to her, willing to aid her iniquities, and well pleased to share in their fruits. This calamitous state of things has been brought about by the mutual jealousies of the great continental powers,—by their want of principle towards their weaker neighbours, and by their domestic corruptions—the profligacy of their governments—their obstinate insatiable resistance to those improvements which alone could have opposed an effectual barrier to the conquests of the French Revolution. These are the remote causes of the almost universal dominion which has crowned the darings and the crimes of our enemy. But we must look nearer home for his accomplices—for those who have betrayed the Continent into his hands, when they might have saved it by their prudence from the certain destruction of premature and insulated efforts—united it by the justice and forbearance of their councils—and rendered it powerful assistance by a disinterested and generous application of their resources. Placed at a distance from the petty quarrels of the different courts; exempt from all suspicion of ambitious views; destined by her situation to derive advantage only from peaceful intercourse with every neighbour; forbidden, by the nature of things, to reap any benefit from that intercourse, without conferring an equal good in return; enjoying a high character among all nations for honour and generosity; too weak by land to excite any jealousy; by sea too powerful to have any rival; capable, by her resources, of turning the balance when it hung even, though unable to act alone:—England, at the beginning of the last war, stood in the very situation which the fancy of a statesman would have selected, had he been required to choose one for a common umpire of national disputes!—And how does she stand now, when an account of her talent is demanded of her?—and by what steps has she fallen from her eminence, and made herself an accessory to the subjugation of Europe? Let us not shrink from this reckoning; for it is only by retracing those steps, that any hope remains of regaining the situation she has lost, and of preserving a rallying point for national independence in better times.

The war began against the French revolution in aid of Austria and Prussia, who had attacked France with the avowed object

ject of dictating a form of government to its inhabitants, and with a design, perfectly well understood, of seizing upon some of its provinces. Admitting that the former purpose was justifiable, every admixture of the latter should have been scrupulously guarded against; and the only way at once to accomplish the one, and to disavow and banish all thoughts of the other, was to place the exiled family and nobles at the head of the combined operations. England should never have become a party to any invasion of France; which was not accompanied by this pledge of the purity of the principles in which it originated. Nor should she have expected to succeed in the undertaking, by measures which must of necessity unite every class of men in France against her. Accordingly, the allies were soon reduced to act on the defensive; and a coalition, formed upon selfish grounds, was dissolved by the first serious reverses.

But Austria, though deserted by Prussia, and driven out of the Netherlands, was still entire; and England, though she had failed in her attempts to rescue Holland, was possessed of resources which, in the hands of a bold and sagacious leader, might have checked the victories of her enemy, and enabled her ally to retreat with honour from the contest. But then began the reign of contradiction and imbecility.—Then came into vogue the doctrine of *British objects*; and the practice of fighting blindfolded. We no longer dared to hope for a counter revolution in France; we discovered, that the more she was attacked, the stronger she grew: yet we were afraid of allowing Austria to make peace; and, while we pretended that she was continuing the war to regain her lost provinces, and make a barrier for Holland, we avoided every measure which could effectually assist her in the pursuit of these great objects. The burning of a few ships at Toulon,—the capture of Corsica and Minorca,—a descent to destroy sluices at Ostend,—the easy conquest of some islands in the West Indies,—the seizure of other settlements with the pleasing approbation of their owners,—the Cape—Ceylon—Pondicherry; or, as if to show that it was the importance only, and not the difficulty of the enterprize, which deterred us from invading France directly,—a long, hopeless, costly and murderous war against climate and pestilence in St. Domingo:—These were the objects on which the whole of our force was squandered; while the enemy was, in a single morning well spent on the Adige or the Rhine, redeeming all those petty losses as surely as if he had extorted from us the treaty of surrender, and at the same time causing our allies to tremble on their thrones. Hence that character which we began to acquire, among foreign nations, of selfish policy,—of only interfering with their concerns when somewhat might be got by it for

for ourselves,—of looking at the balance of power with eyes rather better accustomed to the scales of a counter,—of always loving to drive a little trade, happen what would to the cause of Europe,—of hankering constantly after some dirty bit of gain—something in the sugar and ship line—and undervaluing, as quite unprofitable, whatever operations of the copartnery only tended to the discomfiture of the enemy, without making a figure in the balance-sheet of our own books. Hence, too, another imputation, equally well founded; (but, to the country of Marlborough and Wolfe as galling as it was new), that whatever England might do by sea, on shore she was insignificant; for, in truth, our arms were only successful, where conquest was equally easy and useless; and we had always so many irons in the fire—such an infinity of small jobs going on at once—that when, by some unaccountable accident, we, upon one or two occasions, tried to carry a point of real difficulty, we failed, in a manner if possible more disgraceful for ourselves than it was injurious to the common cause.

During the sad period in question, our activity was boundless and incessant. Indolence and parsimony are perhaps the only faults of which we could never be accused. The bustle of our dockyards was dreadful. The pressgang never ceased from troubling. The marches and countermarches of troops gave the country every outward appearance of war. We had recruiting, and drafting, and balloting, in perpetual succession—loans and taxes by the dozen. Scarce a session passed without some new military system; and we generally invented at the rate of two systems of finance per annum. Nor did all this preparation end in nothing. Our harbours were under an almost weekly embargo. There was as regularly ‘the secret expedition,’ as if it were some part of the island. Our little armies were constantly coasting from port to port, and sailing and returning, and whisking about from shore to shore with incredible nimbleness, and crossing one another, and playing at cross purposes, in the most innocent and affecting manner possible;—there was firing of guns, too; and ringing of bells; and one eternal interchange of gratulatory messages—with votes of thanks and pensions—and cabals about appointments, and disputes about islands;—so that any person who had suddenly been transported to this country from some distant region, and saw every thing except our gazettes, would infallibly have concluded, that every nerve of a vast empire was straining for the general attack of an enemy—that our endeavours were to meet the adversary—that we were not making all this bustle to get out of their way—and that our success was as important as our efforts deserved.—Alas! we were all the while crushing flies with a steam-engine, and puncturing an elephant with a needle!

The

The opportunity which a new ally and a second coalition afforded, was rendered still more inviting, by the symptoms of weakness and mismanagement which appeared in the affairs of France. Instead of trusting the fortunes of the league to the cordial cooperation of Russia and Austria, and resting secure in the superiority of the Calmuck to the French generals, because a single good commander had appeared among the Russians,—it would have well become England to have sent a large army, either into Germany or Italy, for the sole object of fighting against the French armies, without regarding the petty squabbles of Vienna and St Petersburg. But we were busy in Lisbon and Surinam just at that particular time! and, when we sent an army to Holland, we took good care that it should land at the greatest possible distance from the scene of action, and not until the tide had begun to turn against our allies. The enemy, however, was alarmed:—he did not then know us quite so well;—he guessed from our preparations, that we meant something, and was apprehensive we might really intend to operate a diversion. He found we were safe in North Holland!—And, leaving a few troops to watch us, with the assistance of the Dutch army, he quietly pursued the destruction of the second coalition.

Notwithstanding our disasters in Holland, an excellent army was assembled—unrivalled in courage—respectable in point of discipline—most ably commanded—fitted beyond all others for landing at any point of the enemy's coast—capable of being greatly increased in numbers, without inconvenience or delay. The contest in Italy was critical between our allies and the enemy;—and therefore our armament remains quietly at home, until that is decided: and, much about the time when the last struggle is making for Austria within a short march of the Adriatic, away sails our excellent army to Malta and Egypt!—as if our fleet had not sufficiently settled the fate of these spots two years before, and as if the French army could be better employed than by wasting their strength in fruitless expeditions to the East. The glorious result, indeed, of the campaign in Egypt, has indirectly done inestimable service to us by improving our troops. It has given a new character to our army—a character which, as far as depends on themselves, they have since more than supported. Perhaps it has begun the revival of our fame as a military power; but the remark is not the less obvious, that as much advantage might have been gained in these respects from operations of real importance to the great interests of the nation and its allies—while it is lamentable to reflect, that, so far from turning the military renown and strength thus gained to a better account in our subsequent schemes, we have been almost systematic in pursuing the same infatuated course, and gaining

gaining, from each exertion of our force, only some dearbought improvement to our troops—squandering their valour upon projects where success was either hopeless or unavailing.

Towards the latter end of the war, of which we are surveying the outline, those pretensions of maritime right were advanced, which have since been revived with such fatal additions, and which laid the foundation of the enmity ever since shown by this country to neutral nations. With respect to the question of strict right, there is very little doubt that we had the best of the argument,—to the extent, at least, to which it was pushed in 1800 and 1801. But so very little could be gained by the fullest exercise of those rights, that it is impossible sufficiently to regret the stirring of the question. Our character and our popularity with the rest of the world has suffered incalculably—every suspicion relative to our parrowness and selfishness has been confirmed. Among ourselves, too, such extravagant notions have been raised up of maritime rights, and of the importance of asserting them to their full extent, that the prevailing opinion seems to be divided between those who think the maintenance of them essential to our welfare, and those who think our honour requires it, whether useful or not. So that, until the war broke out in Spain, it was difficult to discover any difference between the hatred which was bestowed on neutral nations, and that which was reserved for our enemies. It might even be suspected, at one time, that the former was the stronger feeling of the two. But, in all this, we have been liable to any charge, rather than that of inconsistency. The mistake of what we had a right to do, for what it was expedient to attempt, has prevailed through our whole conduct (with the exception of that disgraceful enterprise in which right and expediency were equally disregarded); and they who could prefer a sugar colony to the interests of one ally—and an island with a good harbour, to the friendship of another—were surely acting like themselves, when, in attempting to deprive France of a little hemp and iron, they gave her a permanent influence over all neutral and maritime powers.

After the dependence of the Continent had been well nigh secured,—when no chance of a favourable alteration remained but in a change of system,—when it became manifest, that France could only be resisted by such reforms in the neighbouring states, as might enable them to draw forth all their resources against her—that a long interval of repose was absolutely necessary for this purpose,—and that a renewal of hostilities on the part of one power, without the cordial cooperation of the rest, was only devoting to destruction the little of national independence that was left,—England, seduced by the fatal delusion, that fighting is expedient

pedient as often as just cause of war exists, first broke the peace herself; and soon after drew Russia, and, through her influence, Austria, into the quarrel. The history of the third coalition, as far as we were concerned, differs but little from that of the two first,—except that it was from the beginning much more hopeless. Whatever chance of being useful to the common cause the exigences of our allies held out, we threw away with an improvident selfishness, to all appearance confirmed, and even increased by habit. The march of the Austrian armies into Bavaria, was the signal for a British force making sail to the Cape of Good Hope. The struggle, at first doubtful, between the Archduke and the French in Lombardy, was witnessed by our army at the respectful distance of Naples, where a truly British object was to be accomplished, the expulsion of an old ally from his dominions. And another English expedition arrived at the Weser, just in time to learn that peace had been dictated to Austria upon the Danube. An infatuation, hitherto unmatched even in our own history, soon after revived the war in Prussia; and, for once, England had no further share in the ruin of a coalition, than by not having sufficiently exerted herself to prevent its formation. At no one moment of this short but fatal conflict, did any opportunity present itself of taking a part in it with the least prospect of success; and, although the expeditions in the Levant were rather formed upon the old model, the utter impossibility of acting with effect in the North, and the advantage of detaching the Porte from its French connexion, might be pleaded in behalf of those schemes,* while the prudent reserve of our strength in other quarters for a favourable opening, in defiance of ignorant and thoughtless clamour, was an earnest of a wiser policy than had for many years been exhibited by the English government.

These prospects, however, were of short duration. A change of men speedily restored the reign of activity; with all its expectations. But here a difficulty occurred. There were no more coalitions to be had; so we could not any longer desert our allies, and starve the common cause for some trifling object of our own. We continued, however, to pass the time in plundering one friendly power at a vast expense of money, and an incalculable loss of character; and in quarrelling with another, to get rid of our commerce also. At length an accident, equally unexpected and auspicious, threw into our hands the means of rendering a far greater service to the Continent, and striking a more deadly blow at

* The failure of the expeditions in question, is well known to have arisen from the unaccountable mistakes of the officers employed to command them.

at French influence, than the success even of all our coalitions could have accomplished. How we wasted this precious opportunity—how, by a conduct strictly conformable to all that was weakest in our past transactions, we suffered this season of promise to pass away unimproved, has already been so fully demonstrated in our last Number, and must indeed be so fresh in the remembrance of every one, that we shall gladly spare ourselves the mortification of again handling the subject.

After this opportunity was lost, when the affairs of the Peninsula appeared to be desperate; when the blame of having done worse than nothing was, by turns, laid upon the Convention at Cintra—the lukewarm dispositions of the people—the dissensions of the Junta—the want of a central government—the season of the year—the weather—in short, upon any thing that might help the real authors of the mischief to shift it off themselves; when, as is usual in human affairs, men, wise by the event, united in condemning every thing that had been done, and in wishing that it were to do over again, secure that all past errors would be rectified, but not venturing to hope for so unlikely an opportunity,—suddenly the rare felicity was bestowed upon us, of repeating our experiments from the beginning, and with all the benefits of our past experience. The operations of the enemy were suspended in the Peninsula. It was manifest, that while the war lasted in Germany, he could send no more troops to Spain. Every man was satisfied, that regular armies alone could stand against the French forces in that country. The chance was once more afforded us of driving them out, and then leaving the defence of the territory to Spanish hands—or, of assisting the common cause where our enemy was deciding its fate, and contributing, by a great effort, to the emancipation of Spain, as well as the rest of Europe, in Germany. It may be difficult to determine which of these plans was the wisest. Some persons might think that no effort of ours could have turned the scale in favour of Austria, during the present awful campaign; and that our forces should have been concentrated in Spain;—others may be of opinion, that all the force we could muster in the south of Europe (upwards of 40,000 men), sent up the Adriatic as soon as the war broke out in Bavaria, might have got into the rear of the French army, immediately after the memorable battle of Aspern,—while nearly 50,000 more might have been employed in the Rhine, either to prevent the junction of the Russians, or to land in the north of Germany, and encourage Prussia and the insurgents. A third view of the subject may possibly have its supporters,—that we could neither decide the contest in Austria, nor drive the French out of Spain; and they who hold this opinion, must object to any armament whatever,—

must

must counsel us to abandon Spain, and to keep our troops at home.

These three lines of conduct are intelligible and consistent. But, how did the English government act,—wise by the experience of the last war, and, above all, of the first Spanish campaign? It recollected those fatal transactions,—not to avoid them, but to copy them with absolute servility. It followed *none* of the plans just described, but took a little bit of each. It despaired of Austria, but threatened a trifling diversion in her favour after she was subdued; and has probably, before this time, turned that into a ship-plunder expedition. It did not quite despair of Spain; but sent an army to Portugal, too large for any opposition in that country—infinately too small for the liberation of the Peninsula. It adopted the only plan which could be entirely wrong, and was sure wholly to fail.

We confess that, although the second of the schemes which we have mentioned appears the most alluring; considering the position in which our armies actually were, and the limited time allowed for executing it, the first seems to us the most judicious. We had 30,000 men in quiet possession of Portugal, with the south of Spain occupied by the only good army of the natives, and Cadiz or Gibraltar to retire upon. From Sicily we might have sent above 10,000 more excellent troops; and from England near 50,000,—more completely appointed, perhaps, than any armament in the world. Whatever might be the final issue of the war in Austria, this formidable army would, in all probability, have had time, during the struggle of that gallant and ill fated monarchy, to overpower all resistance in Spain, and drive the French beyond the Pyrenees. But if even this could not have been effected,—or if the Pyrenees are indefensible, and the utmost that our whole force could accomplish was a temporary expulsion of the enemy; surely they are Francis who have sent one wing of an army to attempt the same enterprise—who have wasted 30,000 men upon a service above the powers of thrice the number. Nothing in calculation can be more evident, than that we have either done too little or too much during the precious breathing time which our Spanish allies have so unexpectedly had; and if the German campaign is now at an end, the total ruin of the great cause, which has made every free heart throughout the world beat high, during a long year of anxious expectation, can only be retarded by a positive miracle.

We have now surveyed the present hopeless state of affairs, and traced the steps which successively led to it. There remains the less painful task of inquiring, by what efforts those steps may be retraced, in so far as it is yet possible to ameliorate the condition of our allies, by any exertions of ours; or to provide

vide for the safety of the only empire which still continues free and entire. The conduct of this country, indeed, should now be pointed solely to the two great objects of obtaining such an influence in the minds of men as may hereafter be turned to good account,—and of providing for its own safety. The means best adapted for the attainment of both these ends, are happily the same.

And, first of all, we must lay our account with the establishment, or rather the confirmation of the paramount influence of France in every part of the Continent. For the present, at least, this is unavoidable. We have in a great measure brought it upon our allies and ourselves;—and it must be borne with patience. Many changes in the distribution of territory must be expected. Kingdoms will be broken down into dukedoms—and electorates, or principalities, consolidated into kingdoms. Monarchs will be threatened, perhaps deposed; and upstarts raised to their thrones at the will of the conqueror. A nominal war will be proclaimed against England in every part of Europe; and attempts to abridge her commerce with the Continent, though often failing, will be constantly repeated, until its total amount is sensibly diminished. If we are wise, however, there are limits beyond which this branch of the French power can hardly reach. In the mean time, as the repeated attempts to assail us in this direction are quite inevitable, and ought not to discompose us; so, neither should their partial success create any undue alarms. We must lay our account with finding the rest of Europe no longer free; and accommodate our conduct to the novelty of our circumstances. All direct intercourse with our allies being of course at an end, it is needless to observe, that we should cautiously abstain from any new attempts at stirring them up against France. Such attempts, if successful, could only lead to a wanton waste of blood and treasure—render the sway of the enemy more intolerable, and our own character more odious. We must be on our guard against listening to fables of insurrections. An appearance of impatience under the yoke may from time to time show itself in different parts of the Continent; but, far from such single and divided efforts tending to its emancipation, they must arm the tyrant with new powers, and only ruin their instigators. With respect to Spain, surely the common feelings of humanity, as well as the soundest views of policy, should incline us to wish, that when the struggle of that gallant people is over, peace may as speedily as possible be restored to them. Their spirit has already been sufficiently exerted, to secure them a reign of unmitigated severity. For the present, this is all they can expect. It would be bloodthirsty and cowardly in us to foment any insurrections, after the only contest is at an end from which any good can spring, in the present unfortunate

unfortunate state of things. Nor will it be of any avail to cry out against this doctrine as pusillanimous, and to abuse us as recommending a base submission to France. France has conquered Europe. This is the melancholy truth. Shut our eyes to it as we may, there can be no doubt about the matter. We shall afterwards consider how far a better prospect opens in the back ground; but, for the present, peace and submission must be the lot of the vanquished.

But it is not only consistent, both with right principles and with our interest, to avoid stirring up the conquered states against France, and even, if we have an opportunity, to discourage any premature resistance on their part:—we ought also, in the conduct of our own warfare against that country, constantly to keep in mind, that our whole quarrel is with her; and that with her vastness we have no ground of difference, unless their interests and inclinations are identified with hers—or unless no other means remain of affecting her strength materially, and providing substantially for our own security. It is not enough, that, at her instigation, the Tagus should be shut against us, or even that the court of Lisbon should break off all friendly intercourse with us. A wise policy would not, on this account, prescribe a blockade, and still less a bombardment, which can only tend to distress the inoffensive people—the unwilling instruments of our enemy's malice. Even if a few ships might be got at the expense of such measures, it is, in all probability, better policy to preserve our character for generosity, and take the ample chance which remains of capturing them when they shall venture out to sea. Of course, no rule of this kind can be laid down absolutely. A fleet might be so large, and arsenals might be capable of fitting out so formidable an armament against us, that when they had fallen under the enemy's controul, it might be necessary to attempt their seizure, though at the risk of inflicting great calamities upon the place where they are situated. But if England has recourse to such extremities only when the magnitude of the object justifies them, her plea of necessity will be generally recognized; and her character will not suffer in the estimation of the world. Judging by these principles, the alleged object of the expedition which has been so long pending does not seem liable to reprehension, provided that all hopes of assisting our allies are gone, and that an attack upon Holland forms no part of the plan. If we can now do nothing better than the destruction of the fleet in the Scheldt may be worth our while, because the expense of the enterprise may not be much greater than the cost of blockading the mouth of that river. But the preparation of this expedition is the greatest ever sent from our ports, for no object so important

British, and confined within so narrow a sphere, at a moment when it might have decided the fate of Austria or of Spain, forms one of the gravest charges against the management of our military affairs. For the rest, it scarcely deserves to be remarked, that, *ceteris paribus*, enterprizes of this kind should be directed against the arsenals of France, in preference to those even of her most obedient and willing vassals;—to Brest,* for example, rather than to Cronstadt; but much rather to Cronstadt than to Ferrol or Cadiz; supposing them in the enemy's hands. In truth, Russia has been unaccountably spared in our plans of maritime warfare. We may be assured, that she is completely with France in the present contest. The merchants of St Petersburg and Riga, and many of the landed proprietors, are certainly favourable to an English connexion; but those classes go for nothing in a country like Russia; and, though they did not, any attack upon the arsenals, while they are discontented with the measures of their government, could not greatly affect their feelings towards us. In all probability, such a step was the only one by which any prospect could be afforded of detaching Russia from France during the present war in Austria. All such schemes, however, when planned without any view of making a diversion in favour of a general attack, are of small importance; and, now that war on the Continent is over, nothing could be more unwise than to extend them beyond those arsenals; from which an immediate danger to this country may be apprehended. It is by conciliatory, or at least inoffensive conduct, even towards the confederates of France, that we can now best defeat her purposes; and to oppose her—not them—should be the great end and aim of all our plans.

This leads us to consider the only serious risk to which the subjugation of the Continent has exposed us—the war which it enables France to make upon our trade. It may be expected that she will speedily cause orders to be issued for the exclusion of the British flag from all the ports of Europe. But these will be executed very imperfectly in some countries; in others, they will be little more than a form and a name; in none will they be rigorously enforced—except where French troops are stationed in great numbers—or where, by some violence of our own, we may render the inhabitants as hostile as the French themselves. The temptations to evade orders of this description are so strong, that connivance may, in general, be expected on the part of the government;

* Antwerp comes properly under the same description; but it cannot be attacked without commencing operations against Zealand, which is certainly a drawback.

vernment; and we are always sure to find the people in favour of the evasion. Even in Holland, the whole French power has for years been maintaining an unequal conflict with the interests of merchants and consumers; in whose favour the interests of the civil functionaries almost always, and of the French soldiers themselves not unfrequently, are found. To execute similar mandates in the Adriatic or the Baltic, where comparatively few French agents of either description are scattered, amounts to an impossibility. The armies of France could not exclude our ships effectually from the ports of Spain alone, were they all distributed along the coasts of the peninsula. But a very considerable diminution of our trade must be occasioned by these attempts; and that which can no longer be carried on in British bottoms, will be transferred to neutrals.

But, even if we were to suppose that our exclusion from the Continent was complete, and that the whole trade between this country and the rest of Europe passed through the hands of neutrals, it does not appear to us that any very ruinous consequences would follow. Our shipping, instead of sailing the whole way from England to the foreign markets, would be employed in carrying goods to and from some convenient entrepôts; while the other part of the voyage would be performed by neutrals,—or, if we as well as they chose to connive at it, by the shipping of the continental ports themselves. We should retain the whole of our colonial and coasting trade—and should carry to and from our neutral customers a great deal more than we now do—more, *to wit*, in proportion to the tonnage which they would be employing in the trade between the entrepôts and the Continent. Thus, instead of carrying goods in 1000 tons of British shipping direct to Trieste, we should employ 500 tons in carrying the same goods at two trips to Malta or Gibraltar; from whence 500 tons of American shipping would continue the voyage to the Adriatic—while the other 500 tons of British shipping would naturally occupy the place of the same American tonnage displaced from the trade between England and America. In order to facilitate such a change, the possession of Minorca might probably be found useful—as well as of Milo, or some other island in the Levant (see No. XXI., Review of Semple's Travels)—and Heligoland will prove advantageous, in the same point of view, for the trade of the North. The possession of Sicily* for such purposes, when we have Malta, seems

Hh 3

together

* The expense of our military establishment there, is a serious evil; and its being locked up on so useless a service has, during the late critical times, been still more unfortunate. We have done more than enough for the acquittance of our debt to the Sicilian Court.

altogether unnecessary;—and our own coasts are so conveniently situated for France and Holland, that very little temptation is presented by any of the Dutch islands.

As long, then, as a neutral carrier remains, we are secure from any serious loss of trade or navigation, even if the exclusion of our flag from the Continent were far more effectually accomplished than in all likelihood it ever can be. The enemy will therefore proceed a step further, and cause his vassal states to adopt the famous Berlin decree, or at least so much of it as prevents vessels which have touched at British ports from entering the ports subject to his influence. But it must be our own faults if he can ever succeed in executing this prohibition, even in his own states; and still more difficult of execution will it prove in places where there is no French agent to watch over it. No man can feel very apprehensive that an American, from Malta to Trieste would run any great risk of condemnation as having touched at a British port. All the vigilance of our cruisers, eager after prize, and restrained by no one common interest with the neutral, is every day set at nought by the arts which he practises to conceal the matter now in question—the port from which he has last sailed. The customhouse officers at Trieste are strangely constituted, if their acuteness and zeal increases with the difficulty of the detection, and their own interest to avoid the scent.

There is one way, indeed, of preventing a neutral from ever escaping seizure—and a way, too, which is practicable to England alone. She may renew the famous Orders in Council—and thus make it plain to every revenue officer on the Continent, that every neutral which enters is lawful prize; but, unless some such measure is adopted, we may set all the decrees of our enemy, and all his tributary states at defiance. The Orders in Council have most wisely been repealed,—if indeed a relinquishment of the most foolish measure ever conceived in any country deserves the name of wisdom. In their place has been substituted a plan more consistent and intelligible, and much more limited in its operation; but, in principle, quite as unwise—and, so far as it goes, equally hurtful. Those parts of the enemy's territory which adopted the Berlin decree, have been virtually blockaded. It is manifest, that if the Berlin decree is adopted by the whole Continent, and this blockade extended with it, in proportion to its rigorous enforcement will be the destruction of our commerce. In whole, or in a considerable part, we must depend upon

it it persist in opposing the only measures which can either enable the island to defend itself in the mean time, or render it ultimately secure from the attacks of the enemy, which all our forces should be seriously set about, it would find it difficult to resist.

upon neutrals for continuing our intercourse with the Continent. The blockade cuts us off from this only means of carrying it on; unless, indeed, we expect that our own vessels shall be admitted the more freely, the more we exclude those of neutral nations. The wretched folly of this system is, that it succeeds against the neutral, and against ourselves, as completely as heart can wish; but, for any good that might be expected from it, we must depend upon the enemy. We can prevent, what our enemy never could do of himself, a single bale of British goods from finding its way into the Continent on board an American vessel; but, when we come to the main point of getting it in on board of our own vessels, we find that the enemy will not consent. As for the wild fancy of starving Buonaparte out by this mode of warfare—of appealing from the strength of his government and the force of his armies, to the desire of sugar and coffee among his subjects—nay, of appealing from his own hatred of England to his tenderness for his people—what shall we say, but that it is worthy of those who expected to overpower his feelings by the dearth of medicines, while they were accusing him of butchering his prisoners in cold blood, and getting rid of his sick soldiers by poison?

It follows demonstratively from what has just now been stated, that the neutrality of the new world is our best safeguard from the subjugation of the old. While America covers the ocean with her ships, England may defy the conqueror of Europe;—she will trade, in spite of him, with his vassal kingdoms—nay, with the ports subject to his own immediate dominion. He can only destroy her European trade, by putting an end to the neutrality of America,—and by causing all Europe to do the same. It is the interest of England, first of all certainly, to remain at peace with America; but next, that America should remain at peace with the rest of the world. The interest of America is one and the same;—and, if this common object is pursued, the only free states that now remain, may defy the common enemy of civil liberty and national independence. How ridiculous then is it to make a rupture between America and France, the chief object of our endeavours!—Except a rupture between America and England, it is the greatest evil that could befall us; and yet we are perpetually running after the one of those ills, at the risk of encountering the other;—threatening to inflict upon ourselves the calamity of a war with America, if she will not do us the injury of going to war with France;—threatening to cut off our whole trade, if she will not instantly destroy one half of it. The season of conciliation with her is happily not gone past; and it is to be hoped that the popular feelings on both sides, are considerably more calm than they were a few months ago. No concessions are required from either party; for America is willing to waive the immediate discussion of former differences;

differences; and all that England hesitates about is, to allow America to retain the undignified attitude of an *unarmed remonstrant* against the idle decrees of France. That she ever should acquiesce in those decrees, is utterly inconceivable. No man has dreamt of it;—no man has ventured to assert that America would suspend her intercourse with England, merely because France asked her to do so, and threatened utter impossibilities if she did not comply. The whole question is, whether we shall quarrel with America, because she is less resentful of empty insult—less jealous about airy trifles than we are. Let us rather rejoice that such a nation is to be found,—ready to bear those rubs which we are too proud to put up with,—and to save our honour, trade, pride and all together, at the expense of its own dignity. The friendship of such a nation, and its neutrality with respect to the rest of the world, is now become invaluable to us. We should purchase it cheaply by great sacrifices; but, from an happy concurrence of interests, we have it absolutely for nothing; and the sacrifice, if any be required, is tendered by America to France, not to America by England.

It is impossible to leave this branch of the subject, without adverting to the strange delusions under which the country has so long laboured, with respect to what are termed points of national honour; and these are the more dangerous, because they have their foundation in the best feelings which a people can cherish,—or rather, they are an imposition practised upon those feelings. The practice is, amongst vulgar politicians, to assert on behalf of the country, a variety of very doubtful, or even unfounded pretensions,—to maintain these as undeniable rights,—and to contend that the degradation of the state, the ruin of its honour, and a speedy termination of its independence, is the immediate consequence of receding from any one of those claims. Now, to us it is by no means so clear, that the abandonment of the clearest right which a nation can possess, necessarily involves either its dishonour or its ruin; unless there be something important in the thing given up—or something humiliating and base in the thing submitted to—or, finally, something disgraceful in the mode of yielding the point. To allow the search of national ships, would be degrading,—because it cannot be practised without constant humiliation to the feelings of part of your troops. Rather than submit to this, a people should be prepared to perish with their swords in their hands. And accordingly England, with perfect wisdom, as well as a strict regard to justice, did not even ask America to yield this point. On the other hand, England claims the right of searching private vessels—and, as it appears to us, justly. Nor could she, consistently with honour, have abandoned it, when the Northern

Northern Powers had once publicly threatened to make her give it up by force. But the value of that right was not above all estimation; and no degradation could have ensued from fairly agreeing to wave it previous to any menaces, and for a just equivalent in favour of nations, whose friendship we wish to cultivate,—more especially of those whose power is altogether inferior to our own, —whose aggrandizement we have no reason to dread,—and to whom no one can suspect us of yielding through compulsion,—it may often be wise, and never can be dishonourable, to make temporary concessions of rights which are indisputably ours, provided the compromise is not discreditable in itself. Much more easily may sales of this sort be figured in our transactions with a people naturally united to us by so many indissoluble ties as those that knit together the English of the old and the new world. They are our natural allies; and, as it is quite impossible to have too much jealousy of France; so, towards America we can scarcely have too little. When such reasoners as Mr Leckie, gravely talk of our being insulted by the Porte, we plainly perceive the errors of a man who has lived in the immediate neighbourhood of the Turks, until he has forgotten their insignificance. But when France is stretching her iron coats on all sides of us,—when her fleets and her camps are within sight—and we alone, of all Europe, have not been conquered by her arms;—it is almost as ridiculous to be jealous of America as of Turkey—of a nation three thousand miles off—scarcely kept together by the weakest government in the world, —with no army, and half a dozen frigates,—and knowing no other means of intercourse with other countries than by peaceful commerce.

While we reserve all our jealousy for France, then let us at last learn, that kindness towards our allies is sound and honourable policy. It has never been sufficiently our aim to attach them by liberality to our cause. We forget that their strength is our own—and fall far short in this respect of France herself. Had she been in our place, Russia might have had Malta for the asking, and a West India island or two to boot. America would never have been left to quarrel about trifling speculative points; and instead of a silly contest about the little company of Ostend, and its yearly shipments, Austria would have been complimented, had she been so disposed, with some millions of subjects in Indostan. We have never learnt the lesson of making our friendship worth having; and the consequence is, that our enmity has not been very dreadful.

To some of our readers it may perhaps appear that we have dwelt too long upon the commercial interests of the country, in a general discussion of its foreign affairs. But the question be-

tween France and England has, since the subjugation of the Continent, become entirely commercial. The war of the enemy against our trade, is now the only contest that remains. While our naval superiority lasts, he can never acquire seamen, unless, indeed, we force all neutrals out of the market, and compel him to carry for himself—which, though in a limited degree, he will then do. It has repeatedly been shown by the adversaries of the Americans, that they drive even the coasting trade of France. This fact is quite irreconcilable with the notion of her having any nursery for seamen; and those active mariners will doubtless engross the greater part of the trade between the other countries now subjected to France. The stations formerly mentioned in the Mediterranean and the North, will be sufficient to watch any naval armaments that may be attempted in those quarters; and the danger of invasion, though unquestionably increased in a very great degree, is by no means such as should make us despond, while we have still the means of supporting our fleets, and carrying on with unbroken spirit the business of the government.

The prosperity of our trade, however, is much more essential to this than it ever was before. It cannot be denied, that the public burdens press upon the people of this country with a weight, only not intolerable. There are even manifest symptoms, that an increase of taxes could scarcely be effected, whatever might be the call for new contributions. The revenue is raised, partly by direct taxation, and partly by duties on consumption. The property-tax, which forms the bulk of the direct imposts, has been, of late, collected with much more rigour than at first,—the persons entrusted with the management of it having, of course, become more skilful, and acquired a more intimate knowledge of people's affairs. The effect of this has been exactly the same as if the rate of that tax had been augmented. But the difficulty of procuring payment has also increased in an alarming degree. The assessment of 1805 was not quite six millions and a quarter; that of 1806 amounted to above eleven millions and a quarter—although there had only been imposed an addition of three and a half *per cent.* But the arrears have increased at a much higher rate. Last April, there remained due, of the assessment 1805, only 92,000*l.*; but of the assessment 1806, above 900,000*l.*; and of the assessment 1807, no less than 2,357,000*l.** The difficulty of procuring payment has thus rapidly increased; and this can only be explained by the augmentation of prices in consequence

* Parliamentary Returns, 8th June, 1809.—The arrears of last year's assessment were above eight millions and a quarter; but these cannot be taken into the computation.

sequence of the war, and the increase of taxes upon articles of consumption. The produce of this other class of taxes has accordingly suffered a great diminution. The net produce of the permanent taxes (which, with the trifling exception of the legacy duty, are all laid on consumption) last year, fell short of their net produce the year before by about 300,000*l.*, although new taxes, to the amount of two millions and a quarter, had been collected. The deficit upon the former taxes was therefore above two millions and a half; † and a similar defalcation took place in almost all the war taxes, which fall on consumable articles.

It appears, then, that when the property-tax was strictly levied, the difficulty of paying it increased;—that an imposition of new taxes upon consumption occasioned a diminution in the produce of the old;—and that the increased payment of direct taxes was compensated by a defalcation in the indirect taxes. The facts which we have stated warrant the inference, not merely that the one species of taxation operated at the expense of the other, but that, independent of all duties, the difficulty of raising the same amount of taxes had increased;—that, in short, the circumstances of our situation—the wasteful consumption of war—the rise in the price of labour from the demands of the army—and the checks upon our commerce, had so far straitened the means of the people, and raised the price of commodities, as to disable them from contributing the accustomed proportion to the exigences of the state. But we are willing to hope that the conclusion needs not be pushed so far; and we shall, for the present, confine ourselves to the position, unquestionably supported, not only by the foregoing statement, but by facts within every man's knowledge—that we have now arrived at the point where the attempt to raise one tax will only lower the produce of another—that a man cannot pay the full amount of his property-tax, and at the same time consume as many of the articles which pay duties to government, if these duties are raised; and, *vice versa*, that he cannot consume as much of those articles at the former duties, if his property shall be taxed more heavily.

If the nation has at last reached this point—if the revenue of

† The taxes on which the greatest proportional deficit is perceivable are, as might be expected, those on articles of luxury. The duties on horses, carriages and servants, fell off from 2,150,000*l.* to 1,523,000*l.*—Customs and Excise, from 19,178,000*l.* to 17,960,000*l.* These deficits were in part covered by the new and most impolitic stamp-duty, and the increase of the assessed taxes known by the name of, 'a new arrangement of them,'—and in part by an increased receipt upon the 10 per cent. of 1806 laid on the assessed taxes, and the duty of the same year on British spirits.

of the people is now made to pay as much towards the revenue of the state as any human means can extort from it—if the natural period of taxation is at length arrived—by the public income outstripping that of individuals—(and, surely, when we reflect, that besides twenty-two millions borrowed, above seventy millions Sterling are at present raised within the year by taxes, we cannot marvel at this crisis being come†);—how clearly must every thinking man perceive, that the whole system of our policy depends, for its existence, upon the continuance of our commerce,—that inextricable confusion will arise from any considerable diminution of the income of the country,—and that the only means of augmenting the public revenue, must be sought in the extension of the revenue of the people, by opening new channels of employment for their capital at home and abroad, while we carefully preserve those which are already accessible? At the same time, every practicable method should be resorted to, of diminishing our expenditure, by a rigorous and discerning reform of abuses. We are persuaded, that (we will not say, a great, but) a very considerable income may be derived from this source. Let any man reflect on the remark which he must so frequently have made, while passing through the halls, the chambers, the offices and the gardens, of an English grandee's palace, and, still more, while considering the manner in which his estates are managed—‘The loss and the waste of thousands by the year,’ is the thought which ever and anon presents itself. Who can doubt, then, that much is wasted in an establishment which costs above ninety millions a year,—which is spread over many thousand square miles,—entrusted to multitudes who have no interest in being economical, and watched over hastily, incidentally, and according to rules devised when it was in the bud, by a few persons who volunteer their services, change every day, and must see all abuses at a vast distance, if they see them at all? In the present state of our affairs, we may be well assured, that the danger which chiefly befalls us is not that of parsimony. From this source we can derive nothing to appal us, except, perhaps, the risk of bringing the cause of reform into a temporary discredit, by too rash and indiscriminate a pursuit of it. But, from a continuance of our present scale of expenditure, coupled with what is infinitely more ruinous—a contempt for the only means of meeting

† The revenue raised by Great Britain, in 1809, is estimated at 65,885,342*l.*, including the surplus of 1808, and exclusive of money raised by loan and Exchequer bills, to the amount of 18,660,000*l.* The net revenue of Ireland, in 1808, exclusive of about 4,000,000*l.* loans, was 4,571,250*l.*; so that the revenue of the empire may be reckoned at 70,456,592*l.*

meeting it;—from a disinclination to retrench whatever is useless in our outgoings, and, still more, from an aversion to those conciliatory measures, which, with perfect safety to our honour, may enable us to keep up, and even to augment, our national income;—from a conduct so insatuated as this, we foresee, at no great distance, the approach of confusion and dismay in every branch of our affairs,—and the final conquest of an empire which, we sincerely and proudly believe, nothing else can ever shake. †

It has often been our lot to speak with despondency, amidst the extravagant hopes of our countrymen; and the task, which a sense of duty alone could force upon us, has been more painful than can easily be imagined. It is with no small satisfaction, therefore, that we now think our despair of the fortunes of this country, and of the ultimate fate of the Continent, is much less deep than that which is spreading rapidly over the community. A better spirit has of late begun to manifest itself among the people of England. The language of conciliation towards neutrals has been listened to with more patience. The popular antipathies have been pointed of new exclusively against France. A marked contempt of those silly half measures, which the government has generally adopted in the conduct of the war, begins to be displayed; the folly of what are misnamed British objects, is daily more and more recognized; and a wish seems about to prevail, that we should either direct the resources of the empire to some worthy object, or reserve them for our own defence. These are excellent symptoms; and we devoutly pray that they may daily improve. Nor can we see, without satisfaction, the prevalence of an inquiring spirit as to domestic abuses,—the stern aspect which the people, awaked from its apathy, has turned upon the malversations of the higher orders,—and the signal failure of all the miserable attempts to cry down reform, by the raising the yell of Jacobinism. From the progress of these experiments, we augur most favourably for the stability of the empire; because we foresee an improvement in the administration of its affairs at home and abroad. It is plain, too, that in spite of all our attempts to save them, the abuses of other governments have destroyed them; and, with the governments, the abuses themselves have for the most part been crushed. The states which France has overrun, cannot continue in their former weakness. To the decrepitude

† A blind desire of peace, arising from the pressure of taxes, would scarcely prove less pernicious than the love of war, in which those taxes have had their origin. As soon as the contest is over, we shall feel it our duty once more to consider this most important subject.

decrepitude that bent them down before her, must succeed a period of vigour, which, after making them useful as her coadjutors, will hereafter render them turbulent and formidable. The evils of the changes which she has made in their government, and in the distribution of their territory—the incalculable mischiefs of the military spirit which she is diffusing will, at a future season, be alleviated by the means which they will afford of resisting her oppressions. Should any disaster befall her present ruler,—or when he yields to the course of nature,—it requires no gift of prophecy to foresee, that the strong government and improved system of administration which he has established in his tributary kingdoms, will raise an insurmountable barrier round France, on whatever heads his many crowns may fall. Then will England be enabled to resume her place as the arbiter of Europe—to count among her natural allies all those nations whom France shall for a season have been holding in thralldom—and to establish her connexions with a set of able and vigorous dynasties, instead of so many worn-out governments—masses of feebleness and abuse,—whose friendship has hitherto been known to her, only by its vexations and its costs.

When the tempest has overturned the venerable but inwardly decayed trees of an ancient forest, two results may be anticipated from the visitation. The space where they stood may be covered for ages with a loathsome and unprofitable morass—or a new wood may arise from the fertilized soil, more gracefully disposed, and more firmly rooted—less gloomy and unhealthful, and less entangled with the base undergrowth of creepers and brambles. We look confidently for the fall of these events—and trust that, instead of trying any more to lift those dead and fallen trunks, or to prop those that are already tottering in the blast, we should reserve our exertions to prepare the soil for the new shoots by which they must soon be replaced, and to train the rising grove to flourish in the sun, and bid defiance to the storm.

ART. XII. *The Bakerian Lecture. An Account of some New Analytical Researches on the Nature of certain Bodies, particularly the Alkalies, Phosphorus, Sulphur, Carbonaceous Matter, and the Acids hitherto undecomposed; with some general Observations on Chemical Theory.* By Humphry Davy, Esq. Sec. R. S. F. R. S. Ed. and M. R. I. A. (From the Philosophical Transactions for 1800. Part I.)

An Account of some Experiments, performed with a View to ascertain the most advantageous Method of constructing a Voltaic Apparatus for the Purposes of Chemical Research. By John George Children, Esq. F. R. S. (From the same Work.)

HAVING made it a rule to follow the progress of Mr Davy's inquiries, from their commencement two years ago, we hasten to pursue this very agreeable task, by continuing the history of his experiments, published since our last Number. The paper now before us contains fewer complete processes—fewer discoveries satisfactorily established, than any of the former ones;—but it abounds in elaborate and ingenious experiments, the results of which, in their present state extremely interesting, are yet more so, as paving the way for further research, and scattering thickly the seeds of most important improvements in chemical science.

Before proceeding to Mr Davy's paper, we shall notice that of Mr Children, which forms a proper introduction to it. He compared the effects of two voltaic batteries, the one consisting of a small number of large plates, the other composed of a great number of small plates, and having altogether a much smaller surface of metal. The former consisted of twenty pair of large plates, and had a surface of 92,160 square inches; the latter of two hundred pair of small plates, and had a surface of only 3200 square inches. Their batteries were both excited by diluted nitrous and sulphuric acids mixed together. The *intensity* of the electricity produced by the large battery was so small, that it did not affect the electrometer; and it acted very feebly upon nonconductors in general. Its *quantity*, however, was great; and its action on perfect conductors very powerful. The small battery produced an electricity much more intense, and capable of acting violently upon imperfect conductors. Thus, it affected the electrometer, and decomposed potash and barytes, which the other did not effect. But Mr Children does not seem to have tried its action upon metallic wires. Of these, the large battery easily fused such as were not easily oxydable, and consequently were good conductors. Mr Children, however, compared its action, in this respect, with the action of a battery of 1250 four-inch plates. The large plate battery fused eighteen inches of platina wire; the small plate battery only half an inch, which is evidently by no means in the ratio of their surfaces.* This is certainly a curious fact; although the

* Mr Children makes some mistake, when he says that, according to this ratio, the small battery should have fused nearly 14 inches instead

the author appears rather to generalize too quickly and too confidently, when he lays down from his experiments the following proposition. 'The absolute effect,' says he, 'of a voltaic apparatus, seems to be in the compound ratio of the number and size of the plates; the intensity of the electricity being as the former, the quantity given out as the latter.' The practical rule, however, which he deduces from hence, appears to be quite well founded. 'Regard,' he observes, 'must be had, in constructing the battery, to the purposes for which it is designed. For experiments on perfect conductors, very large plates are to be preferred; a small number of which will probably be sufficient: but, where the resistance of imperfect conductors is to be overcome, the combination must be great, but the size of the plates may be small; but if quantity and intensity be both required, then a large number of large plates will be necessary.' For general purposes, four-inch plates are most convenient: they should be joined together only in one point, and moveable in the trough, which should be made entirely of Wedgewood's ware. It is, we believe, with an apparatus constructed in this manner, that several of the experiments of Mr. Davy, which we are about to analyze, were performed.

The first object to which our author directs his attention, is the mutual action of potassium and ammonia. The experiments on this subject were made with that metal obtained by the action of ignited iron upon potash, in the process discovered by the French chemists. The potassium was exposed on a platina tray, introduced into a retort of plate-glass, which was first exhausted, then filled with hydrogen, and exhausted again—then filled with pure ammoniacal gas. All impurities arising from oxydes, water, &c. were thus as much as possible avoided. Potassium exposed in this manner to ammoniacal gas, becomes slightly covered with a film of potash, and a small quantity of hydrogen gas is found in the ammoniacal gas. But if heat is applied, (by bringing a spirit lamp under the bulb of the retort where the tray is placed), a crust is formed of greater thickness, which changes from white to blue, and then to olive. The heat being continued, the crust and metal fuse together, with an effervescence; the crust passes off to the sides, and the metal appears; it is again covered; and so on, until

instead of half an inch. If, by a battery of 1250 plates, he means one of so many pairs of plates, the ratio of the surfaces is about that of 20 to 23; and the lesser should have fused about 15 inches and a half. If he means single plates, then the ratio is that of 10 to 23; and only about eight inches should have been fused. We presume he means pairs of plates.

until it is wholly converted into the dark olive-coloured substance. In this process part of the ammoniacal gas disappears and hydrogen gas is evolved: the quantity of the former which disappears, varies with the moisture of the gas, but the quantity of hydrogen evolved is in proportion to the quantity of potassium operated upon. The dark-coloured substance is chiefly distinguished by its fusibility; it melts at a heat somewhat higher than that of boiling water. When burnt in oxygen, it absorbs that gas, emits nitrogen, and leaves a residuum of potash and water. When plunged in water, it produces much heat and even inflammation; and disappears with effervescence. The gas which escapes is hydrogen. When the fusible substance is heated in vacuo, it gives out an elastic fluid, and a dark-grey mass remains. The elastic fluid consists, besides a little ammonia, of two gasses: one disunites with oxygen, and is, to all appearance hydrogen gas; the other does not detonate. Mr. Davy thinks it pretty clear that the ammonia is only obtained when moisture is present. He examined the residuum of the fusible substance, after it had been exposed to a low red heat; and found that it was brittle, conducting, opaque and black; spontaneously inflammable; and giving out ammonia when thrown into water. By a variety of nice experiments and calculations, he was led to think that a portion of the nitrogen, absorbed from the ammonia, in the formation of this substance, disappeared altogether, and the following remarkable process left no doubt of it. The residuum was placed in a platina tube, thoroughly exhausted, connected with a pneumatic apparatus, and exposed to the heat of a forge. After it had by this means been heated as intensely as possible, the gas which came over, when mixed with half its bulk of oxygen, and detonated, left about one-sixth part of the whole undestroyed, and that sixth contained oxygen. In the tube was found potash, and potassium; and water being added, much heat and inflammation was produced, but no symptom of ammonia. A variety of repetitions gave results perfectly correspondent. Mr. Davy clearly shows, that this is a considerably smaller residue of nitrogen than should be found; and it is evident, that a part of that body having disappeared, its place is filled by oxygen, and another body not distinguishable from hydrogen. He concludes this part of his inquiry with stating, in the modest and truly philosophical form of a query, the theory of this singular experiment.

Is it, he asks, that the substance which, together with oxygen, takes the place of the nitrogen, is a new inflammable gas; or, that nitrogen has a metallic basis, which alloys with the substance of the vessels? or, that nitrogen, hydrogen and oxygen, all contain water as a ponderable basis, being themselves without weight?

or, finally, that nitrogen is a compound of hydrogen and oxygen, —a modification of water, containing a greater proportion of oxygen? To determine these points, our author is engaged in further experiments; and we can scarcely doubt that the result will be in favour of the last supposition; or at least, that nitrogen will be found, either to be an oxyde of hydrogen, or to contain hydrogen and oxygen, with some new and unflammable aeriform body.

Mr Davy's experiments upon sulphur and phosphorus were performed with a different apparatus. A platina wire was introduced into the end of a glass tube, and hermetically fixed in it. The tube, filled with the inflammable body, was bent at the other end; and another wire there inserted in the inflammable body. The wires could thus be brought within the proper distance of each other; and the shock of the battery be sent from one to the other, through the substance. When sulphur was exposed, in this manner, to the influence of a powerful battery (500 double plates of six inches), strong heat was produced: the spark was of a vivid orange colour; and sulphuretted hydrogen escaped. The residue was opaque, brown, and difficult of fusion. Our author obtained of gas, above five times the volume of the sulphur employed. Suspecting that oxygen as well as hydrogen is contained in sulphur, Mr Davy having dried, as completely as possible, a quantity of sulphuretted hydrogen gas, heated potassium in it: it emitted white fumes, and took fire, depositing sulphur, sulphuret of potash, and sulphuret of potassium; and leaving hydrogen gas slightly impregnated with sulphur, in the receiving vessel. From this, and from several other experiments, our author infers that sulphur consists of a peculiar basis, not hitherto obtained in its simple state, united with small portions of oxygen and hydrogen. Phosphorus being exposed to the same series of experiments, both to the action of the galvanic fluid, and of potassium, gave nearly the same results. These experiments resemble the former so closely in every respect, that we shall not analyze them. The inference is, that phosphorus contains hydrogen, oxygen, and a peculiar basis.

Mr Davy next examined, by similar tests, the constitution of plumbago and charcoal. The former remained quite unaltered when exposed to a battery strong enough to melt platina wire instantly. When heated with potassium, it formed a body spontaneously inflammable and decomposing water. The latter, exposed to the battery, gave out carbonated hydrogen; and, when heated with potassium, formed a body spontaneously inflammable. Neither carbon nor plumbago show any marks of containing oxygen. The diamond appears to contain a minute portion of oxygen.

In his former experiments, our author had found, that the action of the battery separates a peculiar substance from boracic acid, on the negative surface. Upon examining this, he found it inflammable; and saw reason to conclude, that, by oxygenation, it reproduced boracic acid. He had likewise found, that, potassium, when heated with the same acid, produced borate of potash and a peculiar substance; which appearing, therefore, to be the basis of the acid, he now examined more fully. It is of a dark olive colour, perfectly opaque and nonconducting. It takes fire in common atmospherical air, at a temperature below that of boiling olive oil. Heated intensely in an exhausted tube, it suffers no perceptible change, except that its colour becomes darker;—heated gently in oxygen gas, it throws off vivid sparks, burns brilliantly, and sublimes into boracic acid: the residuum requires a stronger heat, but sublimes into the same substance. When exposed to oxymuriatic acid, without heating, it burns with violence, forms boracic acid, and leaves a residuum, which burns and forms the same acid on the application of a gentle heat.

A variety of other experiments are detailed by Mr. Davy, all illustrative of the affinity of this substance with oxygen, and its producing, by that union, boracic acid: but they exhibit no phenomena of peculiar interest; and we therefore pass them over. He gives two experiments, out of several which he made, in order to ascertain the proportions of this substance and oxygen in the boracic acid. They were not very accurate, and can only be viewed as approximations. The first gave two parts of oxygen to one of the inflammable basis; the second gave 1.8 oxygen to one of the basis. Mr Davy reasonably considers this basis as bearing the same relation to boracic acid that sulphur and phosphorus do to sulphuric and phosphoric acids;—in other words, as an oxyde of the true basis of the boracic acid. By heating it successively with potassium and with iron filings and a little potassium, bodies resembling metallic alloys and good conductors of electricity were produced, and the potassium was partly converted into potash. Our author infers from hence, that the basis of the acid is metallic; and he proposes to call it *boracium*. We apprehend it will be easily admitted, that he has succeeded in decomposing this acid,—at least that he has exhibited the base of it in its first state of deoxygenation, and given us as clear a knowledge of its composition as we have of the constitution of sulphuric or nitrous acids. His experiments on fluoric acid have been carried on in the same manner, and also by the application of the boracic basis, above described, to its decomposition, but without any such satisfactory result as to warrant us in following their details. He has certainly not advanced far towards the de-

composition of that acid. The only result worth mentioning, is, that potassium, when heated in fluoric acid gas, burns, and makes the gas disappear,—leaving a little hydrogen gas, and a dark coloured heterogeneous residuum.

Mr Davy's experiments upon muriatic acid have still failed in decomposing that refractory body; but they have been conducted with such admirable patience and skill, that, besides leading to some very curious facts in the mean time, they have most probably insured him, at no distant period, the solution of this great problem. The quantity of hydrogen always produced in the deoxygenating processes, to which muriatic acid has been subjected, first attracted his notice. It is needless to follow the train of his experiments upon this point; because they lead to a conclusion which will be readily anticipated by every one familiar with the habits of the acid—that the evolution of hydrogen, which apparently takes place from the acid, comes in every case from water held in solution. Our author's next object, therefore, was, if possible, to obtain muriatic acid free from water, with which it has so strong an affinity. We shall only notice the experiments in which he appears to have come nearest to this point; in none has he reached it decisively. By the combustion of phosphorus in oxymuriatic acid, a white substance sublimes; a small portion of liquor is likewise formed, and the gas is almost entirely absorbed. The sublimate, our author thinks, is a mixture of dry phosphoric and muriatic acids; the liquor, he conceives, is a mixture of dry phosphorus and muriatic acids. Sulphur exhibited to oxymuriatic acid in the same manner, gave mixtures, supposed by our author to contain dry sulphuric and muriatic acids. But as these experiments proved unsatisfactory for the object in view, he proceeded to examine the compounds thus produced. The circumstance chiefly to be remarked in them, is, that potassium being exhibited to them, produces most violent explosions. In these, Mr Davy does not conceive that the muriatic acid can be inactive; and he suspects that its decomposition, and the formation of a new substance from its basis, may be the occasion of the phenomena. But the further investigation of this subject he of course defers, until new experiments shall have enabled him to prosecute it with greater advantage.

This paper concludes with some general remarks, not so much upon the inferences directly to be drawn from the inquiries already analyzed, as upon certain incidental topics presented to our creed by those inquiries, and forming the subjects of corollaries to the main propositions. They are neither very numerous, nor of peculiar importance; but the paper itself is quite interesting enough to render any disappointment on this score highly unreasonable.

We

We shall add, in Mr Davy's own words, the general observation upon the whole of his late investigations, with which he closes the present tract.

'The facts' says he 'advanced in this lecture, afford no new arguments in favour of an idea to which I referred in my last communication to the Society,—that of hydrogen being a common principle in all inflammable bodies; and, except in instances which are still under investigation, and concerning which no precise conclusions can as yet be drawn, the generalization of Lavoisier happily applies to the explanation of all the new phenomena.'

We the rather cite this passage, because persons, half informed on these subjects, and senseless enough (if, indeed, another word should not be used) to contaminate scientific inquiries with the vulgar feelings of political hostility, have of late been forward in extolling the discoveries of Mr Davy, not on account of their vast intrinsic value, but from some vague confused notion, that they overthrew the modern theory founded by the French chemists, and created, as it were, a sort of balance of invention in favour of England. But on so disgusting a topic we are ashamed to dwell one moment longer.

'In proportion' our author concludes, 'as progress is made towards the knowledge of pure combustible bases, so in proportion is the number of metallic substances increased; and it is probable, that sulphur and phosphorus, could they be perfectly deprived of oxygen, would belong to this class of bodies. Possibly their pure elementary matter may be procured, by distillation at a high heat, from metallic alloys, in which they have been acted upon by sodium or potassium. I hope soon to be able to try this experiment. As our inquiries at present stand, the great general division of natural bodies is into matter which is, or may be supposed to be, metallic, and oxygen; but till the problem concerning the nature of nitrogen is fully solved, all systematic arrangement made upon this idea must be regarded as premature.'

Our readers will have perceived, in the course of this analysis, that the unwearied labour and the admirable skill of Mr Davy have not, since we last treated of these subjects, been rewarded with any discoveries of superior importance. Such, at least, is the impression which the paper now before us will infallibly make on every one who studies it. Yet let us consider what we should have said, had such a contribution to chemical knowledge fallen in our way three years ago;—had we, for instance, heard, that the basis of the boracic acid had been discovered—that hydrogen had been detected in sulphur and phosphorus—and oxygen in azote? The whole world of letters would have been in commotion; and it would have been universally allowed, that, since the establishment of the modern chemistry, no such steps had been made towards its perfection.

perfection. If we now think less of these improvements, or even receive them with coldness, it is only because we are spoiled with the abundance of capital discoveries in which we have of late been re-veling;—and it is Mr Davy himself who has spoiled us. His grand and numerous inventions, together with the two unexpected and important steps made by the French and Swedish chemists, have, for a while, so completely satiated the curiosity of the scientific world, that scarcely any new fact would now excite astonishment. While we are upon this point, we cannot avoid expressing the regret which filled us in reading the present paper, to perceive the philosophers of these neighbouring countries so entirely cut off from a mutual intercourse infinitely beneficial to their common pursuits. Mr Davy has to this day only read the interesting experiments of Messrs Gay, Lussac, and Thénard, in a Number of the *Moniteur*. If the rulers of nations are resolved never to consult the interests of the species in abstaining from war, surely they might contrive to hold off operations, which can only be excused from their necessity, and such a manner as to avoid unnecessary aggravations of the evil.

ART. XIII. *Observations on the Historical Work of the Right Honourable Charles James Fox.* By the Right Honourable George Rose. pp. 215. *With a Narrative of the Events which occurred in the Enterprise of the Earl of Argyll in 1685.* By Sir Patrick Hume. 4to. pp. 67. London, 1800.

THIS is an extraordinary performance in itself;—but the reasons assigned for its publication are still more extraordinary. A person of Mr Rose's consequence,—incessantly occupied, as he assures us, 'with official duties, which take equally,' according to his elegant expression, 'from the disengagement of the mind and the leisure of time,' thinks it absolutely necessary to explain to his country the motives which have led him to do so idle a thing as to write a book. He would not have it supposed, however, that he could be tempted to so questionable an act, by any light or ordinary consideration. Mr Fox and other literary loungers may write from a love of fame, or a relish for literature; but the official labours of Mr Rose can only be suspended by higher calls. All his former publications, he informs us, originated in 'a sense of public duty,' and the present in 'an impulse of private friendship.' An ordinary reader may perhaps find some difficulty in comprehending how Mr Rose could be 'impelled by private friendship' to publish a heavy quarto of political observations on Mr Fox's History.—and for our own parts, we must confess, that
after

after the most diligent perusal of his long explanation, we do not, in the least comprehend it yet. The explanation, however, which is very curious, it is our duty to lay before our readers.

Mr Rose was much patronised by the late Earl of Marchmont, who left him his family papers, with an injunction to make use of them, 'if it should ever become necessary.' Among these papers was a narrative by Sir Patrick Hume, the Earl's grandfather, of the occurrences which befel him and his associates, in the unfortunate expedition undertaken by the Earl of Argyle, in 1685. Mr Fox, in detailing the history of that expedition, has passed a censure, as Mr Rose thinks, on the character of Sir Patrick; and, to obviate the effects of that censure, he now finds it 'necessary' to publish this volume.

All this sounds very chivalrous and affectionate; but we have three little remarks to make. In the first place, Mr Fox passes no censure on Sir Patrick Hume. In the second place, this publication does by no means obviate the censure of which Mr Rose complains. And, thirdly, it is utterly absurd to ascribe Mr Rose's part of the volume, in which Sir Patrick Hume is scarcely ever mentioned, to any anxiety about his reputation.

In the first place, it is quite certain that Mr Fox passes no censure on Sir Patrick Hume. On the contrary, he says of him, that 'he had early distinguished himself in the cause of liberty,' and afterwards rates him so very highly, as to think it a sufficient reason for construing some doubtful points in Sir John Cochrane's conduct favourably, that 'he had always acted in conjunction with Sir Patrick Hume, who is proved by the subsequent events, and indeed by the whole tenor of his life and conduct, to have been uniformly sincere and zealous in the cause of his country.' Such is the deliberate and unequivocal testimony which Mr Fox has borne to the character of this gentleman; and such the historian, whose unjust censures have compelled the Right Honourable George Rose to indite 250 quarto pages, out of pure regard to the injured memory of this ancestor of his deceased patron.

Such is Mr Fox's opinion, then, of Sir Patrick Hume; and the only opinion he *any where* gives of his character. With regard to his conduct, he observes, indeed, in one place, that he and the other gentlemen engaged in the enterprise appear to have paid too little deference to the opinion of their noble leader; and narrates, in another, that at the breaking up of their little army, they did not even stay to reason with him, but crossed the Clyde with such as would follow them. Now, Sir Patrick's own narrative, so far from contradicting either of these statements, confirms them both in the most remarkable manner. There is scarcely a page of it that does not show the jealous and control-

ing spirit which was exercised towards their leader; and, with regard to the concluding scene, Sir Patrick's own account makes infinitely more strongly against himself and Sir John Cochrane, than the general statement of Mr Fox. So far from staying to argue with their general before parting with him, it appears that Sir Patrick did not so much as see him; and that Cochrane, at whose suggestion he deserted him, had in a manner ordered that unfortunate nobleman to leave their company. The material words of the narrative are these.

'On coming down to Kilpatrick, I met Sir John (Cochrane), with others accompanying him; who, *taking me by the hand, turned mee,* saying, My heart, goes you with mee. Whither goe you, said I? Over Clide by boate, said he.—I: Where is Argyle? I must see him.—He: He is gone away to his owne countrey, you cannot see him.—I: How comes this change of resolution, and that wee went not together to Glasgow?—He: It is no time to answer questions, but I shall satisfy you afterward. To the boates wee came, filled 2, and rowed over, &c.—An honest gentleman who was present, told mee afterward the manner of his parting with the Eyle. Argyle being in the room with Sir John, the gentleman coming in, found confusion in the Erle's countenance and speech. In end he said, Sir John, I pray advise mee what shall I doe; shall I goe over Clide with you, or shall I goe to my owne countrey? Sir John answered, My Lord, I have told you my opinion; *you have some Highlanders here about you; it is best you goe to your owne countrey with them, for it is to no purpose for you to go over Clide.* My Lord, faire you well. Then call'd the gentleman, *Come away, Sir; who followed him when I met with him.*—Sir P. Hume's Narrative, p. 63, 64.

Such are all the censures which Mr Fox passes upon this departed worthy; and such the *contradiction* which Mr Rose now thinks it necessary to exhibit. It is very true that Mr Fox, in the course of his narrative, is under the necessity of mentioning, on the credit of all the historians who have treated of the subject, that Argyle, after his capture, did express himself in terms of strong disapprobation, both of Sir Patrick Hume and of Sir John Cochrane; and said, that their ignorance and misconduct was, *though not designedly*, the chief cause of his failure. Mr Fox neither adopts nor rejects this sentiment. He gives his own opinion, as we have already seen, in terms of the highest encomium on the character of Sir Patrick Hume, and merely repeats the expressions of Argyle as he found them in Woodrow and the other historians, and as he was under the necessity of repeating them, if he was to give any account of the last words of that unfortunate nobleman. It is this censure of Argyle, then, perhaps, and not any censure of Mr Fox's, that Mr Rose intended to obviate by the publication before us. But, upon this supposition, how did the appearance of Mr Fox's book constitute that *necessity* which compelled

compelled the tender conscience of Lord Marchmont's executor to give to the world this long lost justification of his ancestor? The censure did not appear for the first time in Mr Fox's book. It was repeated, during Sir Patrick's own life, in all the papers of the time, and in all the historians since. Sir Patrick lived nearly forty good years after this accusation of Argyle was made public; and thirty-six of those years in great credit, honour and publicity. If he had thought that the existence of such an accusation constituted a kind of moral necessity for the publication of his narrative, it is evident that he would himself have published it; and if it was not necessary then, while he was alive to suffer by the censure of his leader, or to profit by its refutation, it is not easy to understand how it should be necessary now, when 130 years have elapsed from the date of it, and the bones of its author have reposed for nearly a century in their peaceful and honoured monument.

That the narrative never was published before, though the censure, to which it is supposed to be an antidote, had been published for more than a century, is a pretty satisfactory proof, that those who were most interested, and best qualified to judge, either did not consider the censure as very deadly, or the antidote as very effectual. We are very well contented to leave it doubtful which of these was the case; and we are convinced, that all the readers of Mr Rose's book will agree that it is still very doubtful. Sir Patrick, in his narrative, no doubt, says, that Argyle was extremely arrogant, self-willed, and obstinate; but it is equally certain, that the Earl said of him, that he was jealous, disobedient, and untractable. Both were men of honour and veracity; and, we doubt not, believed what they said. It is even possible that both may have said truly; but, at this distance of time, and with no new evidence but the averment of one of the parties, it would be altogether ridiculous to pretend to decide which may have come nearest to an impartial statement. Before the publication of the present narrative, it is plain, from Woodrow, Burnet, and other writers, that considerable blame was generally laid on Argyle for his peremptoriness and obstinacy; and now that the narrative is published, it is still more apparent than ever, that he had some ground for the charges he made against his officers. The whole tenor of it shows, that they were constantly in the habit of checking and thwarting him; and we have already seen, that it gives a very lame and unsatisfactory account of their strange desertion of him, when their fortunes appeared to be desperate.

It is perfectly plain, therefore, we conceive, that the publication of Mr Fox's book constituted neither a necessity nor an intelligible inducement for the publication of this narrative; and that the

* the narrative, now that it is published, has no tendency to remove any slight shade of censure that history may have thrown over the temper or prudence of Sir Patrick Hume. But, even if all this had been otherwise—if Mr Fox had, for the first time, insinuated a censure on this defunct whig, and if the Narrative had contained the most complete refutation of such a censure, this might indeed have accounted for the publication of Sir Patrick's narrative; but it could not have accounted at all for the publication of Mr Rose's book—the only thing to be accounted for. The narrative is given as an appendix of 65 pages to a volume of upwards of 300. In publishing the narrative, Mr Rose did not assume the character of 'an author,' and was not called upon, by the responsibility of that character, to explain to the world his reasons for 'submitting himself to their judgment.' It is only for his book, then, exclusive of the narrative, that Mr Rose can be understood to be offering any apology; and the apology he offers is, that it sprang from the impulse of private friendship. When the matter is looked into, however, it turns out, that though private friendship may, by a great stretch, be supposed to have dictated the publication of the appendix, it can by no possibility account, or help to account, for the composition of the book. Nay, the tendency and tenor of the book is such as this ardent and romantic friendship must necessarily condemn. It contains nothing whatever in praise or in defence of Sir Patrick Hume; but it contains a very keen, and not a very candid attack, upon his party and his principles. Professing to be published from anxiety to vindicate and exalt the memory of an insurgent revolution whig, it consists almost entirely of an attempt to depreciate Whig principles, and openly to decry and vilify such of Mr Fox's opinions, as Sir Patrick Hume constantly exemplified in his actions. There never was an effect, we believe, imputed to so improbable a cause.

Finally, we may ask, if Mr Rose's view, in this publication, was merely to vindicate the memory of Sir Patrick Hume, why he did not put into Mr Fox's hands the information which would have rendered all vindication unnecessary? It was known to all the world, for several years, that Mr Fox was engaged in the history of that period; and if Mr Rose really thought that the papers in his custody gave a different view of Sir Patrick's conduct from that exhibited in the printed authorities, was it not his duty to put Mr Fox upon his guard against being misled by them, and to communicate to him those invaluable documents, to which he could have access in no other way? Did he doubt that Mr Fox would have candour to state the truth, or that he would have stat-

ed with pleasure any thing that could exalt the character of a revolution whig? Did he imagine that any statement of his could ever obtain equal notoriety and effect with a statement in Mr Fox's history? Or did he poorly withhold this information, that he might detract from the value of that history, and have to boast to the public that there was one point upon which he was better informed than that illustrious statesman? As to the preposterous apology which seems to be hinted at in the book itself, viz. that it was Mr Fox's business to have asked for these papers, and not Mr Rose's to have offered them, we shall only observe, that it stands on a point of etiquette, which would scarcely be permitted to govern the civilities of tradesmen's wares; and that it seems not a little unreasonable to lay Mr Fox under the necessity of asking for papers, the very existence of which he could have no reason to expect. This narrative of Sir Patrick Hume has not been in the archives of his family for 130 years, unknown and unsuspected to all but its immediate proprietors; and distinguished as Sir Patrick was in his day in Scotland, it certainly does not imply any extraordinary stupidity in Mr Fox, not to know, by intuition, that there were papers of his in existence which might afford him some lights on the subject of his history.

We may appear to have dwelt too long on these preliminary considerations, since the intrinsic value of Mr Rose's observations certainly will not be affected by the truth or the fallacy of the motives he has assigned for publishing them. It is impossible, however, not to see that, when a writer assigns a false motive for his coming forward, he is commonly conscious, that the real one is discreditable; and that to expose the hollowness of such a pretence, is to lay the foundation of a wholesome distrust of his general fairness and temper. Any body certainly had a right to publish remarks on Mr Fox's work,—and nobody a better right than Mr Rose; and if he had stated openly, that all the habits and connexions of his life had led him so wish to see that work discredited, no one would have been entitled to complain of his exertions in the cause. When he chooses to disguise this motive, however, and to assign another, which does not at all account for the phenomenon, we are so far from forgetting the existence of the other, that we are internally convinced of its being much stronger than we should otherwise have suspected; and that it is only dissembled, because it exists in a degree that could not have been decently avowed. For the same reason, therefore, of enabling our readers more distinctly to appreciate the intellect and temper of this Right Honourable author, we must say a word or two more of his introduction, before proceeding to the substance of his remarks.

Besides the edifying history of his motive for writing, we are favoured,

* favoured, in that singular piece, with a number of his opinions upon points no way connected with Mr Fox or his history; and with a copious account of his labours and studies in all kinds of juridical and constitutional learning. In order to confirm an opinion, that a minute knowledge of our antient history is not necessary to understand our actual constitution, he takes an unintelligible survey of the progress of our government, from the days of King Alfred,—and quotes Lord Coke, Plowden, Doomesday Book, Lord Ellesmere, Rymer's *Fœdera*, Dugdale's *Origines*, the *Rolls of Parliament*, *Whitelock*, and *Abbott's Records*; but, above all, 'a report which I made several years ago on the state of the records in my custody.' He then goes on, in the most obliging manner, to inform his readers, that 'Vertot's Account of the Revolutions of Rome has been found very useful by persons who have read the Roman History; but the best model that I have met with for such a work as appears to me to be much wanted, is a short History of Poland, which I translated nearly forty years ago, but did not publish; the manuscript of which His Majesty at the time did me the honour to accept, and it probably is still in His Majesty's library.' Introduction, p. xxiv. xxv.

Truly all this is very interesting; and very much to the purpose:—but scarcely more so than eight or nine pages that follow, containing a long account of the conversations which Lord Marchmont had with Lord Bolingbroke, about the politics of Queen Anne's ministers, and which Mr Rose now gives to the world from his recollection of various conversations between himself and Lord Marchmont. He tells us, moreover, that, 'accustomed as he has been to official accuracy in statement,' he had naturally a quick eye for mistakes in fact or in deduction;—that, 'having long enjoyed the confidence and affectionate friendship of Mr Pitt,' he has been more scrupulous than he would otherwise have been, in ascertaining the grounds of his animadversions on the work of his great rival;—and that, notwithstanding all this anxiety, and the want of 'disembarrassment of mind, and leisure of time,' he has compiled this volume in about as many weeks as Mr Fox took years to the work on which it comments!

For the observations themselves, we must say that we have perused them with considerable pleasure—not certainly from any extraordinary gratification which we derived from the justness of the sentiments, or the elegance of the style, but from a certain agreeable surprise which we experienced on finding how few parts of Mr Fox's doctrine were considered as vulnerable, even by Mr Rose; and in how large a proportion of his freest and strongest observations that jealous observer has expressed his most cordial concurrence.

concurrence. The Right Honourable George Rose, we rather believe, is commonly considered as one of the least whiggish or democratical of all the public characters who have lived in our times; and he has himself acknowledged, that a long habit of political opposition to Mr Fox, had perhaps given him a stronger bias against his favourite doctrines than he might otherwise have entertained. It was therefore no slight consolation to us to find that the true principles of English liberty had made so great a progress in the opinions of all men in upper life, as to extort such an ample admission of them, even from a person of Mr Rose's habits and connexions. As we fear, however, that the same justness and liberality of thinking are by no means general among the more obscure retainers of party throughout the country, we think it may not be without its use to quote a few of the passages to which we have alluded, just to let the vulgar Tories in the provinces see how much of their favourite doctrines has been abjured by their more enlightened chiefs and leaders in the seat of government.

In the first place, there are all the passages, (which it would be useless and tedious to recite), in which the patriotism and public virtue of Sir P. Hume are held up to the admiration of posterity. Now, Sir P. Hume, that true and sincere lover of his country, whose 'talents and virtues his Sovereign acknowledged and rewarded,' and 'whose honours have been attended by the suffrage of his country, and the approbation of good men,' was, even in the reign of Charles, concerned in designs analogous to those of Russell and Sydney;—and, very soon after the accession of James, and (as Mr Rose thinks) before that monarch had done any thing in the least degree blameable, rose up openly in arms, and endeavoured to stir up the people to overthrow the existing government. Even Mr Fox hesitates as to the wisdom and the virtue of those engaged in such enterprizes;—and yet Mr Rose, professing to see danger in that writer's excessive zeal for liberty; writes a book to extol the patriotism of a premature insurgent.

After this, we need not quote our author's warm panegyrics on the Revolution—'that glorious event to which the measures of James necessarily led,'—or on the character of Lord Sommers—'whose wisdom, talents, political courage and virtue, would alone have been sufficient to ensure the success of that measure.' It may surprise some of his political admirers a little more, however, to find him professing that he 'concurs with Mr Fox as to the expediency of the Bill of Exclusion' (that boldest and most decided of all whig measures); and thinks 'that the events which took place in the next reign afford a strong justification of the conduct

conduct of the promoters of that measure.' When his tory friends have digested that sentiment, they may look at his patriotic invectives against the degrading connexion of the two last of the Stuart Princes with the court of France; and 'the scandalous profligacy by which Charles and his successor betrayed the best interests of their country for miserable stipends.' There is something very edifying indeed, though we should fear a little alarming to courtly tempers, in the warmth with which our author winds up his diatribe on this interesting subject. 'Every one,' he observes, 'who carries on a clandestine correspondence with a foreign power, in matters touching the interests of Great Britain, is *prima facie* guilty of a great moral, as well as political, crime. If a subject, he is a traitor to his King and his country; if a Monarch, *he is a traitor to the Crown which he wears*, and to the empire which he governs.' There may, by possibility, be circumstances to extenuate the former; there can be none to lessen our detestation of the latter.' p. 149, 150.

Conformably to these sentiments, Mr Rose expresses his concurrence with all that Mr Fox says of the arbitrary and oppressive measures which distinguished the latter part of Charles's reign;—declares that 'he has manifested great temperance and forbearance in the character which he gives of Jeffries,'—and *understates* the enormity of the cruel and detestable proceedings of the Scottish government, in its unheard-of acts of power, and the miseries and persecutions which it inflicted;—admits that Mr Fox's work treated of a period, 'in which the tyranny of the Sovereign at home was not redeemed by any glory of success abroad;—and speaks of the Revolution as the era when the full measure of the Monarch's tyrannical usurpations made resistance a duty paramount to every consideration of personal or public danger.'

It is scarcely possible, we conceive, to read these, and many other passages which might be quoted from the work before us, without taking the author for a Whig; and it certainly is not easy to comprehend, how the writer of them could quarrel with anything in Mr Fox's History, for want of deference and veneration for the monarchical part of our constitution. To say the truth, we have not always been able to satisfy ourselves of the worthy author's consistency; and holding, as we are inclined to do, that his natural and genuine sentiments are liberal and manly, we can only account for the narrowness and unfairness of some of his remarks, by supposing them to originate from the habits of his practical politics; and of that long course of opposition, in which he learned to consider it a duty to his party to discredit every thing that came from

from the advocates of the people. We shall now say a word or two on the remarks themselves, which, as we have already noticed, will be found to be infinitely fewer, and more insignificant, than any one, looking merely to the bulk of the volume, could possibly have conjectured.

The first, of any sort of importance, is made on those passages in which Mr Fox calls the execution of the King 'a far less violent measure than that of Lord Strafford;' and says, that 'there was something in the splendour and magnanimity of the act, which has served to raise the character of the nation in the opinion of Europe in general.' Mr Rose takes great offence at both these remarks; and says, that the constitution itself was violated by the execution of the King, while the case of Lord Strafford was but a private injury. We are afraid Mr Rose does not perfectly understand Mr Fox,—otherwise it would be difficult not to agree with him. The grossness of Lord Strafford's case consisted in this, that a bill of attainder was brought in, *after* a regular proceeding by impeachment had been tried against him. He was substantially *acquitted*, by the most unexceptionable process known in our law, *before* the bill of attainder came to declare him guilty, and to punish him. There was here, therefore, a most flagrant violation of all law and justice, and a precedent for endless abuses and oppressions. In the case of the King, on the other hand, there could be no violation of settled rules or practice; because the case itself was necessarily out of the purview of every rule, and could be drawn into no precedent. The constitution, no doubt, was necessarily destroyed or suspended by the trial; but Mr Rose appears to forget, that it had been destroyed or suspended before, by the *war*, or by the acts of the King which brought on the war. If it was lawful to fight against the King, it must have been lawful to take him prisoner: after he was a prisoner, it was both lawful and necessary to consider what should be done with him; and every deliberation of this sort had all the assumption, and none of the fairness of a trial. Yet Mr Rose has himself told us, that 'there are cases in which resistance becomes a paramount duty;' and probably is not prepared to say, that it was more violent and criminal to drive King James from the throne in 1688, than to wrest all law and justice to take the life of Lord Strafford in 1641. Yet the constitution was as much violated by the forfeiture of the one Sovereign, as by the trial and execution of the other. It was possible that the trial of King Charles might have terminated in a sentence of mere deprivation; and if James had fought against his people, and been conquered, he might have been tried and executed. The constitution was gone for the time, in both cases, as soon as force was mutually appealed to, and the violence

violence that followed thereafter, so the people of the Nation can receive no aggravation from any view of that nature.

With regard, again, to the loyal horror which Mr. Rose expresses, when Mr. Fox speaks of the splendour and magnanimity of the proceedings against the King, it is probable that this zealous observer was not aware, that his favourite 'perogative writer,' Mr. Hume, had used the same, or still loftier expressions, in relation to the same event. Some of the words of that loyal and unsuspected historian are as follows: 'The pomp, the dignity, the ceremony of this transaction, correspond to the greatest conceptions that are suggested in the annals of human kind;—the delegates of a great people sitting in judgment upon their supreme magistrate, and trying him for his mismanagement and breach of trust.' Cordially as we agree with Mr. Fox in the unprofitable severity of this example, it is impossible, we conceive, for any one to consider the great, grave, and solemn movement of the nation that led to it, or the stern and dispassionate temper in which it was conducted, without feeling that proud contrast between this execution and that of all other deposed sovereigns in history, which led Mr. Fox, in common with Mr. Hume, and every other writer on the subject, to make use of the expressions which have been alluded to.

When Mr. Rose, in the close of his remarks upon this subject, permits himself to insinuate, that if Mr. Fox thought such high praise due to the publicity, &c. of King Charles's trial, he must have felt unbounded admiration at that of Lewis XVI.;—he has laid himself open to a charge of such vulgar and un candid unfairness, as was not to have been at all expected from a person of his rank and description. If Lewis XVI. had been openly in arms against his people,—if the Convention had required no other victim,—and had settled into a regular government as soon as he was removed; there might have been more room for a parallel,—to which, as the fact actually stands, every Briton must listen with indignation. Lewis XVI. was wantonly sacrificed to the rage of an insane and bloodthirsty faction, and tossed to the executioner among the common supplies for the guillotine. The publicity and parade of his trial were assumed from no love of justice, or sense of dignity; but from a low principle of profligate and clamorous defiance to every thing that had become displeasing: and, ridiculous and incredible as it would appear of any other nation, we have not the least doubt, that a certain childish emulation of the avenging liberty of the English had its share in producing this paltry copy of our grand and original daring. The insane coxcombs

condemns who blow off their brains, after a piece of tawdry declamation, in some of the provincial assemblies, were about as like Cato or Hannibal, as the trial and execution of Lewis was like the condemnation of King Charles. Our regicides were serious and original at least, in the bold, bad deeds which they committed. The regicides of France were poor theatrical imitators,—intoxicated with blood and with power, and incapable even of forming a sober estimate of the guilt or the consequences of their actions. Before leaving this subject, we must remind our readers, that Mr Fox unequivocally condemns the execution of the King; and spends some time in showing that it was excusable neither on the ground of present expediency or future warning. It is after he has finished that statement, that he proceeds to say, that notwithstanding what the more reasonable part of mankind may think, it is to be doubted, whether that proceeding has not served to raise the national character in the eyes of foreigners, &c.; and then goes on to refer to the conversations he had himself witnessed on that subject abroad. A man must be a very zealous royalist, indeed, to disbelieve or be offended with this.

Mr Rose's next observation is in favour of General Monk; upon whom he is of opinion that Mr Fox has been by far too severe,—at the same time that he fails utterly in obviating any of the grounds upon which that severity is justified. Monk was not responsible alone indeed, for restoring the king, without taking any security for the people; but, as wielding the whole power of the army, by which that restoration was effected, he is certainly chiefly responsible for that most criminal omission. As to his indifference to the fate of his companions in arms, Mr Rose does indeed quote the testimony of his chaplain, who wrote a complimentary life of his patron, to prove that, on the trial of the regicides, he behaved with great moderation. We certainly do not rate this testimony very high; and do think it far more than compensated by that of Mrs Hutchison, who, in the life of her husband, says, that on the first proceedings against the regicides in the House of Commons, 'Monk sat still, and had not one word to interpose for any man, but was as forward to set vengeance on foot as any one.'* And a little afterwards she adds, apparently from her own personal knowledge and observation, that 'before the prisoners were brought to the Tower, Monk and his wife came one evening to the garden, and caused them to be brought down, only to stare at them,—which was such a behaviour for that man, who had betrayed so many of those that had honoured and trusted him, &c. as no story can parallel the inhumanity of.'†

With regard again to Mr Fox's charge of Monk's tamely acquiescing in the insults so meanly put on the illustrious corpse of

his old commander Blake, it is perfectly evident, even from the authorities referred to by Mr. Rose, that Blake's body was dug up by the King's order, among others, and removed out of the hallowed precincts of Westminster, to be reinterred with twenty more, in one pit at St. Margaret's.

But the chief charge is, that on the trial of Argyle, Monk spontaneously sent down some confidential letters, which turned the scale of evidence against that unfortunate nobleman. This statement, to which Mr. Fox is most absurdly blamed for giving credit, is made on the authority of the three historians who lived nearest to the date of the transaction, and who all report it as quite certain and notorious. These historians are Burnet, Baillie and Cunningham; nor are they contradicted by any one writer on the subject, except Dr. Campbell, who, at a period comparatively recent, and without pretending to have discovered any new document on the subject, is pleased to disbelieve them upon certain hypothetical and argumentative reasons of his own. These reasons Mr. Laing has examined and most satisfactorily obviated in his history; and Mr. Rose has exerted incredible industry to defend. The Scottish records for that period have perished; and for this reason, and because a collection of pamphlets and newspapers, of that age, in Mr. Rose's possession, make no mention of the circumstance, he thinks fit to discredit it altogether. If this kind of scepticism were to be indulged, there would be an end of all reliance on history. In this particular case, both Burnet and Baillie speak quite positively, from the information of cotemporaries; and state a circumstance that would very well account for the silence of the formal accounts of the trial, if any such had been preserved, viz. that Monk's letters were not produced till after the evidence was finished on both sides, and the debate begun on the result;—an irregularity, by the way, by much too gross to have been charged against a public proceeding without any foundation.

Mr. Rose's next observation is directed rather against Judge Blackstone than against Mr. Fox; and is meant to show, that this learned person was guilty of great inaccuracy in representing the year 1679 as the era of good laws and bad government. It is quite impossible to follow him through the dull details and feeble disputations by which he labours to make it appear that our laws were not very good in 1679, and that they, as well as the administration of them, were much mended after the Revolution. Mr. Fox's, or rather Blackstone's remark is too obviously and strikingly true in substance, to admit of any argument or illustration.*

The next charge against Mr. Fox is for saying, that if Charles II.'s ministers betrayed him, he betrayed them in return; keeping, from

* Mr. Rose talks a great deal, and justly, about the advantage of the judges not being removeable at pleasure; and, with a great air of

from some of them at least, the secret of what he was pleased to call his religious and the state of his collections with France. After the furious attack which Mr. Rose has made in another place upon this Prince and his French connexions, it is rather surprising, to see with what zeal he undertakes his defence against this very venial sort of treachery, of concealing his shame from some of his more respectable ministers. The attempt, however, is at least as unsuccessful as it is unaccountable. Mr. Fox says only, that some of the ministers were not trusted with the secret; and both Dalrymple and Macpherson say, that none but the Catholic counsellors were admitted to this confidence. Mr. Rose mutters, that there is no evidence of this; and himself produces an abstract of the secret treaty between Lewis and Charles, of May 1650, in which the subscriptions of four Catholic ministers of the latter are offered.

Mr. Fox is next taxed with great negligence for saying, that he

of erudition, informs us, that after 6, Charles, all the commissions were made *quandiu nobis placuerit*. Mr. Rose's researches, we fear, do not often go beyond the records in his custody. If he had looked into Rushworth's Collection, he would have found, that, in 1641, King Charles agreed to "make the commissions *quandiu se bene gesserint*; and that some of those illegally removed in the following reign, though not officiating in court, still retained certain functions in consequence of that appointment. The following is the passage; at p. 1265, v. liij. of Rushworth. After the passing of these votes (16th December 1640) against the judges, and transmitting them to the House of Peers, and their concurring with the House of Commons therein, an address was made unto the King shortly after, that his Majesty, for the future, would not make any judge by patent *during pleasure*; but that they may hold their places hereafter, *quandiu se bene gesserint*; and his Majesty did readily grant the same. And in his speech to both Houses of Parliament, at the time of giving his Royal assent to two bills, one to take away the High Commission Court, and the other the Court of Star Chamber, and regulating the power of the Council Table, he hath this passage. "If you consider what I have done this Parliament, discontents will not be in your hearts; for I hope you remember, that I have granted that the judges hereafter shall hold their places *quandiu se bene gesserint*." And likewise, his gracious Majesty King Charles the Second observed the same rule and method in granting patents to judges, *quandiu se bene gesserint*; as appears upon record in the rolls, viz. to Sergeant Glasse to be Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench; Sir Orlando Bridgeman to be Lord Chief Baron; and afterwards to be Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas; Sir Robert Foxster, and others, viz. Sergeants Archer, now deceased, notwithstanding his removal, still enjoys his patent, being *quandiu se bene gesserint*; and receives a share in the profits of the court, as to fees and other proceedings, by virtue of his said patent; and his name is used in those fines, &c. as a judge of that court.

does not know what proof there is of Clarendon's being privy to Charles receiving money from France; and very long quotations are inserted from the correspondence printed by Dalrymple and Macpherson,—which do *not* prove Clarendon's knowledge of any money being *received*, though they do seem to establish, that he must have known of its being stipulated for.

After this comes Mr Rose's grand attack; in which he charges the historian with his whole heavy artillery of argument and quotation, and makes a vigorous effort to drive him from the position, that the early and primary object of James's reign was not to establish popery in this country, but, in the first place, to render himself absolute; and that, for a considerable time, he does not appear to have aimed at any thing more than a complete toleration for his own religion. The grounds upon which this opinion is maintained by Mr Fox, are certainly very probable. There is, in the first place, his zeal for the Church of England during his brother's life, and the violent oppressions by which he enforced a protestant test in Scotland; secondly, the fact of his carrying on the government and the persecution of nonconformists by protestant ministers; and, thirdly, his addresses to his Parliament, and the tenor of much of his correspondence with Lewis. In opposition to this, Mr Rose quotes an infinite variety of passages from Barillon's correspondence, to show in general the unfeigned zeal of this unfortunate Prince for his religion, and his constant desire to glorify and advance it. Now, it is perfectly obvious, in the first place, that Mr Fox never intended to dispute James's zeal for Popery; and, in the second place, it is very remarkable, that in the first *seven* passages quoted by Mr Rose, nothing more is said to be in the King's contemplation than the complete *toleration* of that religion. 'The free exercise of the Catholic religion in their own houses,'—the abolition of the penal laws against Catholics,—'the free exercise of that religion,' &c. &c. are the only objects to which the zeal of the King is said to be directed; and it is not till after the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion, that these phrases are exchanged for 'a resolution to *establish the Catholic religion*,' or 'to get that religion established,' though it would be fair, perhaps, to interpret some even of these phrases with reference to those which precede them in the correspondence; especially as, in a letter from Lewis to Barillon, so late as 20th August 1685, he merely urges the great expediency of James establishing 'the free exercise' of that religion.

After all, in reality, there is not much substantial difference as to this point between the historian and his observer. Mr Fox admits most explicitly, that James was zealous in the cause of Popery; and that after Monmouth's execution, he made attempts equally violent and undisguised, to restore it. Mr Rose, on the other hand, admits that he was exceedingly desirous to render himself absolute; and that one ground of his attachment to Popery probably was, its
natural

natural affinity with an arbitrary government. Upon which of these two objects he set the chief value, and which of them he wished to make subservient to the other, it is not perhaps now very easy to determine. In addition to the authorities referred to by Mr Fox, however, there are many more which tend directly to show that one great ground of his antipathy to the reformed religion was, his conviction that it led to rebellion and republicanism. There are very many passages in Barillon to this effect; and, indeed, the burden of all Lewis's letters is to convince James that 'the existence of monarchy' in England, depended on the protection of the Catholics. Barillon says, (Fox, App. p. 125.) that 'the King often declares publicly, that all Calvinists are naturally enemies to royalty, and above all to royalty in England;' and Burnet observes, (Vol. I. p. 73.) that the King told him, 'that among other prejudices he had against the Protestant religion, this was one, that his brother and himself being in many companies in Paris *incognito* (during the Commonwealth), where there were Protestants, he found they were all alienated from them, and great admirers of Cromwell; *it is believed they were all rebels in their hearts.*' It will not be forgotten either, that in his first address to the Council, on his accession, he made use of those memorable words—'I know the principles of the Church of England are for monarchy, and therefore I shall always take care to defend and support it.' While he retained this opinion of its loyalty, accordingly he did defend and support it; and did persecute all dissenters from its doctrine, at least as violently as he afterwards did those who opposed Popery. It was only when he found that the orthodox doctrines of nonresistance and *passive obedience* would not go all lengths, and that even the bishops would not lend his proclamations to their clergy, that he came to class them with the rest of the heresies, and to rely entirely upon the slavish votaries of the Roman superstition.

The next set of remarks are introduced for the purpose of showing that Mr Fox has gone rather too far in stating, that the object both of Charles and James in taking money from Lewis, was to render themselves independent of Parliament, and to enable them to govern without those assemblies. Mr Rose admits that this was the point which both monarchs were desirous of attaining; and merely says, that it does not appear that either of them expected that the calling of Parliaments could be entirely dispensed with. There certainly is not here any worthy subject of contention.

The next point is, as to the sums of money which Barillon says he distributed to the Whig leaders, as well as to the King's ministers. Mr Rose is very liberal and rational on this subject, and thinks it not unfair to doubt the accuracy of the account which this minister renders of his disbursements. He even quotes two passages from Mad. de Sevigne, to show that it was the general opi-

nion that he had enriched himself greatly by his mission to England. In a letter written during the continuance of that mission, the *Paris* *Barillon* *sen va, &c. son emploi est admirable cette année; il mangera cinquante mille francs; mais il fait bien de l'argent.* And after his final return, the *Lays* he is old and rich, and looks without envy on the brilliant situation of M. D'Avauz. The only inference he draws from the discussion is, that it should have a little shaken Mr Fox's confidence in his accuracy. The answer to which obviously is, that his mere dishonesty, where his private interest was concerned, can afford no reason for doubting his accuracy, where it was not affected.

In the concluding section of his remarks, Mr Rose resumes his eulogium on Sir Patrick Hume,—introduces a splendid eulogium on the Marquis of Montrose,—brings authority to show, that torture was used to extort confession in Scotland even after the Revolution,—and then breaks out into a high Tory rant against Mr Fox, for supposing that the councillors who condemned Argyle might not be very easy in their consciences, and for calling those who were hunting down that nobleman's dispersed followers 'authorised assassins.' James, he says, was their *lawful Sovereign*, and the parties in question having been in open rebellion, it was the evident duty of all who had not joined with them to suppress them. We are not very fond of arguing general points of this nature; and the question here is fortunately special; and simple. If the tyranny and oppression of James in Scotland—the unheard of enormity of which Mr Rose owns that Mr Fox has understated—had already given that country a far juster title to renounce him than England had in 1688, then James was *not* 'their lawful Sovereign' in any sense in which that phrase can be understood by a free people; and those whose cowardice or despair made them submit to be the instruments of the tyrant's vengeance on one who had armed for their deliverance, may very innocently be presumed to have suffered some remorse for their compliance. With regard, again, to the phrase of 'authorised assassins,' it is plain, from the context of Mr Fox, that it is not applied to the regular forces acting against the remains of Argyle's *armed followers*, but to those individuals, whether military or not, who pursued the disarmed and solitary fugitives, for the purpose of butchering them in cold blood, in their caverns and mountains.

Such is the substance of Mr Rose's observations; which certainly do not appear to us of any considerable value,—though they indicate, throughout, a laudable industry, and a still more laudable consciousness of inferiority,—together with (what we are determined to believe) a natural disposition to liberality and moderation, counteracted by the influence of party jealousy and resentment. We had noted a great number of petty misrepresentations and small inaccuracies; but in a work which is not likely either to be much read

read or long remembered, these things are not worth the trouble of correction.

Though the book itself is very dull, however, we must say that the Appendix is very entertaining. Sir Patrick's narrative is clear and spirited, but what delights us far more, is another and more domestic and miscellaneous narrative of the adventures of his family, from the period of Argyle's discomfiture till their return in the train of King William. This is from the hand of Lady Murray, Sir Patrick's granddaughter; and is mostly furnished from the information of her mother, his favourite and exemplary daughter. There is an air of cheerful magnanimity and artless goodness about this little history, which is extremely engaging; and a variety of traits of *Scottish* simplicity and homeliness of character, which recommend it, in a peculiar manner, to our *national* feelings. Although we have already enlarged this article beyond its proper limits, we must give our readers a few specimens of this singular chronicle.

After Sir Patrick's escape, he made his way to his own castle, and was concealed for some time in a vault under the church, where his daughter, then a girl under twenty, went alone every night, with a heroic fortitude, to comfort and feed him. The gaiety, however, which lightened this perilous intercourse, is to us still more admirable than its heroism.

She went every night by herself at midnight, to carry him victuals, and drink; and stayed with him as long as she could to get home before day. In all this time, my grandfather showed the same constant composure, and cheerfulness of mind, that he continued to possess to his death, which was at the age of eighty-four; all which good qualities she inherited from him in a high degree. *Often did they laugh heartily in that doleful habitation*, at different accidents that happened. She at that time had a terror for a church-yard; especially in the dark; as is not uncommon at her age, by idle nursery stories; but when engaged by concern for her father, she stumbled over the graves every night alone, without fear of any kind entering her thoughts, but for soldiers and parties in search of him, which the least noise or motion of a leaf put her in terror for. The minister's house was near the church. The first night she went, his dogs kept such a barking as put her in the utmost fear of a discovery. My grandmother sent for the minister next day, and, upon pretence of a mad dog, got him to hang all his dogs. There was also difficulty of getting victuals to carry him, without the servants suspecting; the only way it was done, was by stealing it off her plate at dinner, into her lap. Many a diverting story she has told about this, and other things of the like nature. Her father liked sheep's head; and, while the children were eating their broth, she had conveyed most of one into her lap. When her brother Sandy (the late Lord Marchmont) had done, he looked up with astonishment and said, Mother, will ye look at Grizzel; while we have been eating our

broth, she had eat up the whole sheep's head. This occasioned so much mirth among them, that her father, at night, was greatly entertained by it, and desired Sandy might have a share in the next. *ib. App. p. [v.]*

They then tried to fester him in a low room in his own house; and, for this purpose, to contrive a bed concealed under the floor, which this affectionate and light-hearted girl secretly excavated herself, by scratching up the earth with her nails, till she felt not a nail on her fingers; and carrying it into the garden at night in bags. At last, however, they all got over to Holland, where they seem to have lived in great poverty, — but in the same style of magnanimous gaiety and cordial affection, of which some instances have been recited. This admirable young woman, who lived afterwards with the same simplicity of character in the first society in England, seems to have exerted herself in a way that nothing but affection could have rendered tolerable, even to one bred up to drudgery.

'All the time they were there,' (says his daughter), 'there was not a week my mother did not sit up two nights; to do the business that was necessary. She went to market; went to the mill to have their corn ground; which, as seems, is the way with good managers there; dress'd the linnen, cleaned the house; made ready dinner; mended the childrens stockings, and other cloaths; made what she could for them; and, in short, did every thing. Her sister Christian, who was a year or two younger, diverted her father and mother, and the rest, who were fond of music. Out of their small income they bought a harpsichord for little money (but is a Rucar *), now in my custody, and most valuable. My aunt played and sung well, and had a great deal of life and humour; but no turn to business. Though my mother had the same qualifications, and used it as well as she did, she was forced to drudge; and many jokes used to pass between the sisters about their different occupations.' *p. [ix.]*

Her brother soon afterwards entered into the Prince of Orange's guards; and her constant attention was to have him appear right in his linnen and dress. They wore little point cravats and cuffs, which many a night she sat up to have in as good order for him as any in the place; and one of their greatest expenses was in dressing him; as he ought to be. As their house was always full of the unfortunate banished people like themselves, they seldom went to dinner, without three, or four, or five of them, to share with them; and many a hundred times I have heard her say, she could never look back upon their manner of living there, without thinking it a miracle. I had no want, but plenty of every thing they desired, and much contentment; and always declared it the most pleasing part of her life, though they were not without their little distresses; but to them they were rather jokes than grievances. The professors, and men of learning in the place, came often to see my grandfather. The best entertainment he could give them, was a glass of alabast beer, which was a better kind of ale than common. He sent his

son

* 'An eminent maker of that time.'

and Andrew, the last Lord Kinnaird, being a boy, to draw some for them in the water; she thought it up with great diligence; but in the other hand the spikes of the netting his grandfather said, Andrew, what is that in your hand? When he saw it, he ran down with speed; but the beam was all run out before he got there. *This occasioned much mirth*, though, perhaps, they did not well know where to get more.

Sir Patrick, we are glad to hear, retained this kindly cheerfulness of character to the last; and, after he was an Earl and Chancellor of Scotland, and unable to stir with gout, had himself carried to the room where his children and grandchildren were dancing, and insisted upon beating time with his foot. *Now, when dying at the advanced age of eighty-four, he could not resist his old propensity to joking*, but uttered various pleasantries on the disappointment the worms would meet with, when, after boring through his thick collar, they would find little but bones.

There is, in the appendix, besides these narrations, a fierce attack upon Burns, which is full of inaccuracies and ill-temper, and some interesting particulars of Monmouth's imprisonment and execution. We dare say Mr Rose could publish a volume of two of very interesting facts; and can venture to predict, that his collections will be much more popular than his observations.

[G.] In our review of Mr Nevenham's book in the preceding Number, we have been led into two slight errors, by following the statements of Mr John Nevenham's statements in the House of Commons, which we have since been favoured with the means of correcting. The statement given by Sir John, of the expenditure of the Navigation Board, (referred to at p. 254. of this volume) varied not, as we formerly imagined, to their whole proceedings since the Union, but only to the year 1836, the last then before the House; and the true result of that statement is, that out of a total sum of 124,578l. expended under the superintendence of the Board, no less than 32,000l. had been paid in salaries to Masters and other officers, exclusive of engineers, which, together with 4500l. of travelling charges to the Board, amounts to one fourth part of the whole expenditure under its direction.—The other inaccuracy, or rather defect, which we wish to correct in our statement, relates to the assessment by parishes, mentioned at the bottom of p. 254. as to which, the parishes are in Ireland. Two parishes, Sloughlands in the county of Cork are assessed at the same sum, though only consisting of 1360 acres; the other only of 240. In the barony of Fermagh, there is one of 800 acres, and one of 1000, which pay exactly the same;—the next adjoining one is 170 acres. In the county of Fermanagh, if we may trust the returns made to Parliament, the inequality is still more glaring. Barony of Glenties is assessed by the Treasurer, to be taxed at the same rate, though some parishes in it are not assessed at all. This inequality, we have no doubt, is a very great misapprehension.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

From April to July, 1809.

AGRICULTURE.

- The Farmer's Magazine, No. 38, for June. 3s.
 The Utility of Agricultural Knowledge illustrated; with an Account of an Institution formed for Agricultural Pupils in Oxfordshire. 1s. 6d.

The Advantages which have resulted from the Establishment of the Board of Agriculture, being the Substance of a Lecture read to that Institution, May 26. 1809. By the Secretary to the Board. 3s. 6d.

Observations and Experiments on the Use of Sugar in Feeding Cattle, Sheep, and Swine. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

A Treatise on the Breeding and Management of Sheep. By John Pries, Grazier, of Romney Marsh. 4to. 2l. 2s.

ARCHITECTURE.

Principles of Design in Architecture, traced in Observations on Buildings, primeval Egyptian, Phenician, or Syriac, Grecian, Roman, Arabian, &c. &c. 8vo. 5s.

Descriptions, Historical and Architectural, of splendid Palaces and celebrated Public Buildings, English and Foreign; with Biographical Notices of their Founders. By J. N. Brewer. No. I. 1s.

A Treatise on the Properties of Arches, and their Abutment Piers. By Samuel Ware, Architect. 1s. 6d.

ARTS, FINE.

The Historic Gallery of Paintings and Portraits; containing correct Copies, in Outline, of the Works of the most celebrated Painters; with critical Remarks. 4 vol. 8vo. 4l. 16s.

The Thames; or, Graphic Illustrations of Seats, Villas, Public Buildings and picturesque Scenery, on the Banks of that noble River. By Samuel Owen, Esq. No. I. 4s. 6d.

The Italian School of Design, exemplified in a Series of Fac-Similes, carefully engraved by eminent Artists, from original Drawings of the greatest Painters and Sculptors of Italy. Selected from the Collection of W. Y. Ottley, F. S. A. No. I. Folio. 4l. 1s.

Greek Marbles, brought from the Shores of the Euxine, Archipelago, and Mediterranean, and deposited in the Vestibule of the University Library, Cambridge. By E. D. Clark, LL.D. 5s.

The Historic Gallery of Portraits and Paintings; containing Raphael's Cartoons complete, and an allegorical Frontispiece. No. XXV. 4to. 7s. 6d.

Twenty-four Views, taken by Mr. Salt, who accompanied Lord Viscount Valentia in his Travels in India, the Red Sea, Abyssinia, &c. 27l. 6s.

The Works of James Barry Esq. late Professor of Painting in the Royal Academy. 2 vols. 4to. 5l. 5s.

Collection of Portraits, sketched from the Life by George Dance, Esq. and engraved by William Daniell. No. III.

The Costume of the Ancients. By Thomas Hope. Royal 8vo. With 200 outline Engravings. 11. 1s.; or, in 2 vol. Royal 4to, 4l. 14s. 6d.

The Art of Sketching in Pencil, and Drawing in Indian Ink, with 28 Plates. 10s. 6d.

The Antiquarian and Topographical Cabinet, vol. V. containing 50 Plates. 15s. Large Paper, 1l. 4s.

Oriental Groups, descriptive of Flowers, Birds, Shells, and Insects. By M. Girtside. No. II. Imperial Folio. 2l. 2s.

Hassell's Drawing Magazine of Rural Scenery, No. I. II. III. & IV. (To be continued weekly.) Price 6d. each.

An historical Survey of Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France, with a View to illustrate the Rise and Progress of Gothic Architecture in Europe. By the late Rev. G. D. Warrington. Royal 4to. 1l. 6s.

The British Gallery of Portraits. No. I. Atlas 4to, 1l. 6s. Imperial Folio, 1l. 16s.

A Set of Plates to illustrate the Scripture History; designed by Mr Craig, and cut in Wood by Bewick, Nisbett, Branston, Clennel, and Stole; Ninety-nine Subjects, printed in Demy Quarto. 10s.

ARTS AND SCIENCES.

Outlines of an Attempt to establish a Knowledge of Extraneous Fossils, on Scientific Principles. By W. Martin, M.L.S. 8vo. 8s.

The Retrospect of Philosophical, Mechanical, Chemical, and Agricultural Papers, published by Philosophical Societies, and in the various English and Foreign Periodical Works. No. XVII. 3s. 6d.

Metaphysical Essays, containing the Principles and Fundamental Objects of that Science, with some Considerations upon the Human Mind, &c. By Richard Kirwan, L.L.D. F.R.S. 8vo. 10s.

The Gentleman's Veterinary Monitor and Stable Guide, a concise Treatise on the Diseases and Management of Horses. By David Wilson. Royal 18mo. 3s. 6d.

An Analysis of the Carbonated Chalybeate, lately discovered near Stow, with Observations on the Effects of Carbonic Acid, and Nitrogen Gas, on the Animal Economy. By R. Farmer. 8s.

Free Mason's Lectures, containing every Question and Answer as worked in our Lodges, 10s. 6d.

Pinkerton's New Modern Atlas, containing Maps of France, the West Indies, and Japan. No. 1. 1l. 1s.

Abridgement of the Philosophical Transactions, from their Commencement in 1665 to 1800. By Drs Hutton, Shaw and Pearson. 18 vol. 4to. 38l. 6s. 6d. boards. Large Paper, 68l. 14s.

The Bricklayer's Guide to the Construction of all Sorts of Brick Work. By J. W. Dearn. 8vo. 7s.

Memoirs of British Quadrupeds, by the Rev. W. Bingley. Vol. I. 8vo. 18s. Large Paper, 1l. 15s.

An Elementary Treatise on Chemistry, comprising the most important Facts of the Science; with Tables of Decomposition, on a New Plan. By Charles Sylvester. 8vo. 7s. 6d. boards.

The Villa Garden Directory; or Monthly Index of Work to be done in Town and Villa Gardens, Shrubberies and Parterres.

Hints on the Treatment of Shrubs and Flowers usually kept in the Green-Room, the Lobby, and the Drawing-Rooms. By Walter Niccol, Designer of Gardens, Hot-Houses, &c.; Author of the 'Forcing, Fruit, and Kitchen Gardener,' the 'Practical Planter,' &c. Foolscap 8vo. 7s. 6d. boards.

New Theory of the Formation of Veins, with its application to the Art of Working Mines. By A. G. Werner, Counsellor of the Mines of Saxony, Professor of Mineralogy, and of the Art of Working Mines at Freyberg, &c. &c. Translated from the German, with Notes, &c. By Charles Anderson, M. D. 8vo. 9s.

Mathematical Tables. By George Douglas. Royal 8vo. 10s. 6d.

An Account of the Method of Casting Stereotype, as practised by Charles Brightley, of Bungay, Suffolk; with a Stereotype Metal Plate. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

BIOGRAPHY.

Authentic Memoirs of Mrs Mary Ann Clarke. By Miss Taylor. Small 8vo. 6s.

The Authentic and Impartial Life of Mrs Mary Ann Clarke. By W. Clarke, Esq. Foolscap 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Authentic and Interesting Memoirs of Mrs Clarke, from her Infancy to the present Time; likewise a faithful Account of Mr Wardle's Charges, and the Minutes of Evidence. 12s.

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Percival Stockdale, containing many interesting Anecdotes of the illustrious Men with whom he was connected. 2 vol. 8vo. 1l. 1s.

The Life of Alexander Nowell, Dean of St Paul's. By Ralph Churton, M. A. 8vo. 1l. 1s.

The Life of George Romney, Esq. By William Hayley. 4to. 2l. 2s.

The Life of Mr John Bunyan, with a Portrait and Fac-simile. By the Rev. Joseph Ivimey. 12mo. 4s. 6d.

Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel Bourn, many Years one of the Pastors of the United Congregation of the New Meeting in Birmingham. By Joshua Toulmin, D. D. 8vo. 7s.

The Life of Erasmus, with an Account of his Writings, reduced from Dr Jortin's Larger Work. By A. Laycey, Esq. 8vo. 8s. 6d.

Adam and Margaret, or the Cruel Father. A Narrative of real Incidents. By Alexander Molleston. 8vo. 1l. 6d.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The Librarian, containing an Account of scarce, valuable, and useful Books. By James Savage. Vol. I. 8vo 6s. 6d.

Censuræ Literariæ, containing Titles, Abstracts, and Opinions of Old English Books. By Samuel Egerton Brydges. 10 vol. 6l. 6s.

British Bibliographer. By Sir Egerton Brydges. No. I. 6s. To be continued Quarterly.

Critical Observations on Books, Ancient and Modern. No. XIV. 2s. 6d.

A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Library of the late Tipood Sultan, of Mysore. To which are prefixed, Memoirs of Hyder

Ala Khud, and Tippoo. By Charles Stewart, Esq. late Major of the Bengal Establishment. 4to. 11. 4s.

33 DRAMA. 8vo.

Three Comedies, translated from the Spanish. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Pactus and Arthur a Tragedy. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Grieving's a Folly, a Comedy, in Five Acts. By Richard Leigh, Esq. 2s. 6d.

Panthea, Queen of Sosa: a Tragedy, in Five Acts. 2s. 6d.

The Meteor; or a Short Blaze but a Bright One: a Farce, in Two Acts. By J. B. Gent. 2s. 6d.

The Abdication of Ferdinand; or Napoleon at Bayonne: an Historical Play, in Five Acts. 2s. 6d.

Killing no Murder: a Farce, in Two Acts. By Theodor Edward Hooke, Esq. 2s.

The Founding of the Forest: a Play, in Three Acts. By William Dimond, Esq. 2s. 6d.

Venom; or the Novice of St Mark's: a Drama, in Three Acts. By M. G. Lewis. 3s.

EDUCATION.

Latin Synonymes, with their different Significations and Examples; taken from the best Authors. By J. B. Gardin Dumesnil. Translated into English. 8vo. 15s.

The French Student's Vade Mecum. By the Rev. P. C. Le Vasseur, a Native of France. 7s. 6d.

The Hebrew Reader; or a Practical Introduction to the Reading of the Hebrew Scriptures. For the Use of Learners. 8vo. 2s.

Grammatical Questions, adapted to the Grammar of L. Murray. By C. Bradley. 2s. 6d.

An Introduction to Angus's Vocabulary, and Fulton's Dictionary; with Lessons for Reading, Spelling, &c. By W. Angus. 9d.

An Introduction to the Epistolary Style of the French; or, a Selection of Familiar Notes and Letters, in French. 1s. 6d.

The Elements of English Education. Intended for the Improvement of Youth of both Sexes; with Maps and Wood Cuts, &c. By John Browne. 18mo. 5s.

Exercises in Religious Knowledge. For the Instruction of Young Persons. By Mrs Elizabeth Hamilton. 2s.

A German and English Spelling Book. By G. F. Schilling, Master of the German School in the Savoy. 2s.

The Principle of the System of Education in the Public Schools of England, as it respects Morality and Religion, impartially considered. 2s. 6d.

L'Instructeur Français. By William Keegan. 2s. 6d.

Poetry for Children. By the Author of Mrs Leicester's School. 2 vol. 18mo. 3s.

The School Dictionary of the English Language. By William Frederic Mylius. 2s. 6d. Fine Paper. 2s. Common.

A Brief Grammar of the Laws and Constitution of England. By the Rev. J. Goldsmith. 4s.

A Grammar of Practical Geometry. By J. Smith, L. L. D. 3s. 6d.

Letters on Ancient History, exhibiting a Summary View of the History, Geography, Manners and Customs of the Assyrian, Babylonian, Median, &c. Nations. By Miss Wilson. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

A Collection of Scripture Sentences for Committing to Memory. Selected by G. E. Richardson. 18mo. 2s. 6d.

The Practical Surveyor: being a Treatise on Surveying, designed for the Use of Schools. By the Rev. J. Barrow. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Le Cadeau du Premier Jour de l'Année, ou Histoire des et Conversations à l'usage des Jeunes Gens de l'un et de l'autre Sexe, et des Ecoles. Avec des Figures. Par Madame de S. 18mo. 1s. 6d.

Grammaire de la Langue Italienne. Par Cristofano Polidori, Natif de Toscane. 8vo. 15s.

An Index of the Irregularities of the Spanish Declinable Parts of Speech; showing the Primitive Word to which each belongs, and the Page of the *Artes Grammaticæ* wherein each lies. By the Rev. Don Felipe Fernandez.

HISTORY.

A Current View of Prussia, from the Death of Frederic II. to the Peace of Tilsit, in a Series of Letters. 5s.

The History of Don Francisco de Miranda's Attempt to effect a Revolution in South America, in a Series of Letters. By James Digge. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Observations on the Historical Work of the late Right Hon. C. J. Fox. By the Right Hon. G. Rose. With a Narrative of the Events which occurred in the Enterprize of the Earl of Argyle in 1685. By Sir Patrick Hume. 1l. 5s.

Encounter or Battle of Flodden Field. Reprinted from an old scarce tract. By M. Haslewood. 4s.

Annals of Europe, exhibiting the Origin, Progress, Decline, and Fall of every Kingdom and State, from the Dismemberment of the Roman Empire. By James Ede, Esq. 2 vol. 14s.

The History of the Life and Reign of Alexander the Great, from the Latin of Quintus Curtius Rufus. A New Translation. 2 vol. 8vo. 1l. 5s.

LAW.

The Law and Practice of Patents for Inventions. By William Hands, one of the Solicitors of the Court of Chancery. 8vo. 5s.

Law Selections; containing distinct and familiar Treatises on such Divisions of the Law as are of most general Use and Importance. By James Barry Bird, Esq. 2 vol. 8vo. 1l. 2s.

Trial of the Cause of Lord Dormer v. Robert Knight, Esq. in the Court of Common Pleas, by a special Jury, before Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, 23d December 1808. 3s.

A Succinct View of the Law of Mortgages. By Edward Coke Willymott of Gray's Inn. 6s.

Reports of Cases in Chancery. by T. Vessy, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn. Vol. XIV. Part II. 7s. 6d.

A Treatise on the Defects of the Debtor and Creditor Laws, and the Consequences of Imprisonment for Civil Debts. By W. Minchin, Esq.

An Abridgement of the Law of Nisi Prius. By William Selwyn, Esq. Part III. and Last. 10s. 6d.

The Proceedings on the Several Motions for Judgment in the case—the King v. Draper, on the Prosecution of the Hon. Mrs. Hamilton Fullarton, for a Libel against the late Col. Fullarton of Fullarton; together with the Affidavits on the part of the Defendant, and those brought forward in support by the Prosecutors. 2s. 6d.

A Full and Authentic Report of the Trial of an Action brought by Mrs. Clarke's Upholsterer, against Col. Wardle. 2s.

The Trial of Lord Paget for Crim. Con. 2s.

The whole of the Proceedings on the Trial of an Indictment against Jos. Hanson, Esq. for a Conspiracy to aid the Weavers of Manchester in raising their Wages. 2s. 6d.

A Series of Letters to a Man of Property, on Selling, Buying, Leasing, Settling, and Devising Estates. By Edward Burton, Esq. Sugden. 8vo. 5s.

Cases argued and determined in the High Court of Chancery. By F. Vessey, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister. Vol. XIV. Part II. 7s. 6d.

The Solicitor's Assistant through the Court of Chancery. By William Hands, gent. 8vo. 9s.

Sciātilla Juris; or an Argument in support of the Doctrine, that a future Use cannot have the possession extended to it by the Statute of Uses, unless there exists a Seisin in some person subject to such use, at or within due time, after the happening of the act, period, or event, upon which it may be limited to arise. By William Henry Rome, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn.

An Abstract of the Act passed June 19th, 1809, for the Relief of certain Insolvent Debtors in England. By T. Williams. 6d.

A Synthesis of the Law of Nisi Prius. By R. W. Bridgman, Esq. Vol. I. Part i. 12s. 6d.

The Whole of the Proceedings on the Trial of an Action between Fr. Wright, Upholsterer, and G. Lloyd Wardle, Esq. M. P. 6d.

The Trial of Colonel Wardle in the Affair of Wright. Reported by T. & W. Plomer. 2s. 6d.

MUSIC.

The Flowers of Harmony; being a Selection of the most celebrated Catches, Glee's, and Duets. No. II. 1s. 6d.

An Analysis of Country Dancing; wherein are displayed all the Figures ever used in Country Dances, in an easy and familiar manner. By T. Wilson, from the King's Theatre, Opera-House. 7s.

The Treasures of Terpsichore; or a Companion for the Ball-Room. By T. Wilson. 4s. 6d.

A List of the Duties payable after Oct. 10, 1808, under the management of the Stamp Commissioners in Great Britain. 4s.

The Lark, a Satire, without Notes. 2s. 6d.

A new Dormant and Extinct Passage in England. By T. C. Bancks. Vol. III. 4to. 2l. 2s.

The Travels of Haman to the Temple of Happiness; an Allegory. By W. Lucas. 12mo. 6s.

A Letter to the young Gentlemen who write in the *Edinburgh Review*. By Senex. 1s. 6d.

Literary Miscellanies. By J. Mason, Esq. 2 vol. 8vo. 1l. 5s.

Thoughts and Remarks for establishing an Institution for the Support and Education of unportioned respectable Females. 7s.

The Spirit of the Public Journals for 1808. 5s.

London Characters; or, Anecdotes of Fashion and Customs of the present Century. By Sir Barnaby Retchwell. 2 vol. royal 12mo. 16s.

The Ecclesiastical and University Annual Register for 1808. 8vo. 16s.

Asiatic Researches. Vol. IX. 8vo. 12s. 6d. 1l. 5s.

Political, Commercial, and Statistical Sketches of the Spanish Empire in both Indies. 4s. 6d.

The New Annual Register for 1808. 8vo. 1l.

The Spirit of English Wit. Small 8vo. 5s.

Mr Thelwall's Plan and Terms of Instruction to Domestic and Private Pupils. 5s.

Vindicia Satirizæ; or, a Vindication of the Principles of the Satirist, and Conduct of its Proprietors. By C. Manners, Esq. 2s. 6d.

Observations on the Conduct of Mrs Clarke. By a Lady. 2s. 6d.

Lord Paget's Letters; to which is added the Speech of Mr Dallas on the Trial. Taken in short hand by T. and M. Pomer. 2s. 6d.

The Quarterly Review, No. II. 5s.

Archives of Universal Science. By A. Walker, Esq. Vol. H.

The Bibliomania, or Book-madness; a prose Epistle to Richard Heber, Esq. By the Rev. T. Frognall Dibdin. 8vo. 4s.

Anonymiana, or Ten Centuries of Observations on various Authors and Subjects. Compiled by a late learned and Reverend Divine. 8vo. 12s.

An Address to the Landed Interest of Scotland, on the subject of Distillation. By a Scotch Farmer. 8vo. 5s.

Observations on the Golden-lane Brewery Bill now before Parliament; submitted to the consideration of the Members of both Houses. 1s.

A Tract, chiefly relative to Monastic Antiquities: with some Account of a recent Search for the Remains of the Scottish Kings interred in the Abbey of Dunfermline. By John Graham Dalyell, Esq. 8vo. 9s.

Strictures on the present State of Eloquence at the English Bar. By Tom Nugent, the money-lender. 1s.

A Letter addressed to Robert Hawker, D. D. Vicar of Charles, Plymouth; suggested by his Defence of the London Female Penitentiary, recently established in the vicinity of Islington. By John Evans, A. M. 1s. 6d.

The Epistolary Correspondence of Sir Richard Steele, illustrated with Literary and Historical Anecdotes. By John Nichols, Esq. A. 2 vol. 8vo. 16s.

Letters on various Subjects, Literary, Political, and Ecclesiastical, to and from William Nicholson, D. D. Bishop of Carlisle. 1l. 5s.

- ... and history. By J. F. Nichols, F.B.A. 2 vol. 8vo. 16s.
- An Address to the Proprietors of the Edinburgh Gas Light and Coke Company. By John Van Voorst. 8vo. 6s.
- Letters from ... during the march of the British Troops ... By ... Officer. 8vo. 12s.
- An Address ... the ... and the People of Great Britain and Ireland ... the Money System of the United Kingdom. By John Locke, Esq. 5s.
- Characters of the late ... selected, and in part written, by Philipatrius Valensensis. 2 vol. 8vo. 11.
- Letters of ... written chiefly in the early part of the Reign of ... 12mo. 6s.
- Rees's New Cyclopaedia. Part XXIV.
- The Artist, 2d Series, Part I.; and ... Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, for 1805-6-7-8 & 1809. Published by Authority of the Royal Academy.
- Classic Authors, vol. I. & II., containing the Lives of the ... by Dr Goldsmith; With Four Engravings. 10s. 6d.
- Letters from ... a Younger Brother, on the Conduct to be pursued in Life.
- An Inquiry into certain ... the Catholic Enthusiasts, and the Adversaries of ... the Rev. J. Munier, D.D., F. S. A. &c. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- ... concealed Tests of ... gentleman, supposed Student in Oxford (reprinted).
- An Essay on ... of ... of Vanishing them with Black and Stone. Royal 8vo.
- Thoughts on Resurrection, from the appearances of Nature in the two Systems of Vegetable and Insect Life. By J. Collier. 8vo.
- The Speech delivered before a Meeting of the Proprietors of the Gas Light and Coke Company. By John Van Voorst. 6d.
- The Man of Fashion's Manual, containing Instructions and Rules for Games of Games and Charioteering. 5s. 6d.
- Important Steps for the Female Sex. By Mrs Cockle.
- A new Analysis ... By William Hales, D.D. Vol. I. 4to. 2l. 2s.
- A Dissertation on the ... in antient and modern Times. By R. Wallace, T. ... of the Ministers of Edinburgh. 2d Edit. revised and ... 8vo. 8s.
- MEDICINE
- The Edinburgh Medical and ... 1815. 8vo. 2s.
- A Short Treatise on the Virtues of the Vegetable Balsamic Pills. 1s.
- Suggestions for the Prevention ... By ...
- Henderson, M. D. Royal 8vo.
- A Dictionary of Practical Surgery. ... Member of the Royal College of Surgeons in London. 8vo. 18s.
- Practical Materia Medica, in which the various Articles are ...
- VOL. XIV. NO 287

fully described, and divided into Classes and Orders, according to their Effects. 12mo. 5s.

A System of Operative Surgery, founded on the basis of Anatomy. By Charles Bell. Vol. II. Royal 8vo. 16s.

An Inquiry into the Symptoms and Treatment of Carditis, or the Inflammation of the Heart, illustrated by Cases and Dissections. By John Ford Davis, M. D. 12mo. 6s.

An Inquiry into the Antivariolous Power of Vaccination! By Thomas Brown, Surgeon, Musselburgh. 8vo. 7s. 6d. boards.

An Inquiry into the Laws of Epidemics, containing Remarks on the prospects lately entertained, of exterminating the Small Pox. By Joseph Adams, M. D. 5s. 6d.

Medico-Chirurgical Transactions, published by the Medical and Chirurgical Society of London. Vol. I. 8vo. 14s.

The Principles of Midwifery, including the Diseases of Women and Children. By John Burns, Glasgow. 8vo. 12s.

A Popular Treatise on Medical Police, and on Diet, Regimen, &c. By John Robertson, M. D. 2 vol. 8vo. 12s. boards.

Reports on the Effects of a peculiar Regimen on Schirrous Tumors, and Cancerous Ulcers. By W. Lambe, M. D. 8vo. 5s.

The Vaccine Scourge, No. II. 1s.

Observations on Fungus Hæmatodes, or Soft Cancer, in several of the most important Organs of the Human Body. By James Wardrobe, F.R.S.E. Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh. Illustrated by Plates. 1 vol. 8vo. 10s. 6d. boards.

MILITARY.

Manœuvres of Horse Artillery. By General Koscinsko. Written at Paris in 1800, at the request of General W. R. Davie, then Envoy from the United States to France. With 18 Plates. 6s.

Operations of the British Army in Spain, with Broad Hints to the Commissariat and Transport Board, and Anecdotes illustrative of the real Spanish Character. 3s.

A Narrative of the Circumstances attending the Retreat of the British Army, under the command of the late Lieutenant-General Sir J. Moore. By Henry Milburne, Surgeon. 2s.

Proceedings of a General Court-Martial held at the Horse Guards, on the 24th and 27th of March, 1792, for the Trial of Captain Powel, Lieutenant Seton, and Lieutenant Hall, of the 54th Regiment, on several Charges preferred against them by William Cobbett, late Sergeant-Major. 2s. 6d.

Letters from Portugal and Spain, written during the march of the British Troops under Sir John Moore. 8vo. 12s.

The Military Senate, showing the great Advantage arising to the Nation from a Consultative Government of the British Army. 5s.

An Account of the Operations of the British Army, and of the State and Sentiments of the People of Portugal and Spain. By the Rev. James Wilmot Omsby. 2 vol. 8vo.

An Authentic Account of the Battle between the Austrian and French Armies, commanded by the Archduke Charles and Bonaparte, on the 21st and 22d of May. 1s. 6d.

Narrative of the Campaigns in Portugal and Spain, under Generals Sir Arthur Wellesley and Sir John Moore, from the landing of the Troops in Mondego Bay, to the Battle of Corunna; accompanied by all the Official Documents and numerous Engravings from Drawings made on the spot. By Adam Neale, M. D. Physician to the Forces. 4to. 2*l*. 5*s*.

NATURAL HISTORY.

Memoirs of British Quadrupeds. By the Rev. W. Bingley. Vol. I. 8vo. 18*s*. Large Paper, 1*l*. 5*s*.

Outlines of an Attempt to establish a Knowledge of extraneous Fossils on Scientific Principles. By W. Martin, F. L. S. 8vo. 8*s*.

Interesting Selections from Quadrupeds, Birds, Fishes, Plants, &c. with illustrative Scenery. Drawn and engraved by Mr. Daniell, A. R. A. 4to. With 50 Plates. 6*l*. 6*s*.

An Essay on the Torpidity of Animals. By Henry Reeve, M. D. Member of the Royal College of Physicians of London, and Fellow of the Linnean Society. 8vo. 5*s*.

NOVELS AND ROMANCES.

The Cottage of Merlin Vale; a History founded on Facts. 2 vol. 12mo. 10*s*.

The English Brothers, or Anecdotes of the Howard Family. 4 vol. 12mo. 1*l*. 1*s*.

Levi and Sorrow, a German Story. By M. A. Bianchi. 2 vol. 12mo. 10*s*.

POLITICS.

The Orders in Council, and the American Embargo, beneficial to the Political and Commercial Interests of Great Britain. By Lord Sheffield. 8vo. 2*s*.

A Correct Report of the Speech delivered by Sir Francis Burdett, Bart., 13th March, 1809, on the Conduct of the Duke of York. 1*s*.

The Corrected Speeches of Mr Wardle, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr Whitbread, Mr Adam, Sir Francis Burdett, Sir Samuel Romilly, Mr Wilberforce, Lord Folkstone, Mr York, Mr Canning, &c., on Mr Wardle's Charges against the Duke of York. 8vo.

Claims of Mr Wardle to the Thanks of his Country, for his Parliamentary Conduct, in his Charges against the Duke of York. 2*s*.

A serious Admonition to His Royal Highness the Duke of York, on the evil Tendency of Corrupt Communication.

Observations on the National Debt, with a Plan for discharging it, so as to do complete Justice to the equitable Claims of the Stockholder, and be at the same time highly advantageous to the Nation at large. 3*s*.

Elements of Reform, or Account of the Motives of the Advocates for Parliamentary Reformation. By William Cobbett. 2*s*.

An Account of the Proceedings of the Inhabitants of Southwark, at their Town-hall, April 12, 1809, on their Vote of Thanks to Mr Wardle.

A Letter to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of London on the Subject of Common Halls and County Meetings. 2*s*.

A Full Report of the Proceedings of the Electors of Westminster,

on Wednesday March 29, 1809, at a Meeting held in Westminster-hall, to express their Sentiments on the Inquiry into the Conduct of the Duke of York. 1s.

The Dangers of British India, from French Invasion and Missionary Establishments. By David Hopkins. 1s.

A Correct Copy of the Speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the Debate on the Inquiry into the Conduct of the Duke of York. 3s. 6d.

Thoughts on the Present State of our Domestic Affairs, showing the Necessity of an Administration formed on the Basis of an Union of Parties. 2s. 6d.

Summary Review of the Evidence against the Duke of York. 1s.

A Letter addressed to John Cartwright, Esq. Chairman of the Committee at the Crown and Anchor, on the Subject of Parliamentary Reform. By the Earl of Selkirk. 2d Edit. 1s.

Cobbett Convicted, and the Revolutionists exposed, in Answer to the Letters which have lately appeared in the Political Register, on the Subject of Parliamentary Reform. By Detector. 2s.

A few Plain Observations on the Ends and Means of Political Reform, and the Measures adopted by the present Supporters of that Cause. 2s. 6d.

An Account of the Central Junta of Spain, its Chief Members, and most important Proceedings. 1s.

The Rights of the Sovereign Vindicated, with particular Reference to the Doctrines of the Edinburgh Review, and other periodical Publications. By John Pern Finney, Esq.

A Report of the Speech of John Wilson Croker, Esq. M. P. on the Subject of the Charges against the Duke of York. 2s. 6d.

The Speech delivered by the Right Hon. Sir Vicary Gibbs, in the House of Commons, on Thursday March 9, 1809, in the Debate on the Inquiry into the Conduct of his R. H. the Duke of York. 2s.

The Speech of Francis Burton, Esq. on March 8, 1809, in the same Debate. 1s. 6d.

The Speech of the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, on the 8th and 9th of March, in the same Debate. 4s.

American Candour, in a Tract lately published at Boston, entitled 'An Analysis of the late Correspondence between our Administration, and France,' with an Attempt to show what are the real Causes of the Failure of the Negotiation. 6d.

Concerning the Relations of Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal to each other, and to the Common Enemy at this Crisis. By William Wordsworth. 5s.

A corrected Report of the Debate on the Carnatic Question, in the House of Commons, on the 17th May, and continued on the 1st and 17th June 1808. 5s.

Observations on the Tendency of the late Meetings for returning Thanks to Mr Wardle. 2s. 6d.

A Second Letter on the Claims of Colonel Wardle, to the Thanks of his Country. 1s.

A Letter on recent Events. By Mr Hague.

POETRY.

Royal Love Lyrics, from Royal Love Letters, with Notes and Illustrations. 2s. 6d.

Rudigar, the Dane: a Legendary Tale. By Eaglesfield Smith, Esq. 2s.

The Iliad of Homer, Translated into English Blank Verse, By the Rev. James Merritt, A. M. Rector of Bethanger, Kent; and Vicar of Flower, Northamptonshire. 2 vol. 8vo. 11. 1s.

Sonnets, of the Eighteenth Century, and other Small Poems. Foolscap 8vo. 5s.

The Thespiad; a Poetical Critique on the Principal Theatrical Performers. 2s. 6d.

Lady Jane Grey, a Tale. With Miscellaneous Poems in English and Latin. By Francis Hodgson, Esq. 8vo.

The Cyprian of St Stephens, or Princely Protection illustrated. By Samuel Satiricus. 4to 3s.

Poems, By the Rev. W. Lisle Bowles. Vol. IV. 8s.

Palestine; a Poem Recited in the Theatre, Oxford. To which is added, the Passage of the Red Sea, a Fragment. By Reginald Heber. 4to. 12s. 6d.

Kennet and Kennela; a Legendary Tale. By the Rev. T. S. Whalley, D. D. 2s. 6d.

Horæ Ionicæ, Descriptive of the Ionian Islands, and the adjacent Coast of Greece. By Waller Rodwell Wright, Esq. 8vo. 4s.

The Four Slaves of Cythera; a Romance, in Ten Cantos. By the Rev. Robert Bland. 8vo. 9s.

The Bibliomania; an Epistle to Richard Heber, Esq. By John Ferriar, M. D. 2s.

Poemata Selecta Italorum, qui seculo decimo sexto scripserunt, nonnullis annotationibus illustrata. 10s. 6d.

Spanish Heroism; or the Battle of Roncesvalles; a Metrical Romance. By John Balfour, Esq. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Faction; a Poem: with Notes. 3s. 6d.

The Times; an Ode. Written at the commencement of 1809. By Joseph Blackley. 1s.

Elements of Art, a Poem on Painting. In Six Cantos. By Martin Archer Shaw, R. S. 8vo. 13s.

Métres, addressed to all the Lovers of Truth, Nature, and Sentiment. 12mo. 4s.

Washington; or Liberty restored: an Epic Poem. By Thomas Northmore, Esq. 8s.

The Hermitage; or Views of Life and Manners. Foolscap 8vo. 5s.

The Farm-House; a Tale: with Amatory, Elegiac, and Miscellaneous Poems and Sonnets. By James Murray Laing. 6s.

Selections from the Poems of W. Cowper, Esq. contrasted with the Works of Knox, Paley, and others. 12mo. 1s. 6d.

The Churchyard, and other Poems. By George Woodley. Foolscap 8vo. 6s.

An Ode on the Death of Lieut-Col. Geo. J. B. Tucker. 4to. 2s. 6d.

Select Idyls; or Pastoral Poems. Translated into English Verse, from the German of Solomon Gessner. By George Baker, M. A. Post 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Poems; consisting of Originals, and Translations from the Greek, Latin and Italian. By Mrs Ware. 7s.

Poems; chiefly Comic and Hudibrastic; containing Burlesque Translations, Dramatic Pieces, and Miscellanies. By W. C. Oulton. 9s.

The Sceptic; a Philosophical Satire. 1s. 6d.

La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighiere. With Explanatory Notes. By Romualdo Zotti. 4 vol. Royal 18mo. 2l. 2s.

The Satires of A. Persius Flaccus. Translated by the Rev. F. Hewes, A. M. 8vo. 7s.

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Observations on the Impolicy of Encouraging Ship-building in India. 8vo. 5s.

A View of the Political Situation of the Province of Upper Canada. By John Mills Jackson. 3s.

An Inquiry into the Practical Merits of the System for the Government of India, under the superintendence of the Board of Control. By the Earl of Lauderdale, 8vo. 7s. 6d. boards.

THEOLOGY.

The Grounds on which the Church of England separated from the Church of Rome, reconsidered; in a View of the Romish Doctrine of the Eucharist; with an Explanation of the Antepenultimate Answer in the Church Catechism. By Shute, Bish. of Durham. 1s.

Treatises on the Seventy Years' Captivity of the Jews. By the Rev. J. Thorold. 2s.

A Letter from a Country Clergyman to his Parishioners, in which are considered a few of the Arguments and Practices of some of the Modern Dissenters. By the Rev. John Nance. 1s. 6d.

Paganism and Christianity compared. In a Course of Lectures to the King's Scholars at Westminster, in the Years 1806, 7, and 8. By John Ireland, D. D. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

The Star in the East, a Sermon delivered in the Parish Church of St James's, Bristol, February 26. 1809, for the Benefit of the Society for Missions to Africa and the East. By the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, LL.D. 1s. 6d.

A Series of Discourses, on the Principles of Religious Belief, as connected with human Happiness and Improvement. By the Rev. R. Morehead, A. M. junior Minister of the Episcopal Church, Cowgate, Edinburgh. Second Edition. 8vo. 9s.

A connected History of the Life and Divine Mission of Jesus Christ, as recorded in the Narratives of the Four Evangelists; with Notes selected from the Short-hand Papers of the late Rev. Newcombe Cappe. By Catherine Cappe. 8vo. 12s.

Sermons by James Finlayson, D. D. F. R. S. E. one of the Ministers of the High Church, and Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. To which is added, an Account of the Life and Character of the Author. 8vo. 10s. 6d. boards.

The Works of the Right Reverend Hugh Hamilton, D. D. late Bishop of Ossory, collected and published with some Alterations and Additions from his Manuscripts. By Alexander Hamilton Esq. his eldest Son. 8vo. Royal 8vo. 28s. boards.

A Sermon preached in the Tron Church, Edinburgh, 30th April, 1809, being the Sunday immediately following the Funeral of the Rev. And. Hunter, D. D. one of the Ministers of the Tron Church, and Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. By Sir H. Moncreiff Wellwood Bart. D. D. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

The Fountain of Living Waters. A Sermon preached before the University of Cambridge, 14th May, 1809. By the Rev. Charles Simeon. 1s.

Occasional Sermons by the Rev. Robert Lucas, D. D. Rector of Kippure in the County of Worcester. 2 vol. 8vo. 10s. boards.

TOPOGRAPHY.
A History of Brecknockshire. By Theophilus Jones, Deputy Registrar of the Archdeaconry of Brecon. 3 vol. royal 4to. with numerous Plates. 7l. 9s. 6d.

The Cambrian Traveller's Guide. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

The History and Antiquities of Stratford-upon-Avon. By R. B. Wheeler. 8vo. 7s.

The Geographical, Civil, and Natural History of Chili. Translated from the Italian of the Abbé Don J. Ignatius Molina. 2 vol. 8vo. 18s.

Attree's Topography of Brighton, and Pictures of the Road from thence to the Metropolis. 12mo. 7s.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.
Summer Excursions through parts of England and Wales. By Elizabeth Isabella Spence. 2 vol. 12mo. 10s. 6d.

A Tour through Cornwall in the Autumn of 1808. By the Rev. Rich. Warner. 9s.

Travels in India, the Red Sea, Abyssinia, &c. By Ed. Viss. Valentia. 3 vol. 4to. with 70 Engravings. 9l. 9s.; large paper 13l. 13s.

Travels in the South of France, and in the Interior of Provence, Languedoc and Limosin; made, by permission of the French Government, in 1808. By Lieut. Col. Pinkey, of the North American Regiment. 4to. 1l. 8s.

Travels of the late Dom. Gbatelet in Portugal; revised, corrected and enlarged, with Notes by F. Bourgoing. Translated from the French by Stockdale. 4to. 16s.

An Account of Travels in Morocco, South Barbary, and across the Atlas Mountains; made during a stay of sixteen Years in that Country. By James Grey Jackson. 4to. 7l. 2s.

Letters from Canada, written during a residence there in 1806, 7 & 8; showing the present State of Canada, its Productions, Trade, and commercial Importance, and political Relations. By J. Gray. 8vo. 6s.

A Tour through Denmark and Sweden, written during the late Summer and Spring. By Lieut. Col. J. Macdonald. 2 vol. 8vo. 13s.

I N D E X.

A

Alexander, emperor of Russia, character of, 176.

America, neutrality of, our best safeguard against the power of France, 475

Apollonius, account of, by Brucker, 195.

B

Barbarian, how that term was applied by the ancient Greeks, 329

Bible, sense in which that word was formerly used, 130.

Biographie Moderne, 211—circumstances which attended the publication of this work at Paris, 212—period of time which it records, the most interesting of any in history, 213—amazing spectacle exhibited by France, from the time of the convention to the establishment of the consular government, 215—warning held out to nations by the revolution, 216—one cause of the atrocious character which it assumed, 218—plans adopted by the consular government to guard against the effects of disaffection, 220—account of Gregoire, 223—of Garat, 224—of Merlin de Douai, 225—of Merlin de Thionville, 226—Jean Debry, ib.—Cochon, 228—Malouet, 229—Cardinal Maury, 230—Mirabeau, ib.—remark of one Gerard, a farmer, on the members of the assembly, 231, note—account of Carnot, 232—of Barras, Sieyes, &c. 235—Abbé Fanelon, ib.—Desfize, 236—atrocious judgments of the revolutionary tribunal, 238—account of Anarcharis Cloots and Condorcet, 239—of some of the principal Girondists, 240—examples of female heroism, 241.

Franck, Count, character of, 395.

Brucker's character, &c. of Proclus, 194—of Apollonius, 195.

C

Campbell's Gertrude of Wyoming, general character of, 1—whence the highest delight which poetry produces arises, 2—story of Gertrude, &c. 4—extracts from, 6—remarks on some of the author's lesser pieces, 10.

Capital punishments, objection to the abolishment of, 353.

Catherine of Russia, description of the court of, and of her magnificent progress to the Crimea, 110.

Catholics, manner in which the election of

their bishops in Ireland has always taken place, 60

Copley's memoirs of Sir Thomas More, strictures on, 362.

Cbili. See *Melaga*.

Cbina. See *Guignol*.

Clavigero's account of the population of Mexico, 337.

Cato's in search of a wife, 145—outline of the story, 146—character of Mrs Ranby, 147—authors too severe upon the ordinary amusements of mankind, 149—common error about diets she falls into, 150.

D

Davy's Bakerian lecture, 483—comparative effects of two voltaic batteries differently constructed, ib.—experiment on the mutual action of potassium and ammonia, 484—on sulphur and phosphorus, 486—on boracic acid, 487—on muriatic acid, 488—Mr Davy's general observation on the whole of his late investigations, 489.

Despotism, how supported, 457.

Diderot's edition of More's Utopia, strictures on, 366.

Dissidents, exclusion of, from the government in Poland, the cause of the ruin of that country, 397.

Dwarfs, kept by the nobility in Russia, described, 180.

E

Edgeworth's, Miss, tales of fashionable life, 375—has excelled all her contemporaries in teaching the art of living, &c. 376—chief sources of information to people of rank and fortune, 377—outline of her tale called 'Emma,' 378—description of Lady Geraldine, 379—character of Lord Craiglethorpe, 380—description of an Irish post-chaise, 381—of a cottage, 385—outline of the tale 'The Victim of Fashion,' 386—Fashion of the banker's lady, and that of the lady of family contrasted, ib.

England, true cause of the little progress she has made in agriculture, 30.

Equation, in astronomy, what, 66.

F

Ferdusi, remarks on the writings of, 329.

Fox, Mr, character of, by Sir James Macintosh, 353—by Philopatri, 355. See *Rose*.

Fredric the Great of Prussia, extracts

from a conversation with, 108—traits of his character, 109.

Guignes, de, voyage à Pekin, 407—compared with the recent work of Mr Barrow, and account of the author, ib.—claims of the Chinese to an extravagant antiquity, exposed, 409—state of the country at the accession of the dynasty of Tcheou, 410—inattention of the English to Chinese literature, notwithstanding their great intercourse with that people, 411—in what degree they may be considered as a civilized people, 413—accounts of the immense population of China not to be depended on, 416—table of, at three different periods, 417—population of Palestine, &c. 420—accounts of the immense armies of Niqua and Semiramis equally credible with those of Chinese population, 421—state of agriculture among them, 422—pottery, 424—gardening, 426—of the priests, 427—their treatment of the weaker sex, an infallible criterion of barbarism, 428

Gustavus Vasa, curious anecdote of, 184.

H

Hassan Pacha, character of, 402.

Heiri, or desert camel, account of, 307.

Hyder Ali, account of, 323.

J

Jackson's Account of Morocco, 306—description of the Heiri, or Desert Camel, 307—camelion, 308—ostrich-hunting, ib.—dradul mortality occasioned by the plague, 309—population of Morocco, &c. 310—mode of government, and its influence on the people, ib.—fortitude of the Moors, 312—foreign trade, 313—of the English government in Morocco, 314—captives, 315—account of, 316—that trade to the inland parts, 317—description of their mode of travelling across the Desert, 319—black slaves, how treated by the Moors, 320—how the journey to Tombuctoo might be best accomplished by an European, 321

Jamieson's, Dr. Etymological Dictionary, general character of, 121—specimens of the work, 124—corrections and additions by which it might be rendered more complete, 129.

Jovellanos on Agriculture and Legislation, 20—circumstances under which this interesting performance was written, and

occasion which gave it birth, ib.—in what point of view agriculture is here regarded, 21—condition of in Spain, has always followed the political condition of the country, ib.—what the great principle which regulates the prosperity of, 22—what the obstacles which oppose the progress of, 25—origin of the Mesta, and mischiefs arising from, 27—evils resulting from the laws of primogeniture and entail, 29—remedied in some degree in England, and more especially in Scotland, by the expedient of leases, 30; but still the only cause why England has made so little progress in agriculture compared with what she has done in manufactures and commerce, ib.—baneful effects of the taxes in Spain on agriculture, 31—deplorable state of education in that country, 35—proposals for remedying, and extending to the lower classes, 36.

Joseph II. visits Frederic the Great in his camp at Newstadt, 102—his character, 120.

Joseph, account of the motions of the satellites of, 74.

K

Koniss, Prince, character of, 403.

Kyserling, an agent of Catharine II. in Poland, character of, 394.

L

Lambre, M. D. letter from to the Royal Society, 105.

Larus, inattention of the English government to the promulgation of, not a serious evil, 259.

Leibnitz, question agitated between him and Newton concerning the permanency of our system, considered, 80.

Ligne, Lettres, &c. du Prince de, 107—remarks on the author's character as a writer, ib.—attends the Emperor Joseph in his visit to Frederic of Prussia, 108—some traits of the character, &c. of the latter, 109—description of the court of Catharine of Russia, and of her famous journey to the Crimea, 110—extending invitation of the Russian government to the Emperor on the subject of the peace of Amiens, 111—character of the Prince, 112—how the author's mission was viewed by the Emperor, 113—some extracts from a conversation with Voltaire, 120.

M

Madrid, city of, supplied with eggs from France, 32.

Marriage, barbarous practice in Russia relating to, 181.

Mafia, origin and consequences of, 27.

Methodism, mischievous tendency of, 43.

Mexico, inquiry into the population of, 337.

Milner, Dr. and others, on the Catholics of Ireland, 60—manner in which the Catholic prelates in that country have hitherto been elected, 16—injustice of coupling together the veto upon the prelacy, with the privileges asked for by the Catholic laity, 61—plan for overcoming the difficulty with regard to the veto, 63.

Molina's account of Chili, 333—high importance of the emancipation of Spanish America, 335—letter of Clavigero concerning the population of Mexico, 337—total population of South America, 340—character of the Indians contrasted with that of the Africans, 341—great fertility of Chili, 342—facility of connecting the North and South Seas by a canal of only nine leagues in length, 343—Various ways in which the present crisis of South American affairs may terminate, considered, 345.

Mure, Sir Thomas, memoirs of, 360—interesting period in which he lived, 16—view of his literary character, 366—plan of his Utopia, 367—anecdotes of his private life, 368—his principles of religious conduct and belief discordant with every other part of his character, 372—becomes a dupe to the imposture of the Maid of Kent, 373—refuses to acknowledge the King's supremacy, &c. 374.

Morehead's Discourses, 82—Burnet's account of the state of religion at the Restoration, applicable to the present day, 16—consequences to be feared from the prevalence of fanatics and sectaries, 83—character of the present work, and objects the author had in view in its composition, 84—extract from, on the consolation to be derived from religion, 85—on the places of the nativity of Christ placed in a new point of view, 87—extract from, on the subject of immortality, 90—on the obligation of Christian charity, 91—on the temporal advantages of Christianity, 92—on the evidences of immortality, and on religious rites, 93.

Morocco. See *Jackson*.

Mysæra, brief description of, 124.

N

Nelson, Lord, anecdote of, at the battle of Copenhagen, 172.

Newenham on the state of Ireland, 151—seems to be mistaken in his ideas of the qualifications of a Statesman, 16—division of the work, 153—advantageous situation of Ireland for commercial intercourse, 16—land carriage good, but sums required for its support unequally imposed, 154—great natural fertility of the soil, and extent of land under cultivation, &c. 155—author's ideas of the causes which tend to produce a surplus quantity of food, considered, 156—causes which have hitherto frustrated the natural advantages of Ireland, 158—proportion of the Roman Catholic to the Protestant population, 161—attention of the Catholics to the education of their children, 165.

Newton, view of the dispute between and Leibnitz, concerning the permanency of our system, 80.

O

Ostrich-hunting described, 308.

Oxford edition of Strabo, 429—high expectations that naturally arise from the publications of so learned a body, 430, have hitherto been followed by a succession of disappointment, 431—specimens of Osanian Latin, 433.

P

Panama, facility of forming a canal across the isthmus of, 343.

Parliamentary reform, pamphlets on the subject of, 277—what the great leading evils in our actual condition, 278—diminution of taxes, not so to be expected from a reform in parliament, and why, 279—objections to diminishing the influence of government, considered, 280—of the monopoly of political power by a small part of a nation, and consequences it leads to, 290—peculiarities in the recent history of Britain in that respect, 294.

Pavlov held in great estimation by the ancients, 136.

Peter the 1st, of Russia, estimation formed by, of the different foreigners who resorted to his capital, 178.

Pierre, remark by, on the effect of the introduction of the useful animals into South America on the character of the natives, 341.

Platonists, latter, absurd doctrines of, not to be ascribed to the philosopher from

whom they derive their name, 192.
Petical extracts, from Campbell's Ger-
 trude of Wyoming, 6—Proclus, char-
 acter of by Bruckner, 194.
Poland. See *Russians*.—Restoration of the
 kingdom of, not even improbable, 461.
Porter's Travels in Russia and Sweden,
 170—author's remarks on Wilna, &c.
 171—anecdote of Lord Nelson, 172—
 description of the new metropolitan
 church at St Peterburgh, 173—reflec-
 tions on *ivante*, 174—tropics pre-
 ferred in the fortress, ib.—author hints
 that he was entrusted with some im-
 portant mission, and conjectures con-
 cerning, 175—character of the Empe-
 ror Alexander, 176—Peter the First's
 estimation of the foreigners whom he
 attracted to his new capital, 177—de-
 scription of a Russian landscape in the
 winter season, 178—anecdote at Twer,
 179—account of the dwarfs and fools
 kept by the nobility, 180—barbarous
 practice with regard to marriages, 181
 portraits of the king and queen of Sweden,
 182—anecdote of Gustavus Vasa, 184.
Potemkin, Prince, character of, 115.

Quarterly list of new publications, 265, 510.

R

Rose's observations on the historical work
 of Mr Fox, reasons assigned for its pub-
 lication, 490—the author accuses Mr
 Fox of having passed an unjust censure
 on Sir Patrick Hume, 491—the latter
 vindicated, 492—observations on some
 of the political transactions of the pe-
 riod treated of, 497—account of Sir
 Patrick Hume's settlement after his

Russia, from 1797—inclined to
 the part of France, 78.
Russian habits in vi-
 ant of the author, and at-
 tending the publication of
 388—first misfortunes of
 what owing, 391—remarks on
 taken efforts of Peter the Great
 sia to elevate and polish his
 392—scheme formed in France
 storing the republic of Poland
 degree of vigour and indepen-
 —Catharine assumes the right of
 a king to that country, 394—char-
 acter of Keyserling, the agent em-
 ployed to forward her views in that re-
 spect, ib.—of Count Brackley, 395—

Mokranowski, 396—exclusion of the
 Dissidents from the government the
 cause of the ruin of Poland, 397—ac-
 count of the seizure of the bishops and
 senators by the Russians, 400—remarks
 on the institutions of the Turks, their
 profound ignorance, &c. 407—charac-
 ter of Hassan Pacha, 402—of Prince
 Kaunitz, ib.—first idea of dividing Po-
 land, when and where it originated, 405.

S

Saragossa, singular mode of warfare car-
 ried on at the siege of, 244.

Sheffield, Lord, and others on Foreign Af-
 fairs, 442—his Lordship's attempt to
 prove that the measures of our govern-
 ment and the American embargo have
 done no harm to our trade, controver-
 tised, 444—Mr Stephen's assertion, that
 the Orders in Council, though not in
 themselves of advantage, had a tenden-
 cy to relieve us from a greater evil, ex-
 amined, 447—Mr Leckie's view of the
 progress of French aggrandisement, 453
 —plan he proposes for counteracting it,
 454—reflections on the present state of
 the country with a view to its external
 relations, 455—risk to which the sub-
 jugation of the Continent has exposed
 us, of the ruin of our trade, shown not
 to be serious, 472, while America re-
 mains neutral, 475.

Spain, (see *Jovellanos*), population of at
 different periods, 421.

Spence on Agriculture and Commerce, 50
 —prosperity of Britain asserted by him
 to be independent of her foreign trade,
 51—inconsistencies into which he has
 been betrayed, 52—abstract of his ar-
 gument in behalf of agricultural indus-
 try, 53—the whole shown to be found-
 ed in error, 54—necessity of commerce
 to enable all the individuals of a com-
 munity to labour in concert, 55—and
 thence its direct tendency to increase
 the wealth of a nation, 57—conse-
 quences of an interruption of the for-
 eign trade of Britain, 58.

Spain, from 1797—inclined to
 the part of France, 78.
Russian habits in vi-
 ant of the author, and at-
 tending the publication of
 388—first misfortunes of
 what owing, 391—remarks on
 taken efforts of Peter the Great
 sia to elevate and polish his
 392—scheme formed in France
 storing the republic of Poland
 degree of vigour and indepen-
 —Catharine assumes the right of
 a king to that country, 394—char-
 acter of Keyserling, the agent em-
 ployed to forward her views in that re-
 spect, ib.—of Count Brackley, 395—

Taylor's Plate, 187—remarks on the plate

- of classical learning in England at present, 188—author ill qualified for the work he has undertaken, 190—particulars included in the task of a translator—*Id. of Plato*, 191—criticisms on Mr Taylor as a commentator on that author—*Id.*—has entirely neglected the correction of his text, 201—and totally failed in the translation, 201—examples of the errors he has committed, 202
- de Monsieville*, character of the South American Indians by, 341.
- Topos Solan*, Catalogue of the Library of, 342—account of Hyder Ali, 323—remarks on the history of the two Mahomedan rulers of Mysor, 324—on the literature of the East, 328—*Id. barbarism*, how applied by the ancient Greeks, 329—effluviary not a necessary consequence of luxury and refinement, 330—information supplied by the perusal of Persian history, 34
- Tombuco* attacks of the caravans that visit, 317—how that city might be most safely visited by an European, 321.
- Turks*, instances of their profound ignorance, 402.
- V
- Vauban's Siege of Saragossa*, 244—enthusiasm of the Spaniards uncertain and short-lived, 246—principally confined to the lower orders of people, 247—their inexhaustible confidence and security in Joseph Bonaparte's flight from Madrid, 248—no advantage taken of that event to encourage their armies and rouse the spirit of the people, 249—which had nearly perished before our army landed to take advantage of it, 251—as is proved by the communications of our own officers, as well as by intercepted letters of the enemy, 253—plan of operations which ought to have been pursued, and objections to answered, 255.
- Flaccus Astronomy*, third volume, 64—
- who the authors of the tables therein contained, 65—equation in astronomy and mean motion of a planet explained, 67—tables of the Sun, 10—of the Moon, 69—of Mercury, Venus, and Mars, 71—of Jupiter and Saturn, 76—of Uranus, 80—necessity of giving the names of the planets of that planet, 80—on the satellites of Jupiter, 10—Great accuracy and importance of these tables, 81—some observations must be admitted, 81—how far to be found to determine, 81—question asked, 81—Mars and Icarus, 81—on the appearance of our system, 81—on the revolution, 80—in some respects, 81—how to have been in the night, 81—others both in the wrong, 81.
- Vallée*, conversation of, with the Prince de Ligne, 120
- Uranus* impropriety of giving the name of Georgian to that planet, 74.
- Utopia*, More's, remarks on, 67
- W
- Wardle* Mr, his plan of economy and reform examined, 281.
- West India* distresses, a permanent and effectual remedy for, 95—efficacy of all the remedies hitherto proposed for, 10—reduction of the growth of sugar recommended by the author of the present pamphlet, 96—falsity of the maxims which regulate our colonial policy, 97—allowing to the planter the free disposal of his surplus produce, &c. the best remedy for his distress, 10—barter of colonial produce for American flour considered, 98—value of American flour compared to our colonies, 10—on the ground, 10—on the barter on the West India, 10—on our government, 10—on the measure considered with regard to its effect on the Navigation law, 10.

THE INDEX OF THE WORKS OF THE REV. J. H. BURTON, F.R.S.

THE INDEX OF THE WORKS OF THE REV. J. H. BURTON, F.R.S.

THE INDEX OF THE WORKS OF THE REV. J. H. BURTON, F.R.S.

